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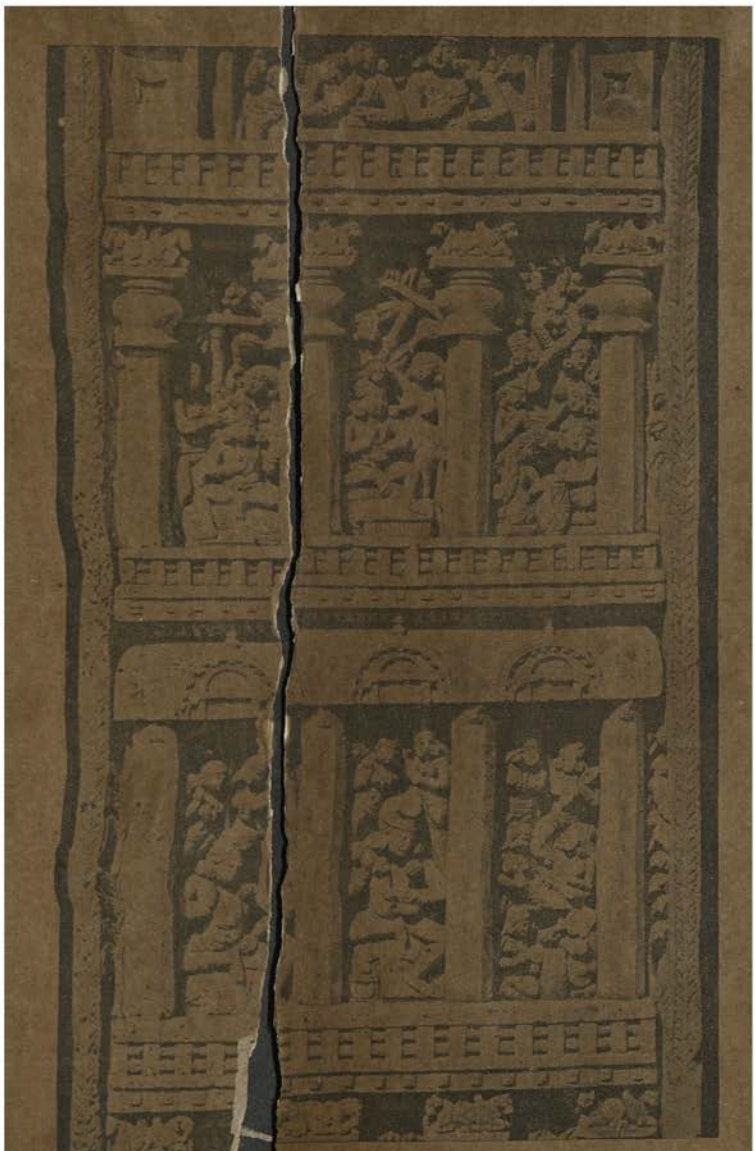

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ON RIGH ND JAMB OF THE EAST GATEWAY,

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(*Concluded from p.* 748, *October*, 1901.)

WE have now given the rule of the first stage concerning understanding what is heard and applying it; and also the rule of the second stage concerning the ecstasy which is encountered in the heart; so let us now give what of it oozes to the outside, consisting of cries and weeping and movements and rending of clothes, etc. So we say

THE THIRD STAGE OF HEARING MUSIC AND SINGING.

We will give in it the laws of good conduct related to the hearing of music and singing internally and externally, and what of the traces of ecstasy is praised and what is blamed. The laws of good conduct are five. The first is showing regard for time, place, and company. Al-Junayd said, "Hearing has need of three things, and if they are not there, then do not hear; time, place, and company." His meaning is that there is no advantage in being occupied

with Hearing on an occasion when food is present, or on an occasion of discussion or of prayer, or of anything that turns away from emotion of the heart. This is the meaning of showing regard for time; the hearer shows regard for his condition of emptiness as to the heart. And as for place, sometimes it is the beaten highway or a place whose appearance is disliked or where there is some cause which distracts the heart; so he avoids that. And as for the company, its cause is that, whenever there is present one of a different nature, who dislikes Hearing, externally a devotee, poor in the subtilties of hearts, he is found burdensome to the assembly and the heart is occupied with him. And so, too, when there is present one of the people of this world who magnifies himself, of whom a care must be taken and to whom regard must be shown; or one of the people of Ṣūfīism who strains and feigns ecstasy, being hypocritical in ecstasy and in dancing and in tearing of clothes. All these things are disturbing, and it is fitter that the Hearing should be abandoned in the case of the lack of these three conditions.

The conditions just mentioned are to be considered by the listener; but the second law is a matter to be considered by those who are present. It is that the Shaykh, whenever beginners [*Murīds*] are around him whom Hearing hurts, ought not to listen in their presence, and if he listens, let him occupy them in some other way. The beginner who is hurt by singing is one of three. The lowest of them in rank is he who does not attain in the Path[1] except to external works, and who has no taste for Hearing. So his being occupied with Hearing is his being occupied with what he does not know. For he is not of the people of sport that he should sport, nor of the people of taste that he should enjoy himself in Hearing; so let him be occupied in praising and service, otherwise his time is wasted. The second is he who has taste for Hearing, but in him is a remainder of the fanciful desires [*ḥuẓūẓ*] and a turning to lusts and fleshly qualities, and he is not yet subdued

[1] *Ṭarīqa*; see note in *Life*, p. 89.

with such a subduing that there is safety from his wickednesses. Then, often, Hearing arouses in him a summoner to sport and lust; and so his path is cut off, and his way to perfection is barred. The third is that his lust should have been broken and there be safety from his wickedness, and his perception have been opened and the love of God Most High rule over his heart; but he be not wise in the external part of science, and does not know the names and the qualities of God Most High and what is allowable with regard to Him and what is impossible. Then, whenever the gate of Hearing is opened he applies what is heard to what is allowable and to what is not allowable with regard to God Most High; so his hurt from such thoughts as are unbelief is greater than his advantage from the Hearing. Sahl[1] said, "Every ecstasy to which the Book and the Sunna do not witness is false." And for such a one as this, Hearing is not good, nor for him whose heart is yet soiled with the love of this world and the love of praise and glory, nor for him who listens for the sake of the pleasure and to find delight in the impression. Then that becomes a custom to him and diverts him from his religious duties and from regard for his heart; and his path is cut off. So Hearing is a slippery place for the foot; from it the weak should be kept. Al-Junayd said: "I saw Iblīs in sleep and said to him, 'Dost thou gain the mastery over any of our comrades in anything?' He said, 'Yes, on two occasions; on occasion of Hearing and on occasion of theological speculation [*naẓar*], for I go in to them thereat.'" Then said one of the Shaykhs, "If I had seen him I would have said to him, 'How foolish thou art! One who hears from Him when He hears, and speculates about Him when he speculates, how canst thou gain the mastery over him?'" Then said al-Junayd, "Thou hast spoken truth."

The third law is that he should be attentive to what the speaker says, present in heart, turning aside little, guarding himself from gazing upon the faces of those who are listening and upon what they exhibit of states of ecstasy,

[1] Sahl at-Tustarī; see note 1 on p. 252 (1901).

absorbed in himself and in the guarding of his own heart and in the treasuring of what God Most High opens to him of His mercy in his secret heart, keeping himself from a movement that would disturb the hearts of his comrades. He should be in external rest, still in his extremities, holding himself from coughing or yawning. And he should sit with bent head as he would sit in thought that absorbed his heart, restraining himself from hand-clapping and leaping and the rest of the movements used to work up the emotions and make a hypocritical show, silent in the intervals of the recitation from such conversation as can be avoided. Then if ecstasy overcome him and move him without his volition, he is excusable in regard to it and not blameworthy. But whenever volition returns to him let him return to his stillness and to his repose; it is not incumbent on him that he should seek to prolong his ecstasy out of shame, lest it should be said, "His ecstasy was soon cut short," nor that he should constrain himself to an ecstasy, out of fear, lest it should be said, "He is hard of heart, lacking in purity and softness." It is related that a youth used to accompany al-Junayd, and whenever he heard aught of the mention of God he would cry out. Then al-Junayd said to him, "If you do that another time, you shall not accompany me." And thereafter he kept putting pressure upon himself until from every hair of him there would drip a drop of water, and he did not cry out. And it is related that he choked one day through the force of the pressure upon him and sobbed a single sob, and his heart broke and he died.

And it is related on tradition that Mūsà was telling traditional stories[1] among the Banū Isrā'īl, and one of them rent his dress or his shirt. And God Most High revealed to Mūsà, "Say to him, 'Rend for me thy heart and rend not thy dress.'"[2]

[1] *Qaṣṣa*; on the professional *quṣṣāṣ* and the practice of *quṣṣ*, see Goldziher in ZDMG., xxviii, p. 320.

[2] Joel, ii, 13; Moses is a bad shot even for a Muslim, but the whole thing is a good example of Oriental incuriosity.

Abū-l-Qāsim an-Naṣrābādhī[1] said to Abū 'Amr b. Najīd,[2] "I say that whenever the people gather together, and there is with them a reciter of poems who recites, it is better for them than that they should talk slander." Then said Abū 'Amr, "Hypocrisy in regard to Hearing—and it is that you should show in yourself a state that is not in you—is worse than that you should talk slander thirty years or thereabouts."

And if you should say, "Is the more excellent he whom Hearing does not move and upon whom it does not make an impression or he upon whom it appears?" Then know that the lack of external appearance is at one time on account of weakness of the visitant [*wārid*] that springs from Hearing, and that is defeat; and at another time it is in spite of strength of ecstasy, but motion does not appear on account of perfect strength in control of the limbs, and that is perfection. And, at another time, it is on account of the state of ecstasy inhering in and being part of all the states. Then an increase of impression does not show itself on occasion of Hearing, and that is the utmost degree of perfection. For the ecstasy of him who has ecstasy in most states does not last, but he who is in a lasting ecstasy is applying himself assiduously and constantly to the Truth, and is clinging to the essence of Witnessing. Then such a one the occurrence of the states does not change. And it is reasonable to suppose that what is pointed to in the saying of aṣ-Ṣiddīq, "We were like you; then our hearts became hardened," is our hearts became powerful and were strengthened, and became able to cling constantly to ecstasy in all states while we are hearing the thoughts of the Qur'ān continually; and the Qur'ān is not new with regard to us nor fresh upon us so that we should be affected by it. So, then, the force of ecstasy moves the external manifestations, and the force of reason and self-restraint controls them, and sometimes the

[1] Abū-l-Qāsim Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad an-Naṣrābādhī; d. 369. Al-Qush., p. 36; *Lawāqiḥ*, i, p. 97.

[2] Abū 'Amr Ismā'īl b. Najīd; d. 366. Al-Qush., p. 36.

one of them overcomes the other either on account of the vehemence of its force or on account of the weakness of what opposes it, and it is defeat or perfection in accordance with that. Then think not that he who throws himself upon the ground in agitation is more perfect as to ecstasy than he who is still and does not agitate himself; yea, often he who is still is more perfect as to ecstasy than he who is in agitation. Al-Junayd, in his novitiate, was wont to be moved through Hearing; then he came not to be moved, and people spoke to him about that. He said, "*And thou seest the hills, thou thinkest them firm, but they shall pass away even as the clouds pass away—a work of God who hath made everything perfect*" [Qur., xxvii, 90]. This points to the fact that the heart may be agitated, circling in the invisible world [*malakūt*], and the limbs externally well disciplined and at rest. And Abū-l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad[1] said—he was in al-Baṣra—"I companied with Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh sixty years, and I never saw him change at a thing which he heard of mention of God or from the Qur'ān. And when he was at the end of his life a man recited before him, *And on this day there shall not be taken a ransom from you* [Qur., lvii, 14], and the rest of the verse. Then I saw him tremble and almost fall. And when he returned to himself I asked him about that. And he said, 'Yes, my beloved, we have grown weak.' And so, too, one time he heard the saying of Him Most High, *The kingdom on that day shall verily belong to the Compassionate One* [Qur., xxv, 28]; then he was agitated. And Ibn Sālim,[2] one of his companions, questioned him, and he said, 'I have grown weak.' Then they said to him, 'If this springs from weakness, what is strength of state?' He said, 'That there should not come upon one a visitant [*wārid*] without his meeting it with the strength of his state; then the visitants do not change him, although they are powerful.'" And the cause of that strength in controlling

[1] Abū-l-Ḥusayn (so the SM.) Muḥammad b. Aḥmad; d. 387. See Ibn Khall., iii, pp. 21 f.

[2] Ibn Sālim; see note 3 on p. 203 (April, 1901).

the external parts in spite of the presence of ecstasy, is equality of the states in constant clinging to witnessing; as it has been related concerning Sahl that he said, "My condition before prayer and after it is one"; for he was a regarder of the heart, present in recollection with God Most High in every state. And thus he was before Hearing, and after it, since his ecstasy was abiding and his thirst enduring and his drinking continuous, inasmuch as Hearing had no effect in increasing his ecstasy, like as it is related that Mimshādh ad-Dīnawarī came upon a company, among whom was a reciter of poems, and they became silent. But he said, "Return to what you were about, for even though you gathered all the musical instruments of the world in my ears, my meditation would not be disturbed, nor would aught appear of what is in me." And al-Junayd said, "Defect of ecstasy does not hurt when there is abundance of science, and abundance of science is more powerful than abundance of ecstasy." But if you say, "Why does such a one as this attend Hearing?" know that some of these abandoned Hearing in the perfection of their strength, and were wont to attend only occasionally in order to assist one of the brethren and to cause joy to enter his heart. And often he would attend that the people might perceive the completeness of his power and know that completeness is not in external ecstasy; then that they might learn from him the control of the external through application, though they might be unable to imitate him in his becoming a model to them. And if their being present fell with other than people of this kind, they were with them with their bodies, but distant from them with their hearts and what is within; just as they might sit, apart from Hearing, with other than their kind for accidental causes which required such sitting with them. Then some copied from these the abandoning of Hearing, thinking that the cause of their abandoning it was that they were able to do without it through what we have mentioned. And some of them belonged to the ascetics, and had no spiritual part [*ḥaẓẓ rūḥānī*] in Hearing, and were not of

the people of sport, and so abandoned it that they might not be distracted through what did not concern them.[1] And some abandoned it for lack of brethren. It was said to one, "Why do you not Hear?" He said, "From whom and with whom?"

The fourth law is that he should not rise up or raise his voice in weeping while he is able to restrain himself. Yet if he dance or force weeping, that is allowable whenever he does not intend hypocrisy by it; for forcing weeping induces grief and dancing is a cause of joy and liveliness. And the moving of every allowable joy is permissible; if it were unlawful 'Ā'isha would not have looked on at the Abyssinians with the Apostle of God while they were 'kicking out.'[2] That is 'Ā'isha's expression in some traditions, and it has been handed down from a number of the Companions that they hopped when a joy befell them which called for that. It is in the story of Ibna Ḥamza[3] when there disputed about her 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and his brother Ja'far[4] and Zayd b. Ḥāritha, and they contended together jealously as to her rearing. Then the Prophet said to 'Alī, "Thou art of me and I am of thee," and 'Alī hopped; and he said to Ja'far, "Thou resemblest me outwardly and inwardly," and he hopped behind the hopping of 'Alī; and he said to Zayd, "Thou art our brother and our freedman," and he hopped behind the hopping of Ja'far. Then the Prophet said, "She belongs to Ja'far, for her maternal aunt is his wife, and the maternal aunt is the same as the mother." And in

[1] Here al-Ghazzālī and those like him appear to be opposed to simple ascetics. Such ascetics are incapable of higher spiritual life and gain nothing by music and singing; they do not belong to "the people of the heart." Further, they are opposed to recreation and light things generally; not seeing what may be got from them, they consider them vain.

[2] √ZFN. It means in the first instance 'to kick or push with the leg,' and there is a tradition of Fāṭima that she used to do this to al-Ḥasan in the sense of 'dance to him.' The tradition runs, *Kānat tazfinu lil-Ḥasan*; and Lane, *Lexicon*, 1237*c*, so translates it. But in the *Lisān*, xvii, p. 58, l. 13, it is explained with *turaqqiṣuhu*, i.e. 'she would dandle him,' that is, make him dance or leap (*nazzathu*) in her lap. See on this latter sense of ZFN Goldziher in the *Wiener Zeitschrift*, ii, 164 ff.; he there equates *raqqaṣa* with *zaffana* (in the II stem), but I cannot find in the lexicons anything but the I.

[3] Ibna Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; see an-Naw., p. 867, and Ibn Qut., p. 60, l. 14.

[4] For Ja'far see an-Naw., pp. 192 ff., and note 7 on p. 203; and for Zayd, pp. 260 ff.

a tradition it is said that he said to 'Ā'isha, "Wouldst thou like to look at the kicking out?" and 'kicking out' and 'hopping' are dancing. And that takes place on account of a pleasure or a yearning, and the law applicable to it is the law applicable to that which rouses it. If the pleasure which causes dancing is praiseworthy, and the dancing increases and strengthens it, then the dancing is praiseworthy. And if the one is permissible, then the other is permissible, and if blameworthy, blameworthy. Yet it is true that the practice of dancing does not befit the station of notable people or people who set an example, because, for the most part, it springs from sport and play, and that which has the aspect of play and sport in the eyes of the people should be avoided by him whose actions are imitated in order that he may not become small in the eyes of the people and they should leave off imitating him.

And as to the tearing up of garments, there is no indulgence for it except when the matter passes beyond the control of volition. It is reasonable to suppose that ecstasy may overcome one so that he will tear his garment and yet not know it from the force of the intoxication of ecstasy which is on him. Or he may know it, but he is like one who is constrained and unable to control himself. Then he presents the appearance of one who is forced to do a thing though disliking it; since there is for him in moving or tearing a means of taking breath, and he is forced to it as a sick man is forced to groan. And though he were to impose patience upon himself as to it, he would not be able to control it in spite of its being a free-will action. For man is not able to abandon every action whose occurrence depends upon intention; taking breath is an action whose occurrence depends upon intention, but if a man imposed upon himself that he would hold breath he would be compelled from within him to will taking breath. So, too, is crying out; and tearing of garments sometimes happens in this way; then it is not to be described as forbidden. They spoke in the presence of as-Sarī of the occurrence of extreme overwhelming ecstasy, and he said, "Yes, the face

of one may be struck with a sword and he not know it." Then they disputed with him about it and found it strange that ecstasy should reach such a point, but he persisted and would not abandon his view that in some states this point was sometimes reached by some individuals.

And if you ask, "Then what do you say as to the tearing of new garments on the part of Ṣūfīs after the ecstasy has subsided and the Hearing is over, for they tear them in little pieces and distribute them to the people and call them *khirqa*?"[1] Know that that is permissible whenever it is torn into square pieces useful to patch garments and prayer-carpets for the *kirbās*[2] is torn up that the *qamīṣ* may be sewn together from it. And that is not waste, for it is tearing for a purpose. So, too, the patching of garments is only possible by means of little pieces, and that is an object; and the dividing to the multitude that the benefit may be general is an allowable object. Every king is required to divide his *kirbās* into one hundred pieces and give to one hundred poor people,[3] but it is necessary that the pieces shall be such that they can be made useful in patching. And in Hearing we prevent only that tearing which spoils the garment, destroying part of it so that it does not remain capable of use. That is pure waste, and is not lawful when it happens by free will.

The fifth law of good breeding is agreement of the people

[1] The *khirqa* means first a rag or scrap of cloth, and secondly the mantle of a darwīsh. It seems to be applied to the mantle as made up of such shreds patched together. The tearing up and distributing is to distribute the blessing that is supposed to cleave to them from having been worn by someone in an especially blessed state. So the garments of saints acquire miraculous powers; compare Elijah's mantle.

[2] The SM. describes the *kirbās* as a rough thick garment. But that is not at all suitable here, and the other and common meaning of *kirbās*, a piece of cotton cloth, is much better. See Lane, *sub voce*, and especially the *Lisān*, viii, pp. 75 f., where a tradition is quoted speaking of a *qamīṣ*, or shirt, made of *karābīs*, the plural of *kirbās*.

[3] As a garment the *kirbās* is Persian, and we have probably here a Persian custom. I know nothing of it, and the SM., of course, gives no explanation. But compare the seizing, tearing to pieces, and distribution of the pieces of the *jubba* of the *khaṭīb* who pronounces the *khuṭba* at the Mi'raj festival in modern Mecca. It is described by Snouck-Hurgronje in his *Mekka*, ii, pp. 71 f. He refers to the Berlin *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1888, p. 112, where it is described how the Riff Arabs similarly tear to pieces the *burnūs* of the Sulṭān.

in rising up when one of them rises up in a true ecstasy without hypocrisy and strives; or rises up by choice without exhibiting ecstasy, and the company rises up to him. For there must be agreement because agreement belongs to the laws of comradeship. So, too, if it is the custom of a party to throw off the turban in agreement with him who is in ecstasy whenever his turban falls off, or to pull off garments whenever his garment has fallen off him through tearing, then agreement in these things belongs to good comradeship and social intercourse, since disagreement is churlishness and every people has a usage of its own. We must "consort with people according to their qualities"—as has come down in the tradition—especially when they are qualities containing good-fellowship and courteous treatment and soothing of the heart with help. And someone may say, "Lo, that is an innovation [*bid'a*]; the Companions did not do so." But everything judged allowable is not derived from the Companions. What is to be guarded against is committing an innovation which abandons a Sunna handed down from one to another; but forbidding a thing is not to be deduced from this. Rising up on the entrance of anyone was not a custom of the Arabs; yea, the Companions did not rise up for the Apostle of God under some conditions, as Anas has narrated.[1] But since there is not established a general prohibition of it, we do not see any harm in it in those countries where it is a custom to honour him who enters by standing up; for its object is to show respect and to honour and to soothe the heart. So, too, it is with the other kinds of help when they have as object to soothe the heart and are adopted as usage by a company of people. Then there is no harm in their helping in these; yea, the best of things is help, except in a thing with regard to which there has come down a direct prohibition, insusceptible of explanation [*ta'wīl*].

And it belongs to good breeding that no one should arise

[1] On not rising to meet visitors as a *sunna*, cf. the life of 'Alī b. Maymūn in ZDMG., xxviii, p. 300. 'Alī refused to rise to meet anyone, as he was a zealous upholder of *sunna* in all details.

to dance with people if his dancing is considered sluggish and inert, lest he should disturb their states for them. For dancing without ecstasy is allowable, and a striver to show ecstasy is one in whom the trace of straining is evident to the company. And in the case of him who rises up in sincerity, whom you would not think sluggish and inert in nature, the hearts of those present, if they are possessors of hearts, are a touchstone of sincerity and of straining. One of them was asked concerning sound ecstasy, and he said, "Its soundness is the acceptance of it by the hearts of those present when they are likes and not opposites." [1]

Then if you say, "But what about that disposition which turns aside from dancing, does it rush erroneously to its opinion that dancing is lying, vain, and contrary to the Faith, while he that is vehement in the Faith never sees dancing without blaming it?" then know that there is no vehemence that is greater than the vehemence of the Apostle of God, and he saw the Abyssinians kicking out in the Mosque and did not blame what they were doing, because it was at a suitable time, that is, a time of Festival, and on the part of suitable individuals, that is, Abyssinians. It is true that some dispositions turn aside from it, because it is seen for the most part in combination with vanity and play, and vanity and play are allowable, but only for the common people of the Zanj and Abyssinians and their like, while they are disliked in those who are notable people because they do not befit them. But it is not lawful to describe as forbidden what is disliked because it does not befit the position of a person of note. If one asked a poor man for something, and he gave him a cake of bread, that would be a praiseworthy gift; but if he asked a king and he gave him a cake of bread or two cakes of bread, that would be blameworthy in the sight of all men and would be written

[1] The sense apparently is that the dancer in an ecstasy (*wajd*) is light and brisk in his movements, but he who is trying to bring on an ecstasy (*mutawājid*) is heavy and clumsy. The sincerity of the *mutawājid* can only be judged by the insight of those present.

in books of history as of the number of his evil deeds, and his posterity and adherents would be upbraided with it. But, in spite of that, it is not lawful that what he did should be forbidden, since he, inasmuch as he gave bread to the poor man, was beneficent, but inasmuch as, in relation to his position, it was like refusing in relation to the poor man, his action is to be considered vile. So, too, it is with dancing and the class of permissible things that follow the same rule. "The permissible deeds of common people are the evil deeds of pious people, and the good deeds of pious people are the evil deeds of archangels."[1] But this is when we take account of relationship to different positions, and whenever the thing is looked at as it is in itself, the sentence must be passed that in it, as it is in itself, there is nothing forbidden—and God knows best.[2]

It follows from all that has preceded, sectionwise, that listening to Music and Singing is sometimes absolutely forbidden and sometimes permissible and sometimes disliked and sometimes to be loved. It is forbidden to the most of mankind, consisting of youths and those whom the lust of this world controls so that Music and Singing arouse in them only that which has control of their hearts, consisting of blameworthy qualities. And it is disliked with reference to him who, it is true, does not apply it to the form of created things, but in whose case a habit which he has leads him on most occasions on the path of vain sport. And it is allowed with reference to him who has no delight in it except the taking pleasure in beautiful sounds. And it is loved with reference to him whom the love of God Most High controls and in whom Music and Singing arouse only praiseworthy qualities. The Praise belongeth to God alone, and His Benediction be upon Muḥammad and his Family!

[1] The often quoted saying of Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz; see on him note 2 on p. 713 (1901).

[2] This phrase generally implies some grain of doubt in the mind of its user as to the correctness of what he has just said. But the SM. notes that here it is used *lit-taburruk*, for the sake of gaining a blessing, i.e., al-Ghazzālī had no doubt as to the truth of his conclusion, but added the formula on general principles.

APPENDIX I.

Chronological Table.

In the following table the life of al-Ghazzālī is exhibited in outline as a part of the history of his time. For a fuller statement of his life and views, I would refer to my article in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. xx, 1899, pp. 71–132. The sketch which I give here can only be suggestive, but its suggestiveness can hardly be exaggerated. A year before the birth of this man, who was to be the restorer of faith in his age, died Abū-l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī, the great and only poet of scepticism in Arabic literature. In the year itself of his birth died al-Māwardī, the master of constitutional law; in his lifetime al-Ghazzālī was to see the empire of the Seljuqs shrivel up and the Khālifate move nearer to its end. When he was fifteen died al-Qushayrī, who had done so much to formulate Ṣūfiism; he was to carry on his work. In his earliest youth had fallen the momentous exile of Abū-l-Ma'ālī at Mecca, and the death of the same in 478 was a turning-point in his life. A year later, while he was with Niẓām al-Mulk, the battle of az-Zalāqa in Spain marked an epoch in the history of the Muslim West. Again, two years later, Nāṣir b. Khusrū died, poet, traveller, philosopher; he stands beside al-Qushayrī and 'Umar Khayyām for different phases of the mysticism and thought of the time. But a little later again—al-Ghazzālī was still with Niẓām al-Mulk—Islām received two great blows; Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ seized Alamūt, and the power of the Assassins stood firm for a century and a half until the Mongol wave under Hūlāgū swept unchecked to the Mediterranean; in the same year Malta was taken by the Normans, never to be held again by Islām. Now events crowd on, in all of which al-Ghazzālī had some part or with which he had some

connection. Niẓām al-Mulk and Mālik Shāh fall under the dagger; the Assassins are showing their teeth. The unending civil war that marks the decadence of a Muslim state appears; Bargiyāruq becomes Great Seljuq. Jerusalem is lost, first to the Fāṭimids, and by them to the Crusaders; the first Crusade has begun. In the year of its fall passes away, too, that hammer of Islām and Christendom alike, El Cid Campeador. In 504 dies al-Kiyā, an old fellow-pupil, and, in the eyes of many of his time, a greater scholar; a year more and al-Ghazzālī himself ends his short and troubled life: posterity has long since settled what place each shall hold. He had seen the star of the Murābiṭ empire rise and wax; if he had lived out the ordinary life of man he might have seen it wane. Nineteen years after him died Ibn Tūmart, the Mahdī of the Muwaḥḥids. Another fourteen years and az-Zamakhsharī went his way, often and wrongly called the last of the Mu'tazilites; their creed in differing forms survived for many a long year the polemic of al-Ghazzālī. In the field of letters he had as contemporaries, more or less, al-Jawālīqī the lexicographer, Nāṣir b. Khusrū and 'Umar Khayyām, al-Bakrī the geographer, aṭ-Ṭughrā'ī the learned scribe, wazīr, and *soi-disant* poet (has not his Lāmīyatu-l-'Ajam enjoyed more European editions than any other piece of Arabic verse ?), al-Ḥarīrī, the master of ornate prose and artificial verse, and al-Maydānī of the proverbs. But a little after him died al-Baghawī, who first redacted the Tradition Books of the Six into practical and edifying form, and ash-Shāhrastānī, who has laid before us with rare objectivity the religious world of his day and horizon. It was an age of summing up; of compendiums and systems. Meanwhile, in Europe, Hastings is lost and won when al-Ghazzālī has seen eight years; Hildebrand is running his great career and nourishing his vast dreams; he loves righteousness and hates iniquity, and dies in exile in the same year that the Imām al-Ḥaramayn passes tranquilly away in the circle of his disciples. Berengerius and Lanfranc confront one another while al-Ghazzālī is wrestling with the theology of the schools and raising the clouds that

are to overshadow his faith. But as he passes from under the shadow a new life springs in Europe as well. Anselm, the father of scholasticism, has died, and the university of Bologna is founded; Abelard teaches at Paris; we pass from the *Cur Deus Homo* to the *Sic et Non*. In Abelard there is much to remind us of al-Ghazzālī—his keen questioning and sceptical mind; but there is more in his great opponent, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, with his faith, his yearnings upward, and his raptures. If we can conceive of an Abelard developing into a Bernard, we have the life of al-Ghazzālī. Such was the Europe of which the Muslim knew nothing; he could have known Christendom only under shield on the plains of Syria.

449. Abū-l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī d.

450. *Al-Ghazzālī born at Ṭūs*: al-Qā'im being Khalīfa; Tughril Beg, Great Seljuq; al-Mustanṣir, Fāṭimid Khalīfa. Abū-ṭ-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī d. al-Māwardī d.

452. Abū Isḥāq ash-Shīrāzī d.

Exile of Imām al-Ḥaramayn at Mecca; lasted till 456.

455 (*5*).

[458. Battle of Hastings, A.D. 1066.]

460 (*10*).

465 (*15*). 465–485. Mālik Shāh, Great Seljuq; al-Qushayrī d.; al-Jawālīqī d. *Al-Gh. at Ṭūs, Jurjān, Ṭūs, Naysābūr till* 478.

467. Al-Muqtadī Khalīfa.

[Submission to Pope at Canossa, A.D. 1076.]

Investigation of theological differences began when he was under 20; *broke with* taqlīd *from earliest youth.*

470 (*20*).

[Berengerius and Lanfranc.]

475 (*25*).

477. Al-Fārmadī, pupil of al-Qushayrī and teacher of al-Gh. in Ṣūfīism, d.

478. Imām al-Ḥaramayn d. Rab. ii; *al-Gh. goes to attend Niẓām al-Mulk.* [Hildebrand d. A.D. 1085.]

479. Battle of az-Zalāqa in Spain.

480 (*30*). 480–500. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn al-Murābiṭ.
481. Nāṣir b. Khusrū d.
Scepticism ?
Studied theology ?
483. Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ seizes Alamūt.
[Malta taken by the Normans, A.D. 1091.]
484. *Appointed to teach in Madrasa at Baghdād. Almost three years studying philosophy; beginning* 483 *to beginning* 487 ?

485 (*35*). Niẓām al-Mulk assassinated Ramaḍān 10. Thirty-five days thereafter Mālik Shāh assassinated.
487. Al-Mustaẓhir Khalīfa Muḥ. 15; Bargiyāruq Great Seljuq; al-Musta'lī Fāṭimid Khalīfa; *al-Gh. studied Ta'līmites and wrote the Mustaẓhirī*; al-Bakrī, the geographer, d.
488. *Left Baghdād in Dhū-l-Qa'da after delay of six months, i.e. from Rajab.*
In Syria almost two years, i.e. to end of 490; *Damascus, Jerusalem, Hebron, Mecca, Medina.*

490 (*40*). Sinjar Governor of Khurāsān for his brother Bargiyāruq; Abū-l-Fatḥ Naṣr al-Maqdisī d.
491. Capture of Antioch by Crusaders; Jerusalem taken by Fāṭimids from Seljuqs.
492. Sha'bān, capture of Jerusalem by Crusaders.
[Death of the Cid, A.D. 1099.]

495 (*45*). *Ten years passed in retreat at different places; wrote* Iḥyā *and other books; was preacher at Baghdād and taught* Iḥyā; al-Āmir Fāṭimid Khalīfa.
498. Bargiyāruq d. Rab. ii.
499. *Al-Gh. returns to active life at Naysābūr in Dhū-l-Qa'da.*

500 (*50*). 500–537. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Murābiṭ; Fakhr al-Mulk assassinated, Muḥ. 10; al-Khawāfī d.; *al-Gh. writes* Munqidh *after* 500.
[University of Bologna ?]
[Anselm d. A.D. 1109.]
504. Al-Kiyā d.

505 (*55*). *Al-Gh. d. Monday*, 14 *Jumādā II.*
507. Abū Bakr ash-Shāshī d.
[Abelard at Paris, A.D. 1115.]
510. Ash-Shāhrastānī in Baghdād.
511–552. Sinjar Great Seljuq.
512. Al-Mustarshid Khalīfa.
[Order of Knights of the Temple founded, A.D. 1118.]
515. 'Umar al-Khayyām d.; aṭ-Ṭughrā'ī d.
516. Al-Ḥarīrī d.; al-Baghawī d.
518. Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ d.; al-Maydānī d.
520. Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī d.; aṭ-Ṭarṭūshī d.
524. Al-Ḥāfiẓ Fāṭimid Khalīfa; Ibn Tūmart d.
525. [Bernard of Clairvaux flourished.]
528. Ash-Shāhrastānī d.
529. Ar-Rāshid Khalīfa; 'Abd al-Ghāfir d.
530. Al-Muqtafī Khalīfa.
533. As-Salmī d.
538. Az-Zamakhsharī d.

APPENDIX II.

The Name al-Ghazzālī.

The name is at present usually written in the East, al-Ghazzālī; but since the publication of Ibn Khallikān's biographical dictionary, in which (vol. i, p. 80, of de Slane's translation) it seems to be asserted that Ibn as-Sam'ānī in his *Ansāb* wrote al-Ghazālī, Western Arabists have inclined to follow his authority. Added to this there was other evidence, stray references, notes on the margin of manuscripts, and the like; see Flügel in ZDMG., xvi, 691; Fleischer's notes in *Cat. codd. MSS. orr. bibl. reg. Dresd.*, p. 94, and *Cat. libb. MSS. bibl. sen. Lips.*, p. 366. The publication of the *Tāj al-'Arūs* by the Sayyid Murtaḍà, and of his commentary on

the *Iḥyā*, has, however, added much to the evidence, and somewhat changed its bearing.

In the *Tāj* (vol. viii, p. 44, ll. 19 ff.) the SM. writes:—"Ghazāla is one of the villages of Ṭūs, it is said. And to it is referred the *nisba* of the Imām Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, according to an-Nawawī's statement in the *Tibyān*. But Ibn al-Athīr said that the form with *takhfīf* is not the known form, and he approved of *tashdīd* in it. And it is referred as a *nisba* to *ghazzāl*, a seller of spun yarn; or it is related to *al-ghazzāl* according to the usage of the people of Khwārizm and Jurjān, as *al-'aṣṣārī* is related to *al-'aṣṣār*. As-Subkī and Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Shuhba spread that view."

Here there is no mention of Ibn as-Sam'ānī. An-Nawawī (d. 676) spells with one *z*, and refers to this asserted village. Ibn al-Athīr ('Izz ad-Dīn, the author of the *Lubāb*, the basis of as-Suyūṭī's *Lubb al-lubāb*, d. 630), on the other hand, prefers *tashdīd*. Then Ibn as-Subkī (the author of the *Ṭabaqāt*, d. 771), Ibn Khallikān (d. 681), and Ibn Shuhba (Taqī ad-Dīn Abū Bakr, d. 850) spread the view that *ghazzālī* was to be explained by the custom of the people of Khwārizm and Jurjān to use the measure *fa"ālī* instead of *fa"āl*. Evidently in the SM.'s copy of Ibn Khallikān there was no mention of as-Sam'ānī; it is only in the autograph manuscript, and there as a marginal note.

In the introduction to the commentary on the *Iḥyā* (vol. i, p. 18) there is a section on this *nisba*:—"The author of the *Tuḥfa al-Irshād* says, deriving from an-Nawawī in the *Daqā'iq ar-Rawḍa*, '*Tashdīd* in al-Ghazzālī is the known form which Ibn al-Athīr mentioned, but it has reached us that he (i.e. an-Nawawī) said that it was a *nisba* to Ghazāla with *takhfīf*, one of the villages of Ṭūs.' I (the SM.) say that so an-Nawawī mentions it also in the *Tibyān*. And adh-Dhahabī (d. 748) said in the *'Ibar*, and Ibn Khallikān in the *Ta'rīkh*, that it was a custom of the people of Khwārizm and Jurjān to say *al-qaṣṣārī* and *al-ḥabbārī* with *ya* in both; so they referred the *nisba* to *ghazl*, and said *al-ghazzālī*, and like that is *ash-shaḥḥāmī*. Ibn as-Sam'ānī (d. 562) also pointed

to that and denied the *takhfīf*, and said, 'I asked the people of Ṭūs concerning this village and they denied its existence; the addition of the *ya*, they said, was for strengthening.' And according to the annotation of some of our shaykhs it is to distinguish between a *nisba* referring to the trade itself and a *nisba* referring to someone whose trade it was. This is plain in the case of al-Ghazzālī, for he was not of those who span wool and sold it; that was only the trade of his father and grandfather. But in the *Miṣbāḥ* (finished 734) of al-Fayyūmī is a statement that defends *takhfīf* and involves that Ghazāla is a village in Ṭūs, and that the *nisba* of the Imām Abū Ḥāmid refers to it. He says, 'That was related to me by the shaykh Majd ad-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Abī-ṭ-Ṭāhir Sharwānshān b. Abī-l-Faḍā'il Fakhrāwar b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Sitt al-Munā (?) bint Abī Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī at Baghdād in the year 710. He said to me, "The people have erred in writing our ancestor's name with *tashdīd*; it is *mukhaffaf* only."' And ash-Shihāb al-Khafājī said at the end of the *sharḥ* on the *Shifā*, 'It is said that the *nisba* refers to Ghazāla, daughter of Ka'b al-Aḥbār.' If this is sound there is no escaping it. But the opinion generally depended upon now among the later writers of history and the genealogists is that Ibn al-Athīr is in the right, i.e. that it is with *tashdīd*."

At last the question was settled as questions are apt to be settled in Islām. Al-Aydarūs, a shaykh of the SM., drew attention to the fact that the Prophet, seen in a dream, had pronounced the name with double *z*. The SM. only alludes to this story here, but in the tractate of al-Aydarūs referred to elsewhere (*Life*, p. 109) it is given on the margin of SM., i, p. 29. It was the shaykh Abū-l-Ḥasan ash-Shādhilī[1] who saw the Prophet boasting of al-Ghazzālī to Mūsà and 'Īsà, and asking them if there was his like as a doctor in their flocks. After that there could be no more doubt; compare the story of the head of al-Ḥusayn given by Lane in *The Modern Egyptians* (chap. ix) and Lane's remark.

[1] D. 656: ZDMG., vii, 13 ff.; lii, 557, note. He was a native of Shādhila in North Africa, and founded the Shādhilīya order of darwīshes.

Here the oldest evidence is that of as-Sam'ānī, who also knew the ground at first-hand. It is evident that in his time the two forms were current, and that the two explanations were: (1) that it was from *ghazl* on the measure *fa"ālī* used by the people of Khwārizm and Jurjān for *fa"āl*; and (2) that it was from Ghazāla, a village of Ṭūs. As-Sam'ānī, however, working on the spot, could find no trace or recollection of such a village; and it should be remembered that he died only fifty-seven years after al-Ghazzālī. Nor can I find in the geographers the slightest reference to such a Ghazāla. It is true that Ṭūs consisted of a complex of villages, and that the name of one might have been little prominent; but still it could hardly have escaped as-Sam'ānī's researches. But that it referred to this village, Ghazāla, was also the tradition in the family of Abū Ḥāmid. This is a very important fact and is unexceptionally vouched for. Further, we have seen that the grand-uncle was also known under the same *nisba*. Is it possible that the *nisba* to a village Ghazāla was introduced into the family several generations back and continued in use after the village had disappeared, and that the origin of the *nisba* was forgotten except by those best informed? Then people may have begun to pronounce the name with *tashdīd*, and explain it as a case of the measure *fa"ālī* for *fa"āl*. In any case it is to be noticed that while as-Sam'ānī shows that the pronunciation with one *z* existed in his day, he cannot be quoted as approving of it. In Ibn Khallikān the passage which is supposed to involve that is a marginal insertion in the autograph, and runs literally: *lakinna hādha qālahu-s-Sam'ānīyu fi kitābi-l-ansāb wa-llāhu a'lam*; apparently it has been inserted in the wrong place.

But the question is again complicated by the fact that there are several others with the same *nisba* as our family of Ṭūs. The SM. says (i, p. 19) that it was the general opinion that there were no others, but that he had himself found two and then a third. One of them was 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāhid, the faqīh, Abū-l-Manṣūr al-Ghazzālī. He studied *Fiqh* with al-Kiyā, and traditions

are handed down from him by the ḥāfiẓ Abū-ṭ-Ṭāhir as-Salafī. He died 513. The second was 'Alī b. Ma'ṣūm b. Abī Dharr Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Ghazzālī. He was a Maghribite and a Shāfi'ite, was born in 496, and died in Isfarāīn in 555. The third was of later date, al-'Alā 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī, the author of the *Mīzān al-istiqāma li-ahli-l-qurb wal-karāma*. He died 721. Further, I find that some have alleged the existence of a Maḥmūd al-Ghazzālī, a Mu'tazilite, who was author of the *Manḫūl* instead of Abū Ḥāmid; this, because of the railing accusations brought against Abū Ḥanīfa in the *Manḫūl*.[1] It seems hard to believe that all these sprang from this vanished village of Ṭūs.

Such are the facts so far as I can find them, but they do not guide me to any certain result. I have, therefore, used the form al-Ghazzālī as that which eventually won its way to universal acceptance in the East.

[1] *Al-khayrāt al-ḥisān fī manāqib al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa*, by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, p. 4 of ed. of Cairo, 1304. See also *Life*, p. 106.

ANALYSIS.

Title of Book. Ascription of praise to God as the enchainer of the hearts of His Saints and Blessing on Muḥammad. Statement that Music and Singing are a means of eliciting what is truly present in the heart; under their influence the heart reveals itself and what it contains. This book will be in two chapters—(I) The lawfulness of listening to Music and Singing, and (II) Their laws and effects on the heart and body (pp. 198–200).[1]

Chapter I.

§ 1 (pp. 200–207).

Statements of the learned opining that such listening is unlawful (pp. 200–202), and, on the contrary, that it is lawful (pp. 202–207). But these openly contradict one another. It is plain that thus, through attaching ourselves to authority, we can get no certainty. We must examine, rather, the legal sources of prohibition and permission (p. 207).

§ 2 (pp. 207–244).

A proof that listening to Music and Singing is allowable. A proof that it is unlawful must base on statute, i.e. what Muḥammad said or did, or on analogy from statute. But it will be shown that no such statute or analogy exists, and that statute and analogy rather indicate allowableness (pp. 207–208).

Listening to Music and Singing is hearing a sound, pleasant, measured, with a meaning, moving the heart. But hearing a pleasant sound is not unlawful (pp. 208–210);

[1] Up to the middle of p. 27 the page references are to this Journal for 1901.

nor is it if measure be added (pp. 210–211). Yet certain instruments are expressly excepted by statute because they have been associated with drinking customs. So, too, if anyone especially connects Singing and Music with drinking, and is through them led astray, listening is unlawful for him. Thus a distinction is to be made between some musical instruments and others; and those that are forbidden are not forbidden because they give pleasure but because of association (pp. 211–215). Nor can the addition of a meaning to the pleasing, measured sound make it unlawful, always presupposing that the meaning itself is lawful (p. 215). There are many traditions that the Prophet listened to poetry (pp. 215–217). Strange effect on the mind of simple Music apart from words bearing a meaning (p. 218); story of camels (pp. 219 f.). Nature of impression varies with circumstances and persons. Seven purposes for which Singing can be used—(1) To incite to pilgrimage (p. 220). But it is not lawful to incite to go on pilgrimage those for whom pilgrimage is unlawful (p. 221). (2) To urge to warfare under the same conditions of lawfulness (pp. 221–222). (3) To excite courage on the day of battle (p. 222). (4) To rouse to lamentation or sorrow, blameworthy or praiseworthy according to the sorrow (pp. 222–223). (5) To arouse joy. Many traditions that the Prophet regarded that as allowable (pp. 223–228). (6) To arouse love and longing—conditions when Music and Singing for this purpose are allowable (pp. 228–229). (7) To arouse the love of God. Then are aroused States, i.e. Revelations and Caressings, unknowable except by experience. These bring after them further Visions, but how that happens is the secret of God (pp. 229–230). How love and passionate love (*'ishq*) can be felt for God. How great is His perfection and how great should be the passion for Him! The love of God the only true love, and the term 'passion' only applicable to Him (pp. 231–234).

In what cases is listening to Music and Singing unlawful? Five cases: (1) If the producer of Music be a woman under certain conditions (pp. 235–236). (2) The instruments

used: some are expressly prohibited (p. 237). (3) The content of what is sung: is satire allowable? is love-poetry allowable? (pp. 237–238). How the heart applies the expressions heard to God and to intercourse with Him: examples (pp. 238–239). To him who loves God and can thus apply what he hears, listening to Music and Singing is recommended (p. 239). (4) If lust have control over the listener, listening is unlawful for him (pp. 239–240). (5) If anyone love listening to Music for its own sake and give too much time to it, that is unlawful for him. For its own sake it is allowable only as a recreation (pp. 240–241). Thus Music and Singing are generally lawful, but unlawful under certain conditions (pp. 241–242). The school of ash-Shāfi'ī does not pronounce them unlawful; it only pronounces professionalism unlawful (pp. 242–244).

§ 3 (pp. 244–252).

The arguments of those who pronounce against Music and Singing and the answer to them. Passages from the Qur'ān and tradition so alleged and their true explanation (pp. 244–250). A general defence of play as a rest and recreation (pp. 251–252).

Chapter II.

Effects of Music and Singing and Laws of Polite Conduct with regard to them. There are three stages: understanding what is heard and applying it; ecstasy; movements of members of the body (p. 705). Stage I. Understanding and applying (pp. 705–718). (1) Simple physical hearing as that of an animal is allowable (p. 705). (2) Hearing and applying to the form of a creature, unallowable (p. 705). (3) Hearing of the *Murīd*. He, especially as a beginner, hears and tries to get experiential knowledge of God in his hearing. He takes over and applies to his intercourse with God the expressions which he hears without considering what the poet had meant (pp. 706–707). Examples of this

and of the ecstasy that it excites (pp. 707–709). To do this safely he must know well the law of the knowledge of God. Otherwise he is in danger of ascribing things to God which are impossible and of being an unbeliever (pp. 709–710). Some in hearing Music and Singing go so far as to blame God for His distribution of ecstasy and His treatment of creatures in His predestining them; this is a great danger (pp. 710–712). Listeners vary in their understanding of the same verses, and all the ways of understanding them may be equally right: examples (pp. 712–715). Hearing on the part of him who is oblivious to himself and only conscious of God. Description of his state. Only comes in flashes; its consequences sometimes death from the agitation involved (pp. 715–717). This is the highest degree. The nature of the heart in the spiritual sense and how it perceives. From this degree develop the errors of Pantheistic Ṣūfīs and Trinitarians (p. 718). Stage II. Ecstasy (pp. 719–748). Its nature as given in various sayings of the Ṣūfīs (pp. 719–721), also in statements of philosophers (pp. 721–722). An attempt at a definition of ecstasy as the result produced in the soul by hearing Music and Singing. It may be by way either of knowledge or of feeling. If it expresses itself outwardly it is ecstasy, and varies in force in itself and in proportion to the self-control of him who is hearing (pp. 722–723). It produces purity of heart and alacrity. How truth may be communicated to a pure heart—by a Hātif, by dreams, by al-Khaḍir, by angels to prophets (pp. 723–725). Insight produced by this purity of heart: anecdotes (pp. 725–727). The result of ecstasy divides into what can be expressed in language and what can not. This is not strange: we all know ideas and states of feeling which we cannot express in words—especially the feelings excited by instrumental music (pp. 728 - 730). The difference between ecstasy and the affecting of ecstasy. The latter blameworthy or praiseworthy (p. 730). The path to ecstasy lies often through effort and application (p. 731), or by companionship (p. 732). But why should poetry be used to excite

ecstasy and not the Qur'ān? (p. 732). The Qur'ān does excite it: examples (pp. 733–737). But Singing is more powerful for seven reasons (p. 738):—(1) All verses of the Qur'ān do not suit the state of the listener, e.g. legislative verses. Some can be affected by such verses, but that is rare (pp. 738–740). (2) The Qur'ān is known too well, and what is heard for the first time makes a heavier impression (pp. 740–741). (3) Poetry has the advantage of measure (pp. 741–742). (4) The Qur'ān must be recited simply and distinctly without varying to make measure, etc. (p. 742). (5) It is unallowable to accompany the Qur'ān with instrumental music: in other ways also the Qur'ān has to be guarded against profanation (pp. 742–744). (6) If the sense of a verse of the Qur'ān does not fit the hearer, he must either pervert its sense or reject it—both are sins (pp. 744–745). (7) The Qur'ān is the uncreated word of God, and has no link of connection with humanity; therefore poetry makes a stronger impression on the sensuous nature. Thus poetry affects men when the Qur'ān cannot. It is in accord with our human nature, and the Qur'ān is not. Therefore men can write poetry, but cannot produce another Qur'ān. It is a miracle (pp. 745–748). Stage III. What shows itself externally of ecstasy and of the laws of good conduct in ecstasy (pp. 1–13). The laws are five:—(1) Regard for time, place, and company (pp. 1–2). (2) The Shaykh should not hear in presence of *Murīds* whom it hurts (p. 2). These are of three classes: (*a*) Those who attain to external works only. (*b*) Those who have still some passions and lusts. (*c*) Those who are ignorant of theology and therefore apply wrongly (pp. 2–3). (3) Attention to what the speaker says and avoidance of distraction (p. 3). The hearer should put pressure on himself and only give way to ecstasy when he cannot help it (p. 4). Lack of external ecstasy may be weakness of ecstasy, but may also be strength on the part of the hearer: examples of such self-restraint. He who is always beholding God does not yield to external ecstasy (pp. 5–7). Why do those who are thus perfect attend assemblies to listen

to Music and Singing? In order to give an example and encouragement to others (pp. 7–8). (4) Not to rise and weep if restraint is possible. Yet if that will increase the emotion it is allowable: traditions in example (pp. 8–9). Garment-tearing only allowable when self-restraint is lost (p. 9). The tearing of new garments after ecstasy and distribution of the pieces only allowable when the pieces may be useful (p. 10). (5) If one rises or throws off his garment or his turban, the others should aid him in a spirit of comradeship and courtesy. Yet that, like all social usages, depends on the usage of the country (pp. 10–11). No one should dance whose dancing is sluggish and inert (p. 11). The test of the genuineness of ecstasy is its acceptance by the hearts of the onlookers (p. 12). The suitableness of dancing generally depends on circumstances and the dancer. An allowable thing to one man may not be allowable to another. Legally, dancing is not forbidden (pp. 12–13).

Recapitulation: Listening to Music and Singing is sometimes forbidden, sometimes disliked, sometimes loved. All depends on him who listens (p. 13).

Art. II.—*The Great Stūpa at Sāñchi-Kānākheḍā.* By Jas. Burgess, LL.D., C.I.E.

Among the ancient monuments of India, few are of more interest than the tōps or stūpas at Sāñchi-Kānākheḍā, about 5½ miles south-west from Bhelsā or Bhilsā, in the Gwāliar territory, and some 20 miles north-east of the capital of the Bhopāl State. There is now a railway station close to the spot, and most of the trains stop there. The various notices of the remains here are scattered in numerous publications, and some notice of them may perhaps be usefully combined with the history of the stūpas since their discovery.

The larger stūpa consisted of a hemispherical dome, about 110 feet in diameter at the ground level, against which was built a sort of ramp or berm, 14 or 15 feet high, about 5½ feet broad on the top, and sloping out at the base, making the total diameter about 121½ feet. On the top of the dome was a flat area 34 feet in diameter, surrounded by a stone railing, and having a square capital or shrine in the centre.[2] The height of this platform is differently given by Generals Cunningham and Maisey — both on somewhat theoretical grounds rather than from actual measurements: the first gave 56 feet and the second 53½; it is, perhaps, even somewhat less in height.[3] The base of the stūpa is ascended by a stair on the south side, and the whole is surrounded by a massive stone rail 11 feet high. This is nearly circular, but on the

[1] Lat. 23° 28′ N. and long. 77° 48′ E., in the Diwānganj subdivision of the Bhopāl State.

[2] Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 184.

[3] Cunningham's statement (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 186) that the whole structure must have been upwards of 100 feet in height, was an error: his restored elevation measures only 77½ feet, and General Maisey's 72 feet. Cf. *Sanchi and its Remains*, p. 6.

south side the stair demanded a slight extension of the curve. General Cunningham made the outside diameter of the rail 144½ feet from east to west and 151½ from north to south, or a difference of 7 feet;[1] but as the stair is only about 4¼ feet wide at the bottom, and the ramp is narrowed on the south side, as is also the passage on the ground level, this amount can hardly be accounted for. Mr. H. Cousens last year made a careful re-measurement, with the result that the diameter of the dome at the top of the berm was found to be about 106 feet—perhaps a very little more from north to south, and less from east to west; but, owing to the irregularities of curvature in the restorations made about 1881, it is difficult to determine this with precision. The height of the terrace Mr. Cousens reports as 15 ft. 4 in. If the stūpa was originally hemispherical, his measurements give a radius of 55 ft. 2 in.[2] and a height of 52 ft. 6 in., with a measurement over the top of 141 ft. 8 in. Of the rail, the diameter from north to south measures 146½ feet, and from east to west 143 feet, and these measurements, if not absolutely correct, must be within a few inches of the truth.

Outside, to the north and south, stood monolithic pillars or *lāṭs*, probably set up by Aśoka—for one of them at least bore one of his inscriptions—and a line connecting them would pass within less than 6 feet of the centre of the stūpa, and would be on the meridian. When the gates came to be added, then—to avoid the south pillar (the north one was farther off)—it was necessary to put the entrance on that side a little to the west, and the northern one as much to the east of the cardinal points.[3] These gateways or *toraṇas* are richly covered with sculpture and probably date from the second

[1] *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 186.

[2] This gives an average diameter at the top of the ramp of 106 ft. 1 in. It may be noted that the older Nepāl chaityas are mostly hemispherical: Wright, *Hist. of Nepāl*, pls. iv, ix, x, and xi. Cf. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipāl*, vol. ii, p. 206; and *Notes on the Bauddha Rock-temples of Ajanta* (Bombay, 1879), p. 103. A stūpa excavated by Mr. Caddy in Swāt, in 1896, was also hemispherical.

[3] A smaller monolith, 15 ft. 2 in. high, stood on the south of the east gateway, and was still entire in 1852 or later. It seems to have disappeared by 1882. See Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, p. 73, and pl. xxxiii, fig. 2; Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 199 and pl. vii.

century B.C., when it is believed the south and north *toraṇ*
were executed, and the other two followed at no very lo
interval.

The second stūpa stands at a slightly lower level abou
400 yards W.N.W. of the first. Its dome was 39 feet i
diameter, and, like the larger one, it had a platform on th
top, according to Captain Fell, 19 feet in diameter, whic
must have been railed round and enclosed the capital. Th
basement was 6 feet high and projected about 5¼ feet. I
was surrounded also by a stone rail with four entrances
but, so far as we know, without *toraṇas*. There are som
rather archaic-like sculptures on the pillars of the rail, b
the larger stūpa has so engrossed attention that no no
has been taken of them, though they may have an impor
bearing on the relative ages of the monuments.

The gateways of the great stūpa stand forward from
rail, which is returned outwards to the back of the rig
hand pillars or jambs; and from behind the left-hand pill
a rail is carried about 8½ feet to the left, that is, the widt
of two interspaces with supporting uprights, and is the
returned to the circular rail. This gives an area of abou
16 feet by 8½ inside each gateway, and on entering the porta
one turns to the left, as the entry through the great rail is
not opposite the *toraṇa*.

Facing each entrance and resting against the basement
wall were large figures of Buddha, under carved canopies,
which are now quite destroyed. The southern statue only
was a standing figure with a large nimbus behind the head,
on which were two flying Gandharvas. To the right and
left were two attendants of smaller size, that on the left
with the curly hair of a Buddha and a long staff, with
a small elephant in front of the other.[1] This seems to have
been changed in 1881, and is an unfortunate interference
which, if unnoticed, may lead to a serious mistake, for t
south is the position of the Dhyāni Buddha Ratnas
who is represented by Kāśyapa Buddha. It i

[1] See Maisey's *Sanchi*, p. 14, and

ss-legged figure, the head of which has been broken off, t is set over the bust.[1] The others may also have been tered, for Cunningham describes the northern figure in rms which apply to that now on the east; and Maisey's ccount would agree with this latter position. This east gure is seated with the hands in the *Dhyāni mudrā*—in the p, with the palms turned up, the robe over both houlders, with two attendant *chauri* bearers, and a large ecorated halo or nimbus having a flying Gandharva on each ide. It may be Akshobhya or his mortal representative, Kanakamuni. Colonel Maisey's account of the northern ure, which was still in its place in 1851, whilst the others been disturbed, differs from Cunningham's; and the ner represents the head, which had been broken off, as ing a high *mukuṭa* or crown, on the front of which was eated Buddha:[2] this would seem to point to the Bodhisattva dmapāni, who is associated with Amitābha of the western avens. We should rather expect Maitreya in the north. he western figure was also seated, but the head was entirely one in Maisey's time. Could he have mistaken the head elonging to this for that of the northern figure?—then the rrangement of the "four Buddhas" would be that still received in northern Buddhism.[3] The arrangement suggested by General Cunningham is very improbable.

From the cast of the eastern *toraṇa* now in our Museums, we find that the side pillars, including the capitals, are 17 ft. 3 in. high by 2 ft. 5½ in. square, and 6 ft. 11 in. apart, while the three architraves measure 10 ft. 11 in. in height,

[1] It is possible that the figure that stood here fifty years ago was not the original; a seated figure probably occupied the place in A.D. 450, when "the four seated Buddhas" are mentioned (Fleet, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 262); but is this now the original, or was it the figure of which the head with a large nimbus is now in a cell on the terrace?

[2] Maisey's *Sanchi*, p. 6, and pl. xv, 10; Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 191 f.

[3] In almost all chaityas or stūpas, seated figures of the Dhyāni Buddhas are d in niches round the base of the dome or *garbha*, facing the cardinal points. a occupies the niche on the eastern face, Ratnasambhava is on the itābha is on the western, and Amoghasiddha on the northern face. is the centre of the *garbha*; but he is often placed on the east ose to the right side of Amitābha. Cf. *Buddhist Art*, uddha *Rock-temples at Ajanta*, pp. 98, 99; Oldfield's 214.

or the whole height to the top of the third architrave is 28 ft. 5 in.; the ornaments above rise 4½ feet over the architrave. The northern gateway is 6 ft. 11¾ in. wide; its jambs 2 ft. 3 in. square and about 18½ feet high, 28 ft. 6½ in. to the top of the third architrave, and 33 ft. 11½ in. to the highest point. The west gate pillars were 16 ft. 2 in. high and 2 ft. 4½ in. square; but since re-erection, the height to the lower side of the first architrave is 17 ft. 1½ in., to the top of the third 27 ft. 8 in., and to the highest point 28 ft. 1 in. And the re-erected south gate pillars are 1 ft. 9 in. square, and its total height 27 ft. 11 in.[1]

The smaller *toraṇa* which formed the entrance to the third stūpa is 5 ft. 3½ in. wide, with pillars 1 ft. 4 in. square and 9 ft. 7½ in. high, and its entire height 16 ft. 5 in.

Probably the first British officer to visit these monuments was General Taylor, of the Bengal Cavalry, who was encamped near them during the campaign against the Pindhāris in 1818. Three of the gateways of the great stūpa were then standing, and the southern one was lying much in the condition in which it continued for fully sixty years afterwards. The great dome was then untouched, and a great part of the railing round the capital (*gala* or *hti*) upon it was still *in situ*. The second stūpa was also untouched, and the third, with the gateway on its south side, was apparently in good preservation. There were remains of eight minor stūpas, besides other buildings within 180 yards of the second, but of their then condition there is no record; they may have been ruinous from age, but most of them would otherwise probably have been undisturbed.

The next visitor seems to have been Dr. Yeld, and a sketch-plan, drawn to scale, and signed "Roebuck, 1819," fell into Mr. James Prinsep's hands long afterwards, which was accompanied by marginal notes and directions, as if for some one to visit the spot.[2] This may have been prepared

[1] These measurements have mostly been supplied by Mr. Cousens.
[2] *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. iii, p. 489.

for Captain E. Fell, who wrote the first account of the place early in 1819, and published it in Buckingham's *Calcutta Journal*, 11th July. His account was reprinted by Prinsep in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in October, 1834.[1] The two principal stūpas, at least, were then quite entire.[2]

In 1822, when Mr. Herbert Maddock was Political Agent at Bhopāl, he obtained permission from the native Government to dig into these venerable monuments — it has been supposed for treasure—and in December of that year Dr. Spilsbury found that Captain Johnson, the Agent's assistant, had completely opened the larger one from the top to what he believed the bottom of the foundation, and found the whole solid brickwork without any appearance of recess or open space within it.[3] The second and smaller stūpa, previously in perfect repair, was also half destroyed by the same bungling amateur antiquaries or searchers for coins in their blundering excavations; and they probably also completed the ruin of the other minor monuments previously unnoticed by the few visitors.[4] Similar destructive work has been too often repeated since in India, and even with Government permission. Structures have been demolished in search of relic caskets and the like; and it has been quite forgotten that scientific excavation is an art requiring specially skilled experience.

This careless search did immense damage to the structures of at least the three larger stūpas, and hastened the dilapidation of their enclosures, while no discovery helped to compensate in any way for the wanton destruction. The west gateway was apparently much shaken, and fell some years afterwards, though the date is uncertain.

Our next notice is of two inscriptions from Sāñchi, copied by the indefatigable Brian H. Hodgson in 1824, probably when he left Calcutta in that year to return to Nepāl.

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 490–494.
[2] Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 185, 275.
[3] *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. iv, p. 712.
[4] *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. xvi, p. 746; *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 183, 269, 285.

These he sent to Jas. Prinsep in 1834. In 1835 we find Dr. Spilsbury sending to Prinsep a native drawing, purporting to be from one of the sculptures on the gates,[1] and urging that it would be well worth an amateur's while to take copies of the compartments, "the sculpture of which is like nothing you see in India." In this desire Prinsep heartily joined, and was so far gratified in 1837 by Captain Edw. Smith, who copied and sent him twenty-five of the epigraphs, while Captain W. Murray supplied him with a number of drawings, of which he was only able to reproduce that of the large stūpa from the east, a portion of the lower architrave of the south gateway, and some details.[2]

Fergusson's *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindostan* was published in 1847, in which, while expressing his regret that he had not visited Sāñchi in his tours, he gave a short notice of the stūpas (pp. 21, 22) drawn from the information then available, and illustrated by a drawing of the east gateway, by an unknown artist—but really more beautiful than faithful.

The same year, Captain Joseph D. Cunningham, R.E., then Political Agent at Bhopāl, submitted to the Bengal Asiatic Society a paper on the antiquities of the districts within his agency, in which a considerable section was devoted to these stūpas, with two plates and measurements.[3] And two years later, Lieut. Fred. C. Maisey, who was employed under the Government of India in special archæological work in the Upper Betwā districts of Central India,[4] was called to Sāñchi, having been, at the agent's suggestion, directed to suspend his other work and proceed to prepare an illustrated report on the stūpas, their sculptures and

[1] *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. iii, pp. 411, 481 f., 488, and pl. xxvii. This drawing, at first sight, might suggest such a sculpture as that on the middle architrave of the south gateway, but a comparison at once shows that in every detail the representation is imaginary.

[2] *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. vi, pp. 451 f.

[3] *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. xvi, pp. 739–763.

[4] In 1847 Lieut. Maisey had submitted an illustrated report on the antiquities of Kālinjar, which was subsequently printed, with eighteen plates, in the *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. xvii, pp. 171–201; and see Maisey's *Sanchi and its Remains*.

inscriptions. He spent the cold seasons of 1849–50 and 1850–51 at Sāñchi, measuring and preparing a series of careful drawings of the sculptures on the gateways. Passing through Gwāliar on his return to the work, in October, 1850, he met Major (afterwards General Sir) Alexander Cunningham, who, being anxious to examine the stūpas, arranged to visit Sāñchi while on his official tour as executive engineer in the neighbouring districts of the Gwāliar state. He accordingly reached Captain Maisey's camp on 23rd January, 1851, and remained for seven weeks.

Together, they at once began excavations on the remains of the third stūpa which had been wrecked in 1822, and of which the *toraṇa* or gateway on its south side is still left. Here they found two stone boxes inscribed respectively with the names of *Sāriputasa* and *Mahāmogalānasa*, and containing steatite relic-caskets.[1] On sinking a shaft into the second stūpa an inscribed stone box was also found, containing four small steatite caskets inscribed with the names of Bauddha teachers—*Majhima*, *Kodiniputa*, etc.

Into the centre of the great stūpa a shaft was also sunk to the ground level, but no relic was found.

It was then arranged that Captain Maisey should prepare a supplementary report on these finds and the inscriptions. In October, 1851, he sent in his account of the structures and their sculptures; and in March following he was sent to Burma on active service for over two years, so that it was not till October, 1854, that he was able to complete the last of his drawings. Meanwhile Major Cunningham had written and published his volume on *The Bhilsa Topes*, which superseded the supplementary report that Captain Maisey was to have prepared.[2] This work deals chiefly with the *trouvailles* and inscriptions, and contains a few other plates representing some of the sculptures—one by Major (afterwards Sir Henry)

[1] *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 297. Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana are known as the right- and left-hand *sthaviras* of Gautama Buddha. They died before their master, and in Ceylon and Siam are usually represented standing by his side.—*Buddhist Art in India* (Engl. vers.), pp. 182, 211.

[2] Maisey: *Sanchi and its Remains*, p. 1.

Durand, who had made careful drawings of various sculptures in 1850–1853, and others copied from Maisey's, etc. The descriptive matter is preceded by a history of Buddhism in India, which occupies half the volume and is now out of date; and most of the inscriptions, with subsequent additions, have been since re-translated by Professor Bühler. General Cunningham's only further contribution on this subject was a collection of transcriptions of short donative inscriptions made in 1875 and 1877, chiefly from the small rail that had surrounded the terrace on the dome, together with some architectural details.[1]

The expense of reproducing Colonel Maisey's excellent drawings caused the Court of Directors to hesitate as to the publication of his work, and the appearance of Colonel Cunningham's volume was perhaps thought to render its non-appearance of less importance.

For the next dozen years the drawings lay unnoticed, until towards the close of 1866, when the late Mr. Jas. Fergusson was asked to assist the India Office in the illustration of Indian Architecture for the Paris Exposition. Colonel Maisey's drawings were in the Library, and together with Colonel (now Major-General) J. Waterhouse's photographs of the stūpa, taken in 1862, they were committed to him, along with materials relating to the Amarāvati Stūpa, and the whole were utilized in his work entitled *Tree and Serpent Worship*, first issued in 1868. This important volume illustrative of Bauddha art and mythology helped greatly to create an interest in ancient Indian art, and was issued in a second and revised edition in 1873, which was also soon disposed of. The first half of the volume was mainly devoted to Sāñchi, and was the first serious attempt to explain the sculptures, and to call attention to their character, merits, and interest. The attempted explanations may not have been always satisfactory, but they indicated the lines in which such might be found, and so stimulated the research and examination that lead to discovery. It is to be borne in

[1] *Rep. Arch. Surv. India*, vol. x, pp. 55–65, and pls. xx–xxii.

mind also, that Mr. Fergusson had only the drawings of those sculptures which Colonel Maisey had copied; they did not represent the consecutive series of sculptures even on one gateway, and it has since been noticed that different scenes of the same legend are depicted on adjoining panels. To read the scenes aright we need the whole before us, so as to note which belong to the same or connected myths; and the photographs then available were on too small a scale for detailed study. Representations of the whole series of reliefs on an adequate scale were still a desideratum.[1]

Early in 1868 H.H. the Begum of Bhopāl was requested to present one of these ancient Sāñchi gateways to the Emperor Napoleon III, to be set up in Paris, and she asked whether the British Government might not prefer to have it for the British Museum. The Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, in his reply, wisely requested that no removal of any portion of the Sāñchi monuments might be permitted—adding that casts would be made of the more interesting portions and presented to the French Government.[2] At this juncture also an important scheme was arranged for promoting reproductions of works of art for the benefit of the museums of all countries.[3] In consequence of this convention, Major H. H. Cole was sent to Sāñchi in 1869 to prepare casts of the north gateway, as being the finest and most entire; he preferred, however, to take the casts from the eastern one. The reproductions thus obtained are now to be seen in the national museums at South Kensington, Edinburgh, Dublin, Berlin, Paris, etc.

In Rousselet's *L'Inde des Rajahs*, published in 1875, some account of Sāñchi is given (pp. 505–526), with several excellent illustrations, but the information was drawn entirely

[1] In the second edition reduced lithographs of six drawings of the faces of the gateways, made by Major Cole, were introduced. The originals must have been on a larger scale, and might have proved valuable, but they cannot now be traced. The account of Sāñchi in Mr. Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1876), pp. 60–65. 92–99, 105, was based on the preceding work.

[2] Major H. H. Cole's *Third Report on Conservation*, app., p. xciv.

[3] *Resolution Govt. India*, Home Dept., No. 14/931 of 24th February, 1868; and see *Actes du 8ième Congrès Internat. des Orientalistes* (Stockholm, 1889), sec. ii, p. 34.

from Cunningham's early volume, and added nothing to our knowledge.

Between 1870 and 1880 the spread of vegetation about the stūpa had increased greatly, and had begun to do considerable damage to the rails; the opening made by the excavations in 1822 and 1851 was quite overgrown by creepers, and their roots were forcing out the masonry of the dome. The railing on the south side had completely fallen, and natives had been mutilating the sculptures on the east gateway, and had cut up one of the fallen monoliths, close to it, for grindstones! This vandalism Major H. H. Cole proposed to stop by the appointment of "a trustworthy watchman to be always on the spot in order to prevent such wilful damage," remarking that "it is worth the wages of three or four native custodians to ensure that damage goes no further."[1] This sensible recommendation was formally attended to and a *chaprāsi* appointed; but Professor E. Washbourn Hopkins, on two visits to Sāñchi in 1897–98, found the boys of the neighbourhood amusing themselves by throwing stones at particular figures, and no one appeared to forbid them. The chaprāsi lives in the village below and seems ineffective: loose sculptures disappear without his interference or report.

The overgrowth of vegetation was destroyed in 1881, and the breach in the great dome filled in, whilst in 1882–83 the fallen gateways on the west and south were set up and stayed to the dome by iron rods;[2] the fallen portion of the railing was also set up, and the small gateway that had belonged to the third stūpa was restored by the replacement of its second and third architraves. This most important service for the preservation of the monuments was carried out by the Government of India at an expenditure of 17,400 rupees. It is to be regretted that some attempt to preserve the second stūpa also was not made at the same time.

When the repairs were finished a series of photographs of

[1] Major Cole's *Report for* 1881–82, app., p. clxi.

[2] These appear in the photographs published by Major Cole and Sir Lepel Griffin, but seem to have been removed since 1889.

the gateways was taken and printed in heliogravure in one of the fasciculi of Major Cole's *Preservation of National Monuments in India*.[1] Another series of twenty-seven plates, taken about the same time, was printed in Sir Lepel Griffin's *Famous Monuments of Central India*, 1886. Major Cole's letterpress is of the most meagre sort, and Sir Lepel Griffin's text is intended only for the general reader, and drawn from previous accounts. Both series of photographs are excellent and reproduced in the best style, but while well suited to give a clear idea of the richness of the sculpture, they are necessarily on too small a scale for detailed study.[2]

In a hurried visit to Sāñchi early in 1889, the writer collected impressions of a considerable number of the inscriptions, and next year, and again in March, 1893, Dr. Führer copied a still larger number; these were submitted to the late Professor G. Bühler, who discussed and translated the whole collection in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vol. ii, pp. 87–116 and 366–408). They number 456, besides fragments, or about 200 more than were published by General Cunningham. They are almost exclusively donative—containing only the names of the donors, with that of their town and occasionally of their parents, brothers, etc.—so that we can only judge of their age by the style of alphabet. One on the south gateway, however, bears the name of Rāño Siri Sātakaṇi, in whose reign the upper architrave was presented by Ānanda the son of Vāsishṭha. This Śrī Śātakarṇi was one of the Andhra kings, and as the alphabet of this and other epigraphs on the gateway differs but slightly from the type of the characters in the Aśoka inscriptions, this king must be one of the earlier members of his dynasty, whose date would fall about the middle of the second century B.C. or soon after.[3] This gives us the approximate date of one

[1] *Great Buddhist Tope at Sanchi* (1885), 11 plates; eight of the plates are reproduced in *India: Photographs and Drawings of Historical Buildings* (Griggs, 1896), plates 41–48, and six in *Ancient Monuments, etc., of India*, pt. i (1897), among plates xxxv to liii, illustrative of Sāñchi.

[2] In the India Office there are 75 negatives of photographs from Sāñchi, They form part of a collection of over 3,000, representing Indian antiquities, of which prints can be procured.

[3] *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 25; *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, p. 88.

gateway, and if they were erected successively, this one, leading to the steps by which the berm is ascended, would naturally be the oldest; the north gateway would follow next, and lastly those on the east and west. That on the west, with its peculiar dwarf capitals, would seem the latest, and might be followed by the *toraṇa* to the third stūpa.[1]

The inscriptions give the old name of the place as Kākaṇāda (Pāli, Kākaṇāva[2]); and Sāñchi does not appear in any form, and must be a modern designation. We learn also from literary records that this place or a town in the immediate neighbourhood was known as Chetiyagirī: and if this were the same as Vessanagara, the modern Besnagar, then it was about six miles to the north-east of Kākaṇāda. It was there that Aśoka is said to have married the daughter of a local *seṭṭhī* and had by her two sons, Ujjeniya and Mahinda, and a daughter, Sanghamittā. If Chetiyagirī were the name for the hill in use before Aśoka's time, and not merely at the later date when the chronicler wrote, in the fifth century A.D., then we might infer that the Stūpa or Chaitya was already in existence before the accession of Aśoka; but for this we have no proof.[3] But on the north and south there stood two *lāṭs* with lion capitals; and on a fragment of the south one is part of an inscription —apparently of an edict of Aśoka[4]—from which it may reasonably be inferred that the great stūpa belongs to about his time or 250 B.C. The erection of the rail would follow very soon after, and the gateways or *toraṇas* would come next.

Among the new inscriptions found in 1893, was an Indo-Skythian one on the base of a statue of Buddha, recording its dedication during the reign of the king

[1] Fergusson: *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 101.

[2] *Epigr. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 366; Fleet, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 31. In Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 241, 288, 347, Kākaṇāva has been mistaken for a personal name.

[3] Buddhaghosa (*cir.* 420 A.D.) calls the place Wessanagara, and the *Mahāwanso* (*cir.* 470 A.D.) has Chetiyagiri: Turnour, *Mahāwanso*, p. 76. V. Smith, in his *Asoka*, p. 163, gives Vedisagirī instead of Chetiyagirī.

[4] *Epigr. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 367.

Shāhi Vāsushka in the year 78 [A.D. 156?]. On two other statues were found the Buddhist creed in letters of the eighth or ninth century A.D. and fragments of verse in rather later characters.[1] Two Gupta inscriptions of 411 and 450 A.D. have been translated by Dr. J. F. Fleet,[2] and the larger temple close by must belong also to the fifth century A.D., proving that the place was one of religious note probably as long as the Buddhist religion held any influence in Central India—certainly till the tenth century or later.

The next publication on Sāñchi was that of General Maisey in 1892, who issued his drawings anew, in forty quarto plates with letterpress, the aim of which was to prove that Buddhism did not originate till about the Christian era, and that the Piyadāsi of the inscriptions was not Aśoka nor a follower of Buddhism. This theory is quite out of date, and most of the drawings had been produced in a better style in *Tree and Serpent Worship*.

Published as a handbook to the Indian collection of antiquities in the Berlin Royal Museum, in 1893, Professor Albert Grünwedel's *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*[3] is of some importance here. The second chapter (transl., pp. 24–74) deals chiefly with the cast of the eastern gateway at Sāñchi made in 1869. By showing the relative positions of the reliefs, this cast made it easier to render satisfactory explanations of a number of the subjects represented on that gateway; and Professor Grünwedel's observations on these may be helpful in guiding further attempts to unravel the stories on the others, when the whole of the sculptures in their relative positions are before the student.

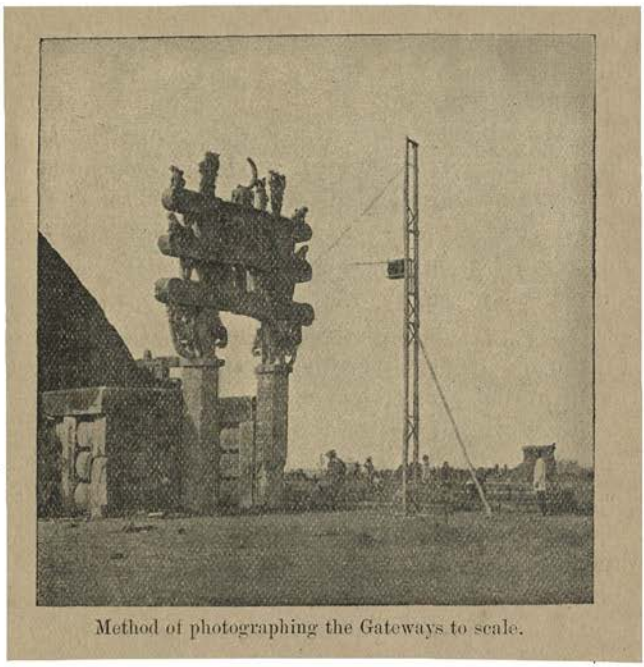
For this purpose it was suggested to the Government of India that the whole of the Sāñchi reliefs might be photographed to a fixed scale, suitable for their satisfactory study; and if all were done to one scale, it would be possible to build

[1] *Epigr. Ind.*, vol. ii, pp. 369, 370.

[2] Fleet: *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. iii, pp. 29 f., 260 f. Cf. *J.R.A.S.*, vol. vi (o.s.), pp. 246 f.

[3] 2nd edition, Berlin, 1900; *Buddhist Art in India*, English translation, considerably enlarged, London (B. Quaritch), 1901.

up the entire elevations from the photographs and mount them on sheets. The suggestion was at once generously approved and sanctioned, and Mr. Henry Cousens, of the Bombay Archæological Survey, was instructed to carry it into effect. By an ingenious contrivance for moving the camera to various heights, on a framework formed by two vertical graduated poles, the whole of which could be readily moved horizontally across the front of the gateways, he succeeded in taking a series of negatives to a scale of one-eighth of the



Method of photographing the Gateways to scale.

originals, or as nearly so as is readily practicable for such structures. The arrangement devised for this photographic work is represented in the accompanying illustration. The famine of last year hampered his operations from want of water, etc., and limited his time, but 200 negatives were secured.

The whole five *toraṇas* or gateways are in this series represented on about 150 plates, of which, besides the

general views, a considerable proportion are on plates of 12 by 10 inches, and the rest on smaller ones. There are besides nearly fifty negatives of surrounding remains and loose sculptures, etc.; and these last are of much interest as illustrating the various styles of art prevailing in the later ages, while the stūpas were still objects of religious interest. A comparison of these fragments, as well as of the sculptures on the gateways, with the Gandhāra, Amarāvati, Nāsik, Elurā, and other remains, will be of interest in illustrating the history of art and Buddhist iconography in India.

Returning to the photographs: it may be mentioned that when those of the north gateway are pieced together in their proper positions, they form a representation or picture measuring 48½ inches high by 30 inches across. And so arranged they would be useful for lectures or museums; but for private study they are perhaps more convenient in separate sheets.

A single illustration from among the smaller photographs will show the superiority of these over the best drawings. The accompanying plate represents the 5th and 6th sections or panels on the right-hand pillar of the east gateway: this was not drawn by Col. Maisey, but compared with even his excellent work, it will be seen at once how superior the detail is, and how much better the human faces are depicted. Whether, as conjectured, these terraces represent the heavens of the gods or not,[1] we observe that the central figure in the lower panel holds, in his right hand, a *vajra* or double-headed club, which may indicate Indra.

To make these photographs available for study, however, publication in some form is essential. Illustration is now-a-days so very cheap as compared with what it was even a decade since, that it is not too much perhaps to expect that this most important series of representations of the earliest known monument of Indian art that we possess may be published in a satisfactory form, as an important contribution to Indian archæology.

[1] *Buddhist Art in India* (transl.), p. 38.

After Sāñchi we should also remember that the Buddhist caves at Kaṇheri, Elurā, Aurangābād, Udayagiri, and elsewhere contain a wealth of sculpture illustrative of the development of their mythology and art, that, if fully delineated and published, would supply much insight and information on the growth and history of the Buddhist mythology and religion.

Art. III. — *Vrācaḍa and Sindhī.* By G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., I.C.S.

The Vrācaḍa Apabhraṁśa form of Prakrit was spoken in Sindh.[1] We know very little about it, except that amongst its peculiarities were (1) the optional change of initial *ta* and *da* to *ṭa* and *ḍa* respectively; (2) the change of *ṣa* and *sa* to *śa*; and (3) the prefixing of *y* to *c* and *j*.

With respect to (1) compare the frequent change of initial *t* to *ṭṭ* in Sindhī, as in *ṭṭāmō* = Sanskrit *tāmrakaḥ* 'copper,' and of initial *d* to *ḍḍ*, as in *ḍḍaṇḍu* = Sanskrit *daṇḍaḥ*.

With respect to (2) compare Sindhī *viśu* 'world' = Skr. *viṣaya*, and *śīhu* = Skr. *siṁha*. This change is very common in Sindhī.

With respect to (3) I can find no corresponding form in Sindhī, unless we can quote the special Sindhī sounds which are usually represented in transliteration by *gg*, *jj*, *ḍḍ*, and *bb*. These are, as the transliteration shows, originally double letters. The Vrācaḍa *yj* may be the origin of the Sindhī *jj*, and the other Sindhī letters may be the result of similar combinations not mentioned by the Prakrit grammarians, or not preserved in the MSS. which have come down to us. I know, however, of nothing in Sindhī which corresponds to the Vrācaḍa *yc*. There is another possible explanation which I shall note a little lower down.

The intimate connection which exists between the modern languages of the north-west of India (including Sindhī) and those of the east (from Bihār to Assam) is well known. The Vrācaḍa *optional* change of dental consonants to cerebrals really means that there was no sharp distinction in pronunciation between these two classes of sounds. Most

[1] See Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, p. 29.

probably both were pronounced as semi-cerebrals, as in English. This is the case at the present day in Eastern India. The dental letter *r* is continually confounded with the cerebral *ḍ*, and in Assam there is practically no distinction between dentals and cerebrals. All are semi-cerebrals. In Assam this is almost certainly due to the influence of Indo-Chinese languages. Can we assume that the same was the case with Vrācaḍa?

The Vrācaḍa change of *ṣ* and *ś* to *ś* is, as is well known, also typical of the Māgadhī Prakrit of Eastern India, just as at the present day it is typical of Sindhī and Bengali.

In Māgadhī Prakrit every *ja* takes a sound which most native grammarians denote by *ya*, and one or two by *yja*. As Hoernle has long ago pointed out, it was really an obscure sound, intermediate between *ya* and *ja*, and doing duty for both. This obscure sound has survived in words like *majh*, 'a buffalo-cow,' in the Lahndā of the Western Panjāb, which is closely connected with Sindhī. The pronunciation of *majh* is described by Beames as "something very odd. It might be represented by *meyh*, a very palatal *y* aspirated; perhaps in German by *möch*, or rather, if it may be so expressed, with a medial sound corresponding to the tenuis *ch*." Hoernle compares the sound to that given to *g* in the word *lebendig* in the Rhenish Provinces.

In Māgadhī, as in Vrācaḍa, one native grammarian says that *ca* becomes *yca*, so that, here again, the correspondence between east and west is clear. What sound was intended to be represented by *yca* is not very evident, though we can gain some idea as to what was meant from the above remarks about *ya* and *yja*. Under any circumstances, a consideration of those remarks will suggest an alternative explanation of the Vrācaḍa sounds. Possibly both explanations are correct, and the sound which Prakrit grammarians represented by *yja* has developed in Māgadhī and Lahndā into a semi-consonantal *ya*, and in Sindhī into *jja*.

Camberley.
Oct. 10, 1901.

ART. IV.—*Description of Persia and Mesopotamia in the year* 1340 A.D. *from the Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb of Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfi, with a summary of the contents of that work.* By G. LE STRANGE.

IT is very generally a matter of complaint that the lithographed editions of Persian and Arabic works published in the East are, for the most part, unprovided with any index or full table of contents; and, further, that when the book treats of geography or history, the proper names of both persons and places are too often given in a manner that at first sight defies identification. Half a loaf, however, is proverbially better than no bread, and, until from some quarter funds are forthcoming to defray the cost of printing Persian texts in Europe, scholars would often be able to make use of the editions lithographed in India or elsewhere, if the true reading of the proper names were fixed by a collation of the best manuscripts, and if a full table of contents were available for purposes of reference. In many cases also a Persian work will only contain one part, or a series of chapters, that pre-eminently is of interest to Western scholars: and the remark, of course, applies more especially to the Cosmographies where the geographical chapters alone are of first-rate importance, as also to those numerous Universal Histories where only the concluding sections, dealing with the author's own time, can in any way be considered as of primary authority. An instance in point is, I consider, the cosmographical work of Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfi, which forms the subject of the present article, and of which a lithographed edition appeared in Bombay in 1894 (A.H. 1311) under the editorship of Mīrzā Mahdī Shīrāzī, being published by Mīrzā Muḥammad Shīrāzī, surnamed Malik-al-Kuttāb, or the Chief of the Scriveners.

Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfi and his two principal works—the history called the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*, and the *Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb*, which last is now under discussion—were fully noticed by Mr. E. G. Browne in this Journal in a paper on "The Sources of Dawlatshāh" (J.R.A.S. for January, 1899), and more recently (October, 1900) he has given us a translation of the section on the "Biographies of the Persian Poets" from the *Guzīdah*, with a detailed account of the contents of that historical work, of which he hopes later on to publish an edition of the Persian text. As a complement and commentary to the *Guzīdah*, the geographical part of the *Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb* is of considerable importance. Further, and from the point of view of historical geography, it is of special interest, since it gives us a detailed description of Persia in the age immediately succeeding that of the travels of Marco Polo. The first half of the fourteenth century A.D. may indeed be regarded as a turning-point in the history of Western Asia, being a period of comparative calm coming between the epoch-marking conquests of the Mongols under Changhīz Khān and the no less revolutionary period of conquest by Timur. From a geographical point of view it was a time of transition. Before this we have the lands of Islām under the Abbasid Caliphs, as described by the Arab geographers Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, and Muḳaddasī; after this there is Western Asia, as shown on our present maps, which last may be held to date from the changes effected by the conquests of Timur and the subsequent partition of his empire among his descendants and successors.

Nearly forty years ago Monsieur Barbier de Meynard (now director of the *École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* in Paris) gave us the translation of the greater part of the geographical section of the *Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb* in the notes to his well-known *Dictionnaire de la Perse*,[1] which is based on the geographical encyclopædia of Yāḳūt. To the information contained in this book I must express my great indebtedness, and I may take the occasion of bearing witness to the

[1] Small 4to. Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1861.

admirable accuracy of Monsieur B. de Meynard's work, which, it should be remembered, had to be entirely based on *manuscript* material, being translated directly from the Paris MSS. of the *Mu'jam-al-Buldān*. Since 1861 the whole text of Yāḳūt has been edited by Professor Wüstenfeld; also, in his *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, Professor de Goeje has now given us admirable editions of nearly all the earlier Arab geographers: it is therefore very easy to verify, by a reference to the texts, the translations given by Monsieur B. de Meynard; and it will be remembered that the *Dictionnaire de la Perse* is still the only portion of Yāḳūt's great Encyclopædia of which a complete translation exists in any European language. Seeing, therefore, that we have here a translation of all the longer articles in the *Nuzhat* which treat of the towns described by Ḥamd-Allah, I shall only attempt in this paper to complete his lists of names, referring my readers to the pages of the *Dictionnaire de la Perse* for all further information in detail. My arrangement of the materials will, however, be somewhat different, for the *Dictionnaire de la Perse* being set in alphabetical order, no account is taken of the enumeration of the places as grouped by Ḥamd-Allah under the various provinces, and this arrangement, for the elucidation of the historical geography of the period, is, I deem, of much importance. Then, again, Monsieur B. de Meynard, as he acknowledges in his preface,[1] has made no attempt to identify the sites of places mentioned by Ḥamd-Allah, as, indeed, this was inevitable forty years ago, for our maps of Persia were then in many parts a blank. Since that time, however, a host of travellers and explorers have filled in the names, and at the present day most part of the great plateau of Īrān has been explored. I need only mention the numerous excellent maps published by General Houtum

[1] Op. cit., Préface, p. xx: "Les questions si délicates de topographie ancienne ne peuvent être abordées avec sûreté qu'après l'étude préalable des documents indigènes. J'espère qu'il me sera donné un jour de travailler à la solution de ce difficile problème, au moins, en ce qui touche la Perse: aujourd'hui je l'ai écarté de propos délibéré."

Schindler in the Berlin *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, and the maps given by Monsieur J. de Morgan in his *Mission Scientifique en Perse*—which last is still in course of publication—as instances of completed surveys of the individual provinces under investigation; while in the numerous papers devoted to Persia contained in recent volumes of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society I have found much to aid me in the identification of ancient with modern sites. My mainstay, however, has been the great Map of Persia, in six sheets, on the scale of sixteen miles to the inch, published by the War Office Intelligence Department in 1886.

For the true spelling of the place-names[1] I have had recourse to the systematic Itineraries given by Ibn Khurdādbih and Ḳudāmah, supplemented by the detail of routes found in the works of Ya'ḳūbī, Ibn Rustah, Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, and Muḳaddasī, all of which date from the middle of the third to the last quarter of the fourth century A.H. (ninth and tenth centuries A.D.). These mediæval Arab Road-books have enabled me to correct, and hence profit by, the very full Itinerary which Ḥamd-Allah himself gives at the close of his description of Īrān. This Persian Itinerary is now published for the first time, and it has made the location of a number of mediæval towns and districts possible, all traces of which have long since disappeared from the modern map. As an instance I may mention the Mint-city of Sābūrkhwāst in Luristān, which Ḥamd-Allah shows to be *not* the modern Khurramābād, as has often been supposed; then some important details are given about Sīrjān, the capital of Kirmān, and about Old Hurmuz; and we are now enabled to fix approximately by these Persian Itineraries the positions of many lost towns such as Ṭāliḳān and Faryāb of south-eastern Khurāsān; also Kāghaz-Kunān and Bajarvān,

[1] The spelling of Persian place-names is far from being consistent. The Persian for 'village,' now written and pronounced *Dih* (vowel short), is generally in the MSS. written *Dīh*, with the vowel long. Other common variations are Iṣfahān or Isfahān, Hūrmūz or Hurmuz, Ṭihrān or Tihrān, Ḳuhistān or Kūhistān.

once important cities on the great northern high road from Adharbayjān towards the Caucasus frontier, besides many villages and post-stations.

On the vexed question of the lower course of the Oxus during the middle ages, and its outflow into the Caspian, Ḥamd-Allah has important information to give. The detailed account of the provinces into which Persia in his day was divided shows, by a comparison with the provincial frontiers as given by the Arab geographers of Abbasid times, the changes effected by the Mongol conquest, and the later administration of the Īl-Khāns, who built Sulṭānīyah in Persian 'Irāḳ to be their capital, and to take the place of Baghdād as the Metropolis of Western Asia—Mesopotamia being henceforth counted as merely a province of Persia. The most notable change in the political map of Īrān is the formation of the new province of Kurdistān, which was taken from the western half of the Arab province of Jibāl (Media), the remaining, or eastern, portion of the older Jibāl province now coming to be more generally known as Persian 'Irāḳ. Then, again, all the Yazd district, which had formerly been counted as of Fārs, was now given to Persian 'Irāḳ, thus, in compensation for Kurdistān, which had been taken away, enlarging the older frontier of the Jibāl to the eastward, and so rounding off what was now the central province of Īrān under the administration of the Īl-Khāns. Lastly, on the Persian Gulf region, Ḥamd-Allah divides off Shabānkārah from the south-eastern part of Fārs, making of Shabānkārah a separate province, of which the ancient Dārābjird and Lār (a town unknown to the earlier geographers) were the chief centres of population.

Ḥamd-Allah personally was well fitted thus to describe Īrān, for there is evidence that he had himself travelled over the greater part of the country. In the matter of frontiers and capital cities he was trained in office-work connected with the taxation of the provinces, being one who held by inheritance the post of Mustawfi or Accountant-general, this post having been in his family since the days of his great-grandfather, who was superintendent of the

finances of 'Irāḳ in Abbasid times, before the first Mongol invasion. Ḥamd-Allah himself had served under Rashīd-ad-Dīn (the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, published in part by E. Quatremère), the celebrated minister of Ghāzān Khān, and the present description of Persia and Mesopotamia, though completed in 740 (1340 A.D.), may be taken to represent the country as it existed under the government of that Īl-Khān and his successors Uljaytū and Abu-Sa'īd (brother and nephew of Ghāzān) in whose service Ḥamd-Allah held the office of Mustawfi.

At the head of most of the chapters describing each province of the Īlkhānid empire in Persia and Mesopotamia Ḥamd-Allah has given the sum of the provincial revenue paid in his own time. These figures may be best summarized in a note,[1] and they are of interest as showing the financial condition of Persia under the Īl-Khāns. It must, however, be observed that Mustawfi very frequently also gives, under the separate articles, the state-revenues derived from the towns; hence the sums given in our footnote probably should not be held to represent the sum-total of the provincial taxes, for, while it is nowhere clearly stated whether or not these individual sums formed part of the aggregate, the revenues of all the chief towns are not given. From the point of view of Numismatics an interest lies in the statement repeated many times by Mustawfi (L. 133*d*, 170*j*, etc.) that in his day the currency-dīnār (*Dīnār-i-Rāij*), which was used in all accounts, a gold coin that possibly was only nominal (or but seldom coined), was reckoned to be worth six (silver) dirhams of the Abbasids;

[1] Reckoned in currency-dīnārs (four of these being about equivalent to the pound sterling), and in the year 35 of the Īlkhānī Era (A.D. 1335), Arabian 'Irāḳ paid 3,000,000 dīnārs; Rūm (Asia Minor), 3,300,000; Armenia, 390,000; Upper Mesopotamia, 1½ million dīnārs; Kurdistān, 201,500; Khūzistān, 325,000; Fārs, 2,871,200; Shabānkārah, 266,100; and Kirmān, 676,500 dīnārs. The list of provinces, it will be observed, is not complete. Mustawfi further, in many cases, records the revenues of former periods, notably for Saljūḳ times during the later centuries of the Abbasid Caliphate, but these seem hardly worth tabulating, for the sums mentioned are not likely to be very reliable.

hence, as already said in our footnote, four of these currency-dīnārs were about equal in value to one pound sterling.

The present paper, it will be seen, only attempts the summary of Part II in the Third Book of the *Nuzhat*, and of this all that is now here given is the corrected list of the names of places, with the reference to the pages of the lithographed edition, and to the authority responsible for the true reading of the name. An attempt also has been made in every case to identify the site, or the fact is stated when the position is unknown.

The text as found in the Bombay Lithograph has been edited with almost incredible carelessness. The place-names heading each article are written indifferently with or without diacritical points, hence very often these names are perfectly illegible. Towns of a somewhat similar name in the written character, but quite well known, and, in point of fact, occupying different provinces—such, for example, as *Ardabīl* in Adharbayjān and *Irbīl* in Upper Mesopotamia—are as a rule here systematically confounded one with the other, and a place like Tawwaj, the celebrated commercial emporium of Fārs in the earlier middle ages, appears in the Bombay text as Nūḥ, that is to say, Noah. Similarly absurd mistakes recur again and again, as, for instance, where our author, speaking of the rivers of Persia (which for the most part do not find their exit to the sea), describes each in turn as "flowing out or becoming lost in the Desert (*Mafāzah*)," for which the Bombay edition invariably has the statement that the river becomes "lost in a cave (*Maghārah*)," the excuse for which nonsense being that in the Arabic character there is a similarity between *Maghārah* and *Mafāzah* by a change of diacritical points.

For obtaining a correct text, I have collated (more or less completely) eight of the best MSS. found in the British Museum, also the six MSS. of the Bodleian at Oxford, and two MSS. belonging to the University Library at Cambridge. For Chapter 12, describing the province of Fārs, I have been able to get the true readings for a number of place-names, not given by Iṣṭakhrī or the other Arab geographers,

by collating the MS. of the *Fārs Nāmah* recently acquired by the British Museum. This is a Persian work on history and geography written in the first years of the sixth century A.H. (the twelfth A.D.) by a certain Ibn-al-Balkhī who flourished at the court of the Saljūḳ Sultān Muḥammad, surnamed Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn, son of Malik Shāh; the exact date of the writing of the *Fārs Nāmah* does not appear to be mentioned in the MS.; but the writer's patron (whom he mentions as still reigning) succeeded in 498 (1104 A.D.) and ruled till 511 (A.D. 1117), which fixes the period within narrow limits.

I have also made use of another unique MS. which the British Museum possesses, namely, the unnamed geography which is attributed to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, the Secretary of Timur. This work, which was written in 820 A.H. (1417 A.D.), copies a good deal from the *Nuzhat*, but adds at times geographical details not given by Ḥamd-Allah. For instance, there are in this work some important passages which throw light on the vexed question of the course taken by the Oxus during the middle ages (these will be given in the notes to Chapter 17 on Khurāsān); and it is worthy of remark that Ḥāfiẓ Abrū himself appears to have travelled far and wide through the broad empire of Timur, so that much of his information is that of an eye-witness, and comes to us at first-hand.[1]

[1] The British Museum MS. of the *Fārs Nāmah* is that numbered Or. 5,983; the work by Ḥāfiẓ Abrū is that numbered Or. 1,577; and this last is described in vol. i, p. 421, of the *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, by Dr. Rieu. The British Museum MSS. of the *Nuzhat* that I have used are those numbered Add. 7,708, 7,709, 7,710, 16,735, 16,736, 16,737, 23,543, and 23,544 (cf. op. cit., p. 418). The Oxford MSS. are those numbered 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, and 411 in the *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts* edited by Messrs. Ethé and Sachau. The two Cambridge MSS. are those given under the numbers Add. 2,624 and 3,146; these are described on pp. 201, 202 of the Cambridge Persian Catalogue written by Mr. E. G. Browne. The two Cambridge MSS. I had the very great convenience of collating at my London lodgings in June and July, 1900, for, with exceptional generosity, the authorities of that University consented to grant these MSS. to me on loan, Mr. E. G. Browne giving security for their safe return. I must take this occasion of rendering him my thanks for this friendly action in my behalf; to the Vice-Chancellor, and to Mr. Jenkinson, the Librarian of the University Library, also I feel very deeply indebted for the loan. For the *Fārs Nāmah* MS. I must express my thanks to Mr. A. G. Ellis, of the British Museum, who drew my attention to this new acquisition.

The *Ẓafar Nāmah*, describing the campaigns of Timur, written by 'Alī of Yazd (and translated at the beginning of the last century into French by Petis de la Croix),[1] has been of use in identifying some of the place-names given in the *Nuzhat*, and often the position of places is roughly indicated by a reference to the marches of Timur, and this enables us to identify the sites of lost towns. A work which also seemed to promise much help is the well-known geography called the *Jihān Numā*, compiled by the great bibliographer Ḥājī Khalfah in Turkish at the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. Ḥājī Khalfah repeatedly quotes the *Nuzhat*, and, as he evidently had excellent MSS. to work from, his readings of the place-names are valuable. Unfortunately, however, like all Oriental writers he is entirely uncritical. In the eastern regions, which lie beyond his personal ken, he inserts descriptions of Sīrjān (in Kirmān), Zaranj (in Sīstān), and Arrajān (in Fārs), as though all these cities still existed in his day, when we know from history that, as a fact, the two former towns were destroyed by Timur, while Arrajān even before the time of Timur had been replaced by Bihbahān, which is the present existing town, of which place, however, Ḥājī Khalfah makes absolutely no mention. Then, again, with no mark of the borrowing, Ḥājī Khalfah frequently makes mention of towns, giving the sums of revenue due from each (e.g. Salam and 'Ayn in Armenia); but in most cases these appear to be simply paragraphs taken over bodily from the *Nuzhat*, and the sums for the taxes are those already given by Mustawfi, writing under the Īlkhānid administration three centuries before the time when the *Jihān Numā* was compiled.[2]

[1] In quoting the spelling of names, the references are to the edition of the Persian text of the *Ẓafar Nāmah* published in the series of the Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta, 1887). The French translation, called *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, was printed in four volumes 12mo, Paris, 1722.

[2] The Turkish text of the *Jihān Numā* (to which my quotations refer) was printed in Constantinople A.H. 1145 (1732) by Ibrāhīm Efendi, and a Latin translation of this work was made by M. Norberg, and published in 1818 at Londini Gothorum (Lund), in two volumes; but the place-names in this translation are not, as a rule, spelt correctly.

In conclusion of these preliminary notes, I may remark that for the true reading of the place-names I have relied far more on the authority of Yāḳūt, supplemented by the older Arab geographers (the texts, namely, in the eight volumes of the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* of De Goeje) and our present maps, than on the readings in the diverse MSS. of the *Nuzhat*, which last are often incredibly incorrect, from the carelessness of the scribes. Where the modern map and the Arab geographers together fail us (e.g. in some sections of the Itineraries), the spelling of the place-names becomes quite uncertain, and the diverse readings often equal in number that of the manuscripts consulted, each scribe having added diacritical points and letters according to fancy. The Persians are, indeed, far behind the Arab scribes in matter of accuracy in copying their texts; and, curiously enough, where a criterion has existed for settling the true reading, I have often found that the older MSS. of the *Nuzhat* were quite as incorrectly written as the more modern copies of the work.

I have been unable to include in the following pages the names of all the villages given by Mustawfi in his lists; indeed, as a general rule, those names only are inserted which either occur in the works of the Arab geographers, or are found still to exist on our modern maps, or, finally, are inserted in the Itinerary. An exhaustive collating of all the MSS. would be required for fixing the readings of the outstanding names in Mustawfi's lists of sub-districts and villages; and even then accuracy would probably be unattainable, until the topography of Persia becomes more accurately and completely known. In the following pages, however, all the separate articles, whether of towns or districts, given by Mustawfi have been inserted, and the attempt is in every case made to identify the places mentioned; or, when the present maps and the Arab geographers alike are at fault, and no clear indication of the site is attainable, some indication is given of the region in which the place or its ruins should be sought for.

Before proceeding to a detailed examination of that section

of the *Nuzhat* which especially deals with the Īlkhānid kingdom of Īrān (Persia with Mesopotamia), it will be convenient to give first the general Table of Contents of the book, premising that the *Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb* is a cosmographical work, of which a part only treats of geography, and that it is divided into five sections, namely, an *Introduction*, *Three Books*, and a *Conclusion*, these sections being in many cases further subdivided into Chapters and various Appendixes or sub-sections.[1]

INTRODUCTION (called *Fātiḥah* or *Muḳaddamah*): treating of the Spheres, the Heavenly Bodies, and the Elements, followed by a description of the inhabited Quarters of the Earth, with an explanation of Latitude and Longitude, and the division into Climates, L. 8*h*.

FIRST BOOK (*Maḳālah-i-Awwal*): describing the Mineral, Vegetable, and Animal Kingdoms, L. *inset* 21*z*.

SECOND BOOK: Man, his nature, faculties, and qualities, L. 49*a*.

THIRD BOOK, divided into four Parts (*Ḳism*).

PART I: Mecca, Medina, and the Mosque of Jerusalem, L. 116*o*.

PART II: The Lands of Īrān, divided into twenty Chapters (*Bāb*)[2] and five Appendices (*Makhlaṣ* or *Faṣl*).

Ch. 1, 'Irāḳ 'Arab, 132*p*.* *Ch.* 2, 'Irāḳ 'Ajam, 141*w*.* *Ch.* 3, Adharbayjān, 153*m*.* *Ch.* 4, Mughān and Arrān, 159*a*.* *Ch.* 5, Shīrvān, 160*x*.* *Ch.* 6, Gurjistān,

[1] The references (for distinction, where any ambiguity may occur, more especially marked L.) are to the lithographed edition, already indicated, of the *Nuzhat*. This contains in all 372 pages of text, which, for some unexplained reason, are not numbered consecutively. The pagination runs from pp. 1 to 48, this being followed by an inset of pp. 1 to 112, after which comes p. 49, thence running on continuously to the close of the work, which is numbered p. 260. Each page contains twenty-five lines of text, which for convenience I refer to under the letters of the alphabet: thus 132*z* and 133*a* indicate the last line and the first line of the text on these two pages respectively.

[2] The Persian text of the chapters marked * has been printed by C. Schefer in his *Supplément au Siasset Nameh*, Paris, 1897, pp. 141–230. Of those marked † the text is given by B. Dorn in vol. iv of his *Muhammedanische Quellen*, St. Petersburg, 1858, pp. 81–87.

161*h*.* *Ch.* 7, Rūm, 161*q*. *Ch.* 8, Armenia, 164*o*.* *Ch.* 9, Jazīrah, 165*n*. *Ch.* 10, Kurdistān, 167*n*. *Ch.* 11, Khūzistān, 168*m*. *Ch.* 12, Fārs, 170*b*. *Ch.* 13, Shabānkārah, 181*g*. *Ch.* 14, Kirmān, 181*z*. *Ch.* 15, The Desert, 182*w*. *Ch.* 16, Nīmrūz and Kūhistān, 183*e*. *Ch.* 17, Khurāsān, 185*e*. *Ch.* 18, Māzandarān, 190*f*.† *Ch.* 19, Ḳūmis, 191*b*.† *Ch.* 20, Gīlān, 191*s*.†

Appendix I, the Itineraries, divided into the following sections:—Route i, Sulṭānīyah to Hamadān and Kanguvār, 192*w*. Route ii, Kanguvār to Ḥulwān, 192*z*. Route iii, Ḥulwān to Baghdād and Najaf, 193*c*. After which, 193*k*, come the pilgrim routes across the Arabian Desert to Mecca, Medina, and back to Najaf. Route iv, Baghdād to Baṣrah and to the Island of Ḳays, 195*g*. Route v, Baghdād to Raḥbah, 195*v*. Route vi, Baghdād to Mosul, 195*x*. Route vii, Kanguvār to Isfahān, 195*q*. Route viii, Sulṭānīyah to Sūmghān, 196*d*. Route ix, Sūmghān to Busṭām, 196*d*. Route x, Busṭām to Nīshāpūr, 196*n*. Route xi, Nīshāpūr to Sarakhs and Marv-ar-Rūd, 196*u*. Route xii, Marv-ar-Rūd to Balkh and the Oxus, 197*a*. Route xiii, Busṭām to Farāvah, 197*j*. Route xiv, Farāvah to Urganj, 197*l*. Route xv, Nīshāpūr to Herat, 197*r*. Route xvi, Nīshāpūr to Turshīz, 197*x*. Route xvii, Herat to Zaranj, MS. only. Route xviii, Herat to Marv-ar-Rūd and on to Great Marv, 198*a*. Route xix, Great Marv to Urganj, 198*e*. Route xx, Sulṭānīyah to Bajarvān, 198*n*. Route xxi, Bajarvān to Maḥmūdābād, 198*s*. Route xxii, Bajarvān to Tiflīs, 198*u*. Route xxiii, Bajarvān to Tabrīz, 199*b*. Route xxiv, Sulṭānīyah to Tabrīz, 199*h*. Route xxv, Tabrīz to Sīvās, 199*n*. Route xxvi, Sūmghān to Isfahān, 199*v*. Route xxvii, Isfahān to Shīrāz, 200*c*. Route xxviii, Shīrāz to Ḳays Island, and thence by sea to India, 200*l*. Route xxix, Shīrāz to Kāzirūn, 200*x*. Route xxx, Shīrāz to Hurmūz, 200*z*. Route xxxi, Shīrāz to Kirmān, 201*f*. Route xxxii, Shīrāz to Yazd, 201*k*. Route xxxiii, Shīrāz to Arrajān and Bustānak, 201*p*.

Appendix II, Mountains:—Alvand, 202*p*; Askanbarān, 202*u*; Bīsutūn, 203*f*; Barehīn, 203*s*; Darāk, 203*y*; Damāvand, 203*z*; Darābjird mountains, 204*f*; Rastaḳ, 204*g*;

Rāsmand, 204*k*; Rākhid, 204*n*; Kūh-Zar and Zardah-kūh, 204*q*; Sablān, 204*w*; Sarāhand, 205*c*; Sahand, 205*h*; Siyāh-kūh, 205*k*; Sīpān, 205*l*; Shaḳāḳ, 205*m*; Sūr, 205*p*; Ṭāruḳ, 205*r*; Ṭabarak, 205*t*; Ḳārin, 205*x*; Ḳabalah, 206*d*; Ḳafs, 206*e*; Kargas, 206*e*; Kirmān mountains, 206*h*; Gulistān, 206*k*; Gulshān, 206*l*; Gunābād and Zībad, 206*n*; Kūshad, 206*o*; Kīlūyah, 206*q*; Māst-kūh, 206*r*; Mūrjān, 206*t*; Nīsht, 206*v*; Salt mountain of Āvah, 206*x*; Hajam, 207*a*; Harīn, 207*b*.

Appendix III: Mines and Minerals, 207*d*.

Appendix IV, Rivers:—Sayḥān and Jayḥān (the Sarus and Pyramus of Asia Minor), 211*q*; Frāt (Euphrates), 211*u*; Nīl (the Nile), 212*g*; Itil (the Volga), 212*v*; Atrak, 212*z*; Aras, 213*b*; Ilāḳ, 213*e*; Būy, 213*f*; Bardāl, 213*j*; Jayḥūn (Oxus), 213*l*; Jurjān, 213*u*; Dijlah (Tigris), 213*x*; Dujayl (Kārūn), 214*e*; Dizfūl river, 214*h*; Upper and Lower Zāb, 214*j*; Murghāb, 214*n*; Zandah-rūd, 214*r*; Zakān, 214*z*; Safīd-rūd,[1] 215*c*; Sayḥūn or Shāsh (Jaxartes), 215*h*; Shāhrūd, 215*n*; 'Ās (Orontes), 215*q*; Khitay river, 215*s*; Farah-rūd, 215*t*; Ḳaw'ah (or Ḳar'ah), 215*u*; Karkhah, 215*w*; Kur of Georgia, 215*y*; Kur of Fārs, 216*a*; Gang (Ganges), 216*f*; Mihrān (Indus), 216*h*; Nahrawān, 216*l*; Harī-rūd, 216*p*; Hirmand (Helmund), 216*s*; Jāyij-rūd, 216*v*; Garm-rūd or Kūh-rūd, 216*x*; Ḳum river, 216*z*; Gāvmāsā, 217*a*; Zanjān river, 217*c*; Abhar river, 217*g*; Kazvīn rivers, 217*j*, *q*, and *t*; Ṭārum river, 217*k*; Kāshān river, 217*m*; Muzdaḳān, 217*n*; Kardān, 217*r*; Kharraḳān rivers, 217*s* and *v*; Andarāb, 217*w*; Ahar river, 217*y*; Awjān river, 218*a*; Jaghtū, 218*b*; Sarāv, 218*c*; Sard-rūd, 218*e*; Sanjid and Kadpū, 218*f*; Ṣāfī, 218*g*; Shāl, 218*h*; Garm-rūd, 218*h*; Mihrān-rūd, 218*j*; Marand river, 218*l*; Miyānij river, 218*n*; Taghtū, 218*p*; Hasht-rūd, 218*q*; Pulvār, 218*r*; Ṭāb, 218*s*; Masin, 218*u*; Shīrīn, 218*v*; Sitādkān, 218*w*; Jarrah river, 218*x*; Darkhuvayd, 218*y*; Khwāndān, 218*z*; Ratīn, 219*a*; Jarshiḳ, 219*b*; Ikhshīn, 219*d*; Sam-rūd, 219*d*; Div-rūd, 219*e*; Nishāvar river, 219*f*; Barārah, 219*g*; Balīkh, 219*j*; Khābūr,

[1] Here, and in many other instances, the form of the name given is Āb-i-Safīd-Rūd, literally 'Water (or River) of the White-river,' the word for river being repeated twice.

219*k*; Hirmās, 219*m*; Tharthār, 219*o*; Ṣūr, 219*p*; Shūrāb, 219*q*; Dizbād, 219*r*; Saḥr, 219*s*; Kharū, 219*t*; Tūshḳān, 219*u*; Pusht-farūsh, 219*v*; Khajank, 219*x*; Farajah, 219*x*; Dahar, 219*y*; Baḳīrān, 219*z*; Chārsaf-rūd, 220*a*; 'Aṭshābad river, 220*b*; Vakhshāb, 220*d*; Jaghān, 220*e*; Bayāt river, 220*g*; Daḳūḳ river, 220*j*; Barāz-ar-Rūz river, 220*l*.

Appendix V, Seas and Lakes:—The seven Seas, 220*n*; Sea of China, 220*w*; the Indian Sea, 221*t*; the Persian Gulf, 222*t*; the Red Sea, 223*e*; the Sea of the Franks, 223*r*; the Western Sea, 224*c*; the Sea of Rūm, 224*m*; the Sea of Darkness, 224*y*; the Eastern Sea, 225*b*; the Caspian, 225*d*; Lake Bakhtigān, 225*y*; Lake of Dasht Arzin, 226*a*; the Jirrah Lake, 226*b*; Māhalūyah Lake, 226*e*; Lake of Darkhuvayd, 226*d*; the Lakes of Māshuyah and of Murghzār Isfandān, 226*e*; Urmīyah Lake, 226*f*; Arjīsh Lake (Van), 226*j*; Gukchah Lake, 226*k*; Chashmah Sabz, 226*l*; the Zarah Lake, 226*p*; the Khwārizm Lake (Aral Sea), 226*q*; the Lake of Tinnis (Egypt), 226*u*.

PART III: The Border Lands of Īrān, that at times have been subject thereof.

This part gives a number of short articles on the following countries and towns:—Alexander and the Wall against Gog and Magog, 227*d*; Bāb-al-Abwāb, 227*k*; Samarḳand, 228*d*; Siyāvush-gird, 228*u*; Farghānah, 228*x*; Alexandria, 229*b*; Damascus, 230*d*; Raḥbah, 230*z*; Cairo and Egypt, 231*c*; Southern Regions, 232*j*; Northern Regions, beyond Bāb-al-Abwāb with the Gog and Magog Wall, 232*p*.

PART IV: Foreign Lands that never have been subject to Īrān.

This part briefly notices the following cities and lands with others:—Balāsaghūn, 233*q*; Thibet, 233*r*; China, 233*z*; Khitay, 234*c*; Khoten, 234*f*; Khwārizm, 234*g*; the Desert of Ḳipchāḳ, 234*l*; Lands of Gog and Magog, 234*q*; Bulghār, 234*s*; various Indian cities, 234*t*; Ṣaghāniyān, 234*w*; Ḳarāḳorum, 235*c*; Kandahār, 235*f*; Kābul, 235*h*; Kashmīr, 235*j*; Māchīn (China), 235*m*; Transoxiana, 235*r*; Makrān, 235*w*; India, 235*z*; Dehli, 236*b*; Yaman, 236*f*; Aden, 236*k*; Oman, 236*m*; Yamāmah, 236*n*; Ḥaḍramawt, 236*t*; Little Armenia, 236*v*; Ifrīḳīyah, 236*y*; Andalūs, 237*d*; the Arabian Desert, 238*c*; Ḥijāz, 238*m*; Syria, 238*q*;

Tarsus, the Cave of the Seven Sleepers, 239*c*; Tangiers, 239*h*; the Lands of the Franks, Constantinople, 239*r*; Ṭalestine, 239*v*; Ḳayruwān, 240*h*; Ḳulzum, 240*l*; Miṣr (Egypt), 240*m*; Maghrib and Western Lands, 240*r*; Greece, 243*a*.

CONCLUSION (*Khātimah*). Description of Marvels in various parts of Īrān:—In Khurāsān, Ḳūmis, Māzandarān, and Kūhistān, 243*n*; in 'Irāḳ 'Ajam, Kurdistān, Lūristān, and Gīlān, 243*s*; in Fārs, Kirmān, and Shabānkārah, 246*e*; in 'Irāḳ 'Arab and Khūzistān, 246*r*; in Rūm, Gurjistān, Adharbayjān, Mughān, Arrān, and Shirvān, 247*j*; marvels in diverse other quarters of the habitable world, 248*k*. *Finis* of the *Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb*, setting forth the author's apology, 254*d*; followed by a list of the chief Arabic and Persian historians, with the names of their works, 257*a*–259*z*. Colophon, 260.

Reverting now to Part II of the Third Book, *On the Lands of Īrān*—the subject of the present paper—the detailed contents of the twenty chapters into which this is divided are succinctly discussed in the following pages. And here, for the sake of convenience, I have added to each chapter, when treating of the various provinces and towns, those articles which go to form Appendices II, IV, and V, in which Mustawfi describes the *Mountains*, *Rivers*, and *Lakes* of Persia and Mesopotamia, giving of course also a reference to the *Nuzhat* where the text of the Appendix will be found. Appendix I, on the Itineraries, will be treated in detail at the close of Chapter 20; but in regard to Appendix III, on *Mines*, being totally unacquainted with mineralogy, and since this section treats only of the places where diverse minerals and metals are to be found, I have thought it wiser to omit this part altogether from my paper.

The list of names is a long one, and perhaps a few remarks on the nomenclature will not be out of place before proceeding to the description of the various provinces.

In glancing over the place-names which Mustawfi records it is clear that the Arab element, found in the earlier geographers, had in the fourteenth century A.D. given place

almost entirely to Persian forms. The Arabs very usually added the article *al* to place-names which in their language had a meaning, e.g., Al-Anbār 'the Granary,' Al-Ḥadīthah 'the New Town,' and Al-Mawṣil 'the Junction' (Mosul); but in addition it will be found that they frequently wrote their article before purely Persian place-names, e.g. As-Sīrjān and Al-Iṣṭahbānān, where there was no very obvious reason for so doing. It is impossible to say why Rhages should always have been written with the article *Ar-Ray*, while *Jay*, the old name for Isfahān, should have as invariably been written without it. In Mustawfi's lists, however, the Arabic article has everywhere disappeared, and we have Ray, Mawṣil, etc.; while names such as Ar-Rān and Ar-Ras (*spelt* Al-Rān, Al-Ras in the Arabic writing), which in the older geographers had thus the false appearance of Arab names, in the pages of Mustawfi appear in plain Persian as Arrān and Aras.

Glancing over the map it will thus be found that nearly everywhere the older nomenclature has disappeared: Naysābūr is become Nīshāpūr (in modern Persian the diphthongs *ay* and *aw* are as a rule replaced by long *ī* and *ū*), Ḳirmīsīn is replaced by Kirmānshāhān, Nashavā by Nakhchivān; and Arabic names are given in their Persian equivalent, Ḳaṣr-ar-Rīḥ 'Wind Palace' becoming Dīh Bād, Ḳarīyat-al-Asad 'Lion Village' and Ḳaṣr-al-Jawz 'Nut Palace' reappearing as Dīh Shīr and Dīh Jawz, the meanings standing unchanged. More especially in the province of Fārs it will be found that Ḳal'ah, signifying a castle in Arabic, is still very generally retained; at times, however, it is replaced by the Persian equivalent Diz, e.g. Ḳal'ah Isfandīyār, otherwise called Diz-i-Safīd 'White Castle,' and in one case the Arabic Ḳal'ah or Ḳal'at reappears under the purely Persian form of Kilāt, which as a place-name became common in later times throughout Western Asia. In short, Persia proper in the time of Mustawfi had already got quit of Arabic place-names; one of the few mentioned by him (and the name is still retained) being Baydā (Arabic *al-Bayḍā*, 'the White Town') in the

Marvdasht plain to the north of Shīrāz. Of purely Arabic names[1] Wāsiṭah, 'the Middle place,' a post-stage between Kāshān and Isfahān, is another example, but the reading of the MSS. is not sure, and in another instance Ḥaddādah, 'the Frontier or Barrier,' a stage on the great eastern road between Damghān and Busṭām, the Arab name is given with its Persian alias of Mihmān-dūst, and this last is the one still in use. One other instance of an Arabic name in Persia, as given by Mustawfi, occurs in Rās-al-Kalb, 'the Dog's Head,' a stage between Ray and Samnān. No trace of this name exists at the present time, and apparently its place is occupied by Lāsjird, the name of the curious fortress-town (wanting in the lists of the mediæval geographers) which crowns a bluff overlooking the desert plain (see illustration in H. W. Bellew, *From the Indus to the Tigris*, p. 404).

Chapter 1. *'Irāḳ 'Arab.*

Contents: Kūfah, L. 133*s*; Mashhad 'Alī, 134*g*; Mashhad Ḥusayn, 134*s*; Baghdād, 135*a*; Anbār, 136*w*; Bābil, 136*z*; Barāz-ar-Rūz, 137*f*; Baṣrah, 137*f*; 'Abbādān, 137*w*; Bandanījīn and Liḥf, 137*z*; Bayāt, 138*a*; Takrīt, 138*d*; Tall 'Aḳarḳūf, 138*f*; Ḥadīthah, 138*g*; Ḥarbā, 138*h*; Ḥillah, 138*j*; Ḥulwān, 138*p*; Ḥīrah, 138*s*; Khāliṣ, 138*v*; Khāniḳīn, 138*w*; Dujayl, 138*x*; Daḳūḳ, 139*a*; Dayr 'Āḳūl, 139*b*; Rūmīyah, 139*e*; Rādhān and Bayn Nahrayn, 139*d*; Zangiābād, 139*e*; Sāmarrah, 139*f*; Ṣadrayn, 139*r*; Ṭarīḳ, or the Road of, Khurāsān and Ba'ḳūbā, 139*s*; Shahrabān, 139*w*; 'Ānah, 139*x*; 'Askarah, 139*z*; Ḳaṣr Shīrīn, 139*z*; Ḳādisīyah, 140*e*; Ḳūrān, 140*e*; Muḥawwal, 140*f*; Madāin, 140*j*; Nahr 'Isā, 141*g*; Nahr Malik, 141*k*; Nahrawān, 141*m*; Nu'mānīyah, 141*o*; Nīl, 141*p*; Hīt and Jubbah, 141*p*; Wāsiṭ, 141*t*.

The dividing-line between the two provinces of 'Irāḳ and Jazīrah (Lower and Upper Mesopotamia) has varied at different epochs. In Abbasid times it is generally given as running up from Anbār on the Euphrates to Takrīt

the Tigris,[1] both towns being as a rule included in the lower province. In the time of Ḥamd-Allah, however, 'Irāḳ included as well many towns lying on the Euphrates to the north of Anbār, up to or beyond 'Ānah, and the frontier line at that period went from a short distance below Ḳarḳīsiyā, where the river Khābūr joins the Euphrates, across Mesopotamia to a point on the Tigris immediately below the junction of the Lesser Zāb. Ḥamd-Allah in Appendix IV describes both the Euphrates and the Tigris at some length (L. 211*u* and 213*x*), but adds nothing to what has been already given in the notes to my translation of Ibn Serapion. The Tigris in his time still flowed down by the Shaṭṭ-al-Ḥay past Wāsiṭ into the Great Swamps, which in their western portion swallowed up the waters also of the Euphrates below Kūfah; in short, the state of the country described by Ibn Serapion at the close of the ninth century A.D. still existed in 1340, and for that matter continued unaltered until after the time of Ḥāfiz Abrū in 1420, the change to the present state of the Euphrates and Tigris having taken place in the century before 1652 A.D., when Tavernier visited the country.[2]

Among the cities of 'Irāḳ, Ḥamd-Allah being an ardent Shī'ah gives precedence to Kūfah (I.S. 53), near the burial-place of the Imāms, which he calls the Dār-al-Mulk, 'the Abode of Power,' though Baghdād is, he admits, 'the Mother of Cities' and the metropolis. His description of the celebrated shrines near Kūfah is given in the following

[1] See *Map of Mesopotamia as described by Ibn Serapion*. In order to save needless repetition the letters I.S. will mark a reference to the volume of this Journal for 1895 where, in the notes to my paper on Ibn Serapion, details of many of the towns here mentioned will be found.

[2] See *Baghdad during the Caliphate*, p. 8, note 1. Since writing this I have found in *Purchas' Pilgrims* (folio, 1625, vol. v, p. 1411) that in 1581 John Newberie apparently travelled down from Baghdad to Baṣrah by the present, *eastern*, course of the Tigris. The change, therefore, from the Wāsiṭ channel to that at present followed must have already taken place, in all probability, before the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. Nothing certain is to be learnt from the Narratives of Cæsar Frederic in 1563 (*Purchas*, v, p. 1702), John Eldred in 1583 (*Hakluyt Travels*, 4to edit., ii, p. 404), or the anonymous Portuguese traveller, *circâ* 1555, whose MS. is in the possession of Major M. Hume (see *Athenæum* for 25th March, 1901, p. 373).

paragraph, which is a slightly condensed translation of the Persian text:—

"Two leagues to the northward of Kūfah is Mashhad 'Alī, where the Caliph is buried; for, on receiving his death wound in the Kūfah Mosque, 'Alī had ordered that his body should be put on a camel, which was then to be turned loose, and wherever the camel knelt there his body was to be buried. All this was therefore done, but during the time of the Omayyads no tomb was erected at Mashhad 'Alī, for the place was kept hidden for security. In the year 175 (791 A.D.) the holy site was discovered by the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, for when hunting one day near Kūfah he had chased his quarry into a thicket, but on attempting to follow it he found that no force could prevail on his horse to enter the place. Then awe fell on Hārūn, and on enquiring of the peasants they told him this was indeed the burial-place of 'Alī, as such being an inviolate sanctuary. Orders were given to dig, and the body of 'Alī was found, to guard which a shrine (or Mashhad) was then built, which became a place of visitation. At a later date in the year 366 (977 A.D.) 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid erected the Mausoleum which still exists, and the place became a little town 2,500 paces in circuit. Ghāzān Khān the Īl-Khān in recent times erected here the house for Sayyids called the Dār-as-Siyādah, also a Khānḳāh or Darvīsh monastery. To the north-west of Kūfah, eight farsakhs away in the desert, is Karbalā, the place of martyrdom of Ḥusayn. The building now seen here was erected by 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah aforesaid, and a small town has grown up round this shrine also, being some 2,400 paces in circuit. Outside Mashhad Ḥusayn are seen the tombs of those who fell fighting at his side in the battle that resulted in his martyrdom."

The early history of these two celebrated shrines is obscure; the foregoing is the usual Shī'ah account, but though it is true that Hārūn-ar-Rashīd at one period of his reign favoured the Alids, the Arab chronicles do not

relate that he 'invented' the Tomb of 'Alī. The earliest notice in detail of Mashhad 'Alī appears to be of the middle of the fourth century A.H. (tenth A.D.), written by Ibn Ḥawḳal. He says (p. 163) that the Ḥamdānid prince Abu-l-Ḥayjā, who was governor of Mosul in 292 (A.D. 904) and died in 317 (A.D. 929), had built a dome on four columns over the tomb at Mashhad 'Alī, which shrine he ornamented with rich carpets and hangings; further, he surrounded the town there with a wall. Elsewhere Ibn Ḥawḳal, however, adds that in his day the burial-place of 'Alī was also shown in the corner of the great Mosque at Kūfah, and this attribution was credited by many persons. In the pages of the Chronicle of Ibn-al-Athīr (ix, 13, 42, 169, 394; x, 103) it is recorded that the Buyid prince 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah was buried at Mashhad 'Alī, also his sons Sharaf and Bahā-ad-Dawlah; and diverse other notable persons are under various dates stated to have been buried here.

In the year 443 (1051 A.D.) the shrine was burnt to the ground by the Baghdād populace, who, being orthodox, had taken to persecuting the Shī'ahs; it must, however, have been rebuilt shortly afterwards, for Malik Shāh and his Vazīr, the Niẓām-al-Mulk, made their visitation to the tomb in 479 (1086 A.D.). Yāḳūt, who mentions Mashhad 'Alī in his articles on Kūfah and Najaf, unfortunately gives us no details of the shrine.

In regard to Karbalā and the shrine of Ḥusayn, it is nowhere stated by whom it was first built, but in the year 236 (850 A.D.) the Caliph Mutawakkil earned the lasting hatred of all good Shī'ahs by ordering the buildings here to be destroyed by flooding the place with water; also he forbade the visitation of the sacred spot under heavy penalties. How long the tomb of Ḥusayn remained in ruin is not stated, but 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid in 368 (979 A.D.) built a magnificent shrine here, and this is noticed by the contemporary geographers Iṣṭakhrī (p. 85) and Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 166). In 407 (1016 A.D.) the dome at Mashhad Ḥusayn was burnt down, but doubtless was restored before the place was visited by Malik Shāh in 479 (1086 A.D.)

when he went hunting in these districts. Yāḳūt unfortunately gives us no description of Mashhad Ḥusayn to supplement the above, which is derived from Ibn-al-Athīr (*Chronicle*, vii, 36; viii, 518; ix, 209; x, 103).

The description of Baghdād, that follows the description of Kūfah in the *Nuzhat*, has already been summarized in a recent number of this Journal (J.R.A.S. for 1899, p. 885), and most of the other towns are mentioned in the notes to my translation of Ibn Serapion and need only a reference here. A plan of the ruins of Anbār is given by Mr. J. P. Peters in his recent work on *Nippur* (i, 177); he visited the site, and this lies at some distance from Sifayra (see also I.S. 52). Bābil is at the ruins of ancient Babylon (I.S. 259). According to Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 6), Barāz-ar-Rūz and Bandanījīn were the chief towns of two neighbouring Sub-districts (*Ṭassūj*) of the great District (*Astān*) of Shādh Ḳubādh, which was the third Astān of the twelve Districts into which 'Irāḳ was divided in the times of the Abbasids. From the mention of neighbouring places it is almost certain that Barāz-ar-Rūz is identical with the modern Bilād Rūz, lying about twenty-five miles east of Ba'ḳūbā; and Ḥamd-Allah (L. 220*l*) also speaks of its river, which rising in the Kurdistān mountains flowed out into the plain and became lost before reaching the Tigris bank. Bandanījīn, generally called Bandanīgān in the Liḥf District, has left no trace on the map. It was an important town when Yāḳūt (i, 745; iv, 353) wrote, lying near the foot-hills (or Liḥf) of the Khūzistān frontier, and its ruins should be sought for some fifty miles to the eastward, bearing south, of Bilād Rūz.

Baṣrah and 'Abbādān have been noticed before (I.S. 302, 304). The little town of Bayāt still exists, and Ḥamd-Allah (L. 220*g*) refers to its river, which rising in the Kurdistān mountains became lost in the plain below the town after watering many districts. Bayāt, a name which does not occur in the Arab geographers, is identical with, or rather lies close to, the ruins of Ṭīb, a town mentioned by Yāḳūt (iii, 566) as of some importance during Abbasid days, the site of which has been visited and described by Sir H. Layard

(*Early Adventures*, ii, 229). Takrīt was the frontier town on the Tigris between Lower and Upper Mesopotamia (I.S. 36). The great mound of Tall 'Aḳarḳūf still exists; its village was, according to Yāḳūt (i, 867), of the 'Īsā Canal District, and probably stood at no great distance from the town of Muḥawwal, of which apparently all traces have vanished. Ḥadīthah, 'the New Town' of the Euphrates, lying some thirty-five miles below 'Ānah, is called Ḥadīthah-an-Nūrah by Yāḳūt (ii, 223) to distinguish it from the other Ḥadīthah on the Tigris, at the junction of the Upper Zāb. Ḥarbā still exists on the Dujayl Canal (I.S. 39), and Ḥillah is on the Euphrates (I.S. 259). The ruins of Ḥulwān exist at the site called Sar-i-pul, and have been recently visited by M. de Morgan. The remains of Ḥīrah lie near Kūfah (I.S. 53), and the Khāliṣ is a canal of East Baghdād (I.S. 225). Khāniḳīn, Daḳūḳ, Zangīābād, and Ḳaṣr Shīrīn all figure on the map and need no comment. The first and last are in the Itinerary (Route iii), and Ḥamd-Allah describes (L. 220*j*) the Daḳūḳ river as flowing from the Kurdistān mountains by the Darband-i-Khalīfah, past Daḳūḳ, and out into the plain, where its waters were usually lost in the sand, though in the spring freshets they flow down to join the Tigris.

The Dujayl Canal is of West Baghdād (I.S. 70), and Dayr-al-'Āḳūl is on the Tigris, so too Rūmīyah, opposite Madāin (I.S. 40, 41). Rādhān and Bayn-an-Nahrayn—'Between two Canals'—were two neighbouring regions of the Nahrawān. Both names have now disappeared from the map, but, according to Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 6), there were, in Abbasid times, two Sub-districts called the Ṭassūj of Upper and of Lower Rādhān which formed part of the Shād Hurmuz Astān or District, and this last was on the left bank of the Tigris in the neighbourhood of Madāin. It is to be remarked that the name of Bayn-an-Nahrayn does not apparently occur in any other author. The Khurāsān Road is the name for the district to the eastward of Baghdād. Sāmarrah and Ba'ḳūbā exist, and are noticed by Ibn Serapion (I.S. 36, 268). The region of Ṣadrayn

was watered by the Euphrates, but I have failed to discover its position, though the name occurs in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 406), and all the MSS. agree in this spelling. As given in the Itinerary (Route iii), and lying to the north-east of Baghdād, Shahrabān still exists; and 'Ānah is on the Euphrates (I.S. 52). Neither in the *Jihān Numā* nor elsewhere, apparently, is any account found of the towns named 'Askarah (or 'Askarīyah)[1] and Ḳūrān, which are not either of them marked on our maps. Ḳādisīyah may be either the town of that name on the Tigris (I.S. 37), or the place on the desert border near Kūfah, where the great battle was fought when the Arab armies first invaded Mesopotamia.

As already said, Muḥawwal was the town on the great canal called the Nahr 'Īsā (I.S. 71) to the west of Baghdād, and the ruins of Madāin are still to be seen on the Tigris below Baghdād (I.S. 40). The canal called the Nahr Mālik is the one below the Nahr 'Īsā flowing from the Euphrates to the Tigris (I.S. 74), and Nu'mānīyah (I.S. 43) stands on the Tigris a little above where the Nīl Canal—on which is the town called Nīl—flows in (I.S. 261). The city of Nahrawān is the place now called Sifwah (I.S. 269) on the Nahrawān, the great loop canal of the left bank of the Tigris which, starting from Dūr below Takrīt, rejoined the Tigris again below Mādharāyā after a course of about 200 miles (I.S. 267). In its entirety this canal no longer exists, but its course can be traced, and from what Ḥamd-Allah reports it had gone out of use even in his day, for he gives the name of Nahrawān to what is now known as the Diyālā river. In Appendix IV (L. 216*l*) he writes that the Nahrawān river had two head streams, both of which rose in the mountains of Kurdistān. One of them was called the Shīrwān river from the district of that name on its upper course, and lower down reaching the Taymarrah District it took this latter name. Below this the Nahrawān, or Taymarrah, was joined by the other branch, which rose

[1] This place may be 'Askar-al-Mu'taṣim, or the Camp Quarter, at Sāmarrā, where the Alid shrines stood: see Yāḳūt, iii, 675; Mushtarik, 309; Marāṣid, ii, 5.

in the mountains above Ḥulwān, at a spring in the Pass of Ṭāḳ-i-Kizā of the Gīl wa Gīlān District; thence flowing down past the cities of Ḥulwān, Ḳaṣr-i-Shīrīn, and Khāniḳīn to its junction with the other stream. Below the junction, and above Ba'ḳūbā, the united waters formed the Nahrawān, which finally flowed out into the Tigris a short distance below Baghdād.

The town of Hīt lies on the Euphrates (I.S. 52), and Jubbah, if this be the right reading of the text, is a small place on an island in the Euphrates fifteen leagues above Hīt. Lastly, Wāsiṭ on the older course of the Tigris (now the Shaṭṭ-al-Ḥay) was a place of importance as late as the time of Timur (*Ẓafar Nāmah*, i, 657, and elsewhere), though at the present day its ruins have almost completely disappeared (I.S. 44).

GURJISTAN
ARRAN
SHIRVAN
ARMENIA
ADHARBAYJAN
JAZIRAH
KURDISTAN
IRAK 'ARAB
GILAN
TABARISTAN
MAZANDARAN
KUMIS
JIBAL
IRAK 'AJAM
MAFAZAH
OR THE
GREAT DESERT
KHURASAN
KUHISTAN
SISTAN
ARAL SEA
KHWARIZM
KHUZISTAN
FARS
KIRMAN
SHABANKARAN
THE DESERT
PROVINCES AND ROUTES
OF PERSIA
IN THE TIME OF MUSTAWFI.
Drawn by G. LE STRANGE
for the IRAN

REFERENCES TO MAP OF PERSIA.

The names of the stages on the post-roads will be found in Appendix I on the Itineraries.

'Irāḳ 'Ajam.—1, Firūzān; 2, Fārifān; 3, Varāmin; 4, Tihrān and Shrine of Shāh 'Abd-al-'Aẓīm; 5, Fārisjīn; 6, Sūmghān; 7, Sagsābād; 8, Abhar; 9, Āvah; 10, Sāvah; 11, Sunḳurābād; 12, Sujās and Suhravard; 13, Ṣatūrīḳ; 14, Sarjahān; 15, Ṣāin Ḳal'ah; 16, Kāghadh Kunān or Khūnaj; 17, Muzdaḳān; 18, Sāmān; 19, Ardistān; 20, Dalijān; 21, Gulpaygān; 22, Zavārah; 23, Dih Sārūk; 24, Naṭanz; 25, Idhaj or Māl Amīr; 26, 'Arūj or Sūsan; 27, Lurdagān; 28, Sābūrkhwāst; 29, Khurramābād; 30, Burūjīrd; 31, Ṣaymarah; 32, Asadābād; 33, Ābah of Kharraḳān; 34, Darguzīn; 35, Rūdarūd, Tuvī, and Sarkān; 36, Maybud; 37, Nāyin.

Adharbayjān.—1, Awjān; 2, Ṭarūj or Ṭasūj; 3, Khalkhāl; 4, Shāl and Kulūr; 5, Ahar; 6, Khoi; 7, Salmās; 8, Urmīyah; 9, Ushnūyah; 10, Sarāv; 11, Miyānij; 12, Pasavā; 13, Dih Khwārkān; 14, Laylān; 15, Marand; 16, Zangiyān and Bridge of Khudā Āfarīn; 17, Karkar and Bridge of Ḍiyā-al-Mulk; 18, Nakhchivān; 19, Urdūbād.

Mughān and Arrān.—1, Barzand; 2, Pīlvār; 3, Maḥmūdābād; 4, Barda'ah.

Kurdistān.—1, Alishtar; 2, Bahār; 3, Sulṭānābād Jamjamāl; 4, Shahrazūr; 5, Kirind and Kūshān; 6, Harsin; 7, Vasṭām or Bīsūtūn.

Khūzistān.—1, Junday Shāpūr; 2, Ḥawīzah; 3, Rāmhurmuz; 4, Sūs; 5, 'Askar Mukram; 6, Masruḳān town.

Fārs.—1, Tawwaz; 2, Khabr; 3, Khunayfghān; 4, Ṣimkān; 5, Kavār; 6, Kārzīn, Kīr, and Abzar; 7, Kāriyān; 8, Lāghir; 9, Kūrān; 10, Mīmand; 11, Iṣṭakhr; 12, Abarḳūh; 13, Iḳlīd; 14, Surmaḳ; 15, Bayḍā; 16, Kharrāmah; 17, Māyin; 18, Band-i-Amīr; 19, Harāt; 20, Ḳuṭruh; 21, Kamīn; 22, Kallār and

Kūrad; 23, Yazdikhwāst; 24, Dih Girdū; 25, Abādah; 26, Jahram; 27, Juvaym of Abu Ahmad; 28, Shāpūr; 29, Nawbanjān; 30, Tīr Murdān; 31, Jirrah; 32, Gunbad Mallaghān; 33, Khisht; 34, Kumārij; 35, Juvaym and Khullār; 36, Rīshahr; 37, Būstānak; 38, Mahrubān; 39, Sīnīz; 40, Jannābā.

SHABĀNKĀRAH.—1, Darkān or Zarkān; 2, Iṣṭahbānān; 3, Nīrīz; 4, Khayrah; 5, Tārum; 6, Kurm and Rūbanz.

KUHISTĀN.—1, Bajistān; 2, Junābād; 3, Dasht-i-Biyāḍ and Fāris; 4, Birjand; 5, Khusf; 6, Isfad; 7, Istind; 8, Shārakhs; 9, Ṭabas Kīlakī; 10, Ṭabas Masīnān; 11, Darah Castle.

KHURĀSĀN.—1, Isfarāyin; 2, Bayhaḳ or Sabzivār; 3, Biyār; 4, Khudāshah of Juvayn; 5, Mashhad-i-Imām Riḍā; 6, Fūshanj; 7, Kusūy; 8, Khargird; 9, Mālān of Bākharz; 10, Gunābād of Bādghīz; 11, Jām, and Būzjān or Pūchkān; 12, Khwāf; 13, Salām; 14, Sanjān; 15, Zūzan; 16, Abivard; 17, Khavārān.

ḲŪMIS.—1, Khuvār or Maḥallah Bāgh; 2, Samnān; 3, Āhūvān; 4, Girdkūh; 5, Fīrūzkūh.

GĪLĀN.—1, Tūlim; 2, Shaft; 3, Fūmin; 4, Kawtam; 5, Lāhijān.

(*To be continued.*)

ART. V.—*The Risālatu'l-Ghufrān:* by Abū'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī. Part II, including Table of Contents with Text and Translation of the Section on *Zandaḳa* and of other passages. By REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

[It was my desire that the translation of the passages here selected should be accompanied by the Arabic text, and in writing the notes I assumed that the reader would have the Arabic before him. It has been found necessary, however, to divide the article into three parts, two of which will contain the translation and notes, while the original text will be printed separately in the third.]

IN the last sentence of my paper on Part I of the *Ghufrān* (J.R.A.S., October, 1900) I described the Second Part as "more difficult, but also more characteristic and interesting." Further study has led me somewhat to modify this view. It is more difficult to read, because the scribe, hastening to the goal, drove his pen furiously. On the first reading a good deal of it seemed to me almost hopeless, but a closer acquaintance has removed not a few of these stumbling-blocks, and I am convinced that only patience and determination are needed to remove all, or nearly all, that are left. If indeed Abū'l-'Alā had always written as he writes in the section to which this article is mainly devoted, his readers would have no cause for complaint: it comprises many anecdotes and comparatively little rhetoric; hence it is, beyond doubt, less difficult than any other section of the *Risāla.* Unfortunately, these twenty or thirty pages are but an oasis in the surrounding desert. Elsewhere Abū'l-'Alā seldom escapes from his artificial prose with its forced metaphors and tyrannous rhymes. The passages of which I have attempted a translation, on pp. 127–129 and 161–163, may serve to illustrate his typical manner.

But on the whole, when account is made of the large number of scattered anecdotes, the Second Part is scarcely equal in difficulty to the First. That it is more characteristic will be admitted, in the sense that it is more personal. The author says that he now begins to answer his correspondent's letter, and though each point taken up is merely a peg on which to hang elaborate rhetoric or discursive erudition, we do get occasional glimpses of the man behind the artist. The relative interest and value of the two parts must be a question of taste. Considered purely as literature, Part I cannot fail to be preferred by good judges. It is a delightful creation of the fancy, a trifle pedantic, but witty, audacious, and original. According to tradition, the *Ghufrān* is tainted with heresy. For this criticism not the author's treatment of *zandaḳa*, which is by no means sympathetic, but his violation of orthodox susceptibilities must be held responsible. He has made Paradise the scene of a frivolous *causerie*. I am not aware that this feature of his work has any parallel in Muḥammadan literature. It recalls faintly the Sixth Book of the Aeneid, the Divine Comedy, and the Vision of Arḍā Vīrāf, but all these are distinguished by a calm sincerity and lofty seriousness which at once degrade the *Ghufrān* to the level of an impudent parody. To find a really significant parallel let us turn to Lucian, an author with whom Abū'l-'Alā has much in common. Lucian, in the *Verae Historiae*,[1] describes his visit to the Happy Isles, where, after seeing many ancient worthies, he has a talk with Homer, who enlightens him touching some details of the Homeric problem, and affirms the genuineness of the verses rejected by the Alexandrian grammarians, Aristarchus and Zenodotus. This is quite in Abū'l-'Alā's spirit; so is the description of the islands and of the pleasures enjoyed by the Blest. A passing allusion to the *Frogs* of Aristophanes will suffice: here the differences are very great, and Abū'l-'Alā, with all his cleverness and learning, shows poorly

[1] Book ii, § 11 sqq. (ed. Dindorf). On leaving the Happy Isles Lucian, like the Shaikh in the *Ghufrān*, visited the infernal regions. Cf. also his *Necyomanteia*.

beside the splendid genius of the Greek. Both writers, however, agree in the burlesque handling of the Afterworld; and the literary duel between Æschylus and Euripides may be compared with that between A'shā Ḳais and Nābigha al-Ja'dī in the *Ghufrān*.

The miscellaneous character of Part II, though destructive to its artistic merit, renders it perhaps more generally interesting. About a third consists of anecdotes, verses, and reflections concerning *zandaḳa*. These present a lively picture of ignorance and knavery possessing or assuming a religious virtue. Abū'l-'Alā does not try to go beneath the surface; his observations on the origin of *zandaḳa* are trivial; he offers no theory such as that put forward by Chwolson,[1] for which a strong case might be made, that many of these sects were the offspring of a widespread conspiracy, directed by Persians, to honeycomb Muḥammadanism with Persian ideas and finally to re-establish the old faith upon the ruins of its oppressor. But after all, how should a mere man of letters, even though he was a poet and thinker as well, attain to the philosophical conception of history which so rarely is found in the professed historians of Islām? He has given us notes on the margin of history; and a note is often more piquant than the text. His attitude towards the *zindīḳs*, if not absolutely irreproachable in the eyes of an orthodox Moslem, affords no ground for the imputation that he sympathized with them. He prays God to reward the Shaikh, who had expressed his abhorrence of their doctrines, and to bless Muḥammad for having preached the gospel of the sword against heresy. He contrasts unfavourably the wilder spirits among them with the pagan Arabs, "who inclined to the opinion of the philosophers and the wisdom of the ancient books."[2] He castigates Ibnu'l-Rāwandī for his presumption in attempting to supersede the Ḳor'ān by a work of his own composition. In fact, he has nothing to say on their behalf, though he sometimes utters the hope that they are not so black as they

[1] *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, i, 288.
[2] I.e. they acknowledged no prophet.

paint themselves and that they profess what they do not actually believe. A bigot might accuse him of undue tolerance when, e.g., he will not affirm that Bashshār b. Burd has gone to Hell, but leaves him in the hands of God, of whose mercy only infidels need despair. And the inquisitor may chance upon an unguarded expression like "God does not care whether His servants keep the fast through fear or whether they break it." But on the whole he cannot fairly be charged even with lukewarmness, and certainly not with impiety. The ill repute of the *Ghufrān* appears to rest on two circumstances. It cannot be denied that Abū 'l-'Alā depicted the Paradise of the faithful as a glorified *salon* haunted by immortal but immoral Bohemians. In the second place, a man is known by the company he keeps. Sale translated the Kor'ān: he was therefore 'a Turk.' Abū'l-'Alā published stories about the *zindīks* and blasphemous quotations from their poetry: who could doubt that he was a rascally fellow? Abū'l-'Alā indeed hints that his accusers were right. "It is said that I am religious, but if the veil were lifted my critics would not be content with abusing me: they would wish to make me drink poison." He humbly turns the smitten cheek to his assailants; he reserves his wrath for those who damn him with injudicious praise. How far this was sincere and how far it was politic self-depreciation, I cannot now undertake to determine.[1]

The identity of his correspondent still remains undiscovered. I think, however, there is some plausibility in the conjecture that he is Abū Manṣūr al-Dailamī, better known as Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Manṣūr, who was the son of a soldier in the service of Saifu'l-Daula Ibn Ḥamdān and was a good but licentious poet.[2] The Shaikh of the

[1] I confess to having grave doubts of the author's honesty. Hypocrisy, he repeatedly observes, is the way of the world, and one fears that he himself practised it as a fine art. Cf. what he says about Ibnu'l-Rāwandī's *Dāmigh*, and note *ad loc.*

[2] Ibn Khallikān, *Translation*, ii, 191, where he is casually mentioned in the life of Ibn Jinnī. I shall be grateful for further references. The very brief notice in Bākharzī gives no information.

Risāla is often spoken of as 'Alī b. Manṣūr, and the *kunya*, Abū'l-Ḥasan, is also mentioned. As Saifu'l-Daula died in 355 A.H., it is probable enough that this 'Alī b. Manṣūr was 60 years old in 424 A.H. The only objection that occurs to me is the silence of Abū'l-'Alā regarding his poetry.

The translation aims at being exact rather than elegant, but I have not scrupled occasionally to vary the construction in order to make the sense clearer. Errors will, of course, be found, as is inevitable in a paper dealing with a difficult text, which I have had to decipher and interpret without help and in a definite time. The labour spent on this article was small, however, compared with the preliminary stage of correcting and, as far as I could, elucidating the whole Arabic text of Part II. Therefore I would claim indulgence for errors that are due, not to carelessness or ignorance, but to the necessity of making an end. The notes, though very brief and inadequate, are the fruit of much tedious hunting. Abū'l-'Alā rarely gives the full name. He writes "al-Ḳuṭrabbulī," "al-'Alavī 'al-Baṣrī," etc., and since his biographical particulars are usually of the scantiest, it is no simple matter to decide what person is meant, or even, perhaps, to find anyone who might be meant. The list of variants is approximately complete, but I have not thought it worth while to mention every instance in which the diacritical points are misplaced, omitted, or wrongly inserted. Words enclosed within square brackets are omitted in the MS.

Before coming to the Table of Contents I must refer to another — possibly the only other — MS. of this work. Writing in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* (Feb. 25, 1899), Dr. Goldziher announced that a manuscript of the *Ghufrān* is in the 'Privatbesitz' of an Egyptian scholar, 'Abdu'l-Raḥīm Aḥmad, "von welcher er vor nun 2 Jahren eine Ausgabe in Aussicht gestellt hat."[1] Apparently this prospect has not yet ripened into a reality, but there is no reason to conclude that it has fallen to the ground, and I look

[1] For this reference I am indebted to the courtesy of Professor Margoliouth.

forward to being enabled, by the publication of 'Abdu'l-Raḥīm's MS., to improve and in sundry places to restore the text of mine, which I hope eventually to edit with translation, commentary, and indices. Hence I refrain from recording here some valuable corrections sent to me by Sir Charles Lyall,[1] who had a short loan of the MS. These and any others that I may receive will be gratefully acknowledged at the proper time.

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[1] One may be mentioned. Sir Charles Lyall proposes to connect زِقْفُونَه (see J.R.A.S. for 1900, pp. 686–7) with Syriac ܐܙܩܦ = *elevatus, suspensus,* 'crucified.' This gives exactly the meaning required.

[2] He cites a verse of *rajaz* that occurs under فِدًى in Ibn Wallād's *Kitābu'l-Maḳṣūr wa'l-Mamdūd*, ed. Brönnle, p. 95, last line, and a verse by Nābigha (Derenbourg, i, 42).

[3] The author says in introducing the story:

قد كِدْتُ [كذب .MS] أَلحقُ برهْط العَدَم ' من غير الأَسَف ولا النَدَم ' ولكنّما ارهب قُدومى على الجبّار ' ولم أُصْلِحْ نخلى بإبار '

"Presently I shall join the dead, without regret or repentance. Yet I fear to approach the Omnipotent before I have duly seen to the grafting of my palm-trees (sown in order that I may reap)."

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[1] They begin :

أَلْيَوْمَ يُبْنَى لِدُوَيْدٍ بَيْتُهُ
يَا رُبَّ بَيْتٍ حَسَبٍ بَنَيْتُهُ

[2] وإنّى لأكرهُ بشهادة آلله تلك الدعوى المُبطلة كراهةَ المسيح مَنْ جعله ربّ العِزّة ' فما ترك للفِتَن من مَهزّة ' بدليل قوله الخ

"God is my witness that I detest the vain pretensions made on my behalf as the Messias detested those who would have it that he was the Lord of glory. But he left no loophole for mischief, as is shown by his words," etc. (Ḳor'ān, v, 116).

[3] E.g. in proverbs. The author quotes among other examples :

فَلَا تَشْلَلْ يَدٌ فَتَكَتْ بعَمْرٍو
فَإِنَّكَ لَنْ تُذَلَّ وَلَن تُضَامَا

This may be addressed to anyone, whatever his name. Instances follow in which the feminine does duty for the masculine, and *vice versâ*.

[4] Abū'l-'Alā says : "He is not to be blamed on this account ; from being a habit it has become second nature" (إنّما هى عادة صارت كالطبع).

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[1] Brockelmann, i, 146.

[2] al-Sīrāfī's *Muḳni'* or *Iḳnā'*, which he left unfinished, was completed by his son.

[3] Abū'l-'Alā says that Ibnu'l-Sarrāj completed the first half of his *Mūjiz* and made a rough draft of the second half, which then received its final shape from Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī.

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[1] By Ibnu'l-Rāwandī and Abū Zaid al-Ḳhazrājī (Ḥājī Ḳhalīfa, v, 137). The full title كتاب القضيب الذهب is given in the *Fihrist* (*Vienna Oriental Journal*, iv, 224):

وهو الذى يثبت فيه انّ علم الله تعالى بالاشياء مُحْدَث وأنّه كان غير عالم حتّى خلق لنفسه علمًا

Abū'l-'Alā's description is purely rhetorical, abounding in plays upon the different meanings of *ḳaḍīb*.

[2] I do not find this work of Ibnu'l-Rāwandī mentioned elsewhere, but in the *Fihrist* (ibid., 224) we read:

كتاب الفرند فى الطعن على النبىّ صلعم

It would not be safe to conclude positively that الفرند is a false reading: the two works may be distinct. Considering, however, the very untrustworthy character of the Leiden MS., from which this fragment is published, I think it likely that الفرند is a corruption. The frequent word-plays leave no doubt that الفريد is the genuine reading in the *Risāla*. The title in either case may mean "Book of the Sword."

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[1] The Banū'l-Ḥārith b. 'Adī. They were so called because they would not ally themselves with other tribes, but preferred "a splendid isolation."

[2] Also by Ibnu'l-Rāwandī:

كتاب المرجان فى اختلاف اهل الاسلام

(*Fihrist*, ibid.).

[3] Brockelmann, i, 79.

[4] See Ibnu'l-Athīr, vi, 351–359. As this and the following passages are almost entirely rhetorical, I have not translated them.

[5] ورحم الله ابن أبى داود ' فلقد شفى الأنفس من الجود ' وكشف حال الأفشين فعلم انه آلف شَيْن ' مخالف رشاد وزَيْن '

For Afshīn see Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen* under the reign of al-Mu'taṣim (ii, 296 sqq.). The Kāḍī Aḥmad Ibn Abī Dā'ūd (Houtsma, *Zum Kitāb al-Fihrist*, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, iv, 222) took a prominent part in his trial.

[6] The MS. has الكسانيّة, but as they are mentioned in connection with Muḥammad Ibnu'l-Ḥanafīyya, this must be an error of the scribe.

[7] A contemporary of the author, living at Baṣra. Some people pretended that he was an incarnation of the Deity, and the revenues from the property-tax were handed over to him. Abū'l-'Alā adds, however, that "he conveyed a large portion of them to the Sulṭān."

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[1] وامّا بلدى حرسهم الله فاذا كان الحظّ [MS. الخط] قد اعطانى حُسْن ظنّ الغُرَبَآء ، فلا يمتنع ان يعطينى تلك المنزلة من الرهط القُرَبَآء ، ولكنّهم معى كطلّاب الخطبة من الاخرس ، وحتى ناجر من شهر الفرس ،

Nājir corresponds to Ṣafar. The month of the horse seems to be Nātik, which also means 'a restive horse' and corresponds to Ramaḍān.

[2] The famous Ṣūfī, who was at first a highwayman.
[3] Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā, after whom the sect of the Wāṣilīyya was called.
[4] Ibn Khallikān (Wüstenfeld). 205.
[5] Sprenger's *Muḥammad*, iii, 33, note.
[6] Ibid., i 82 sqq.; *Aghānī*, iii, 15–17; Nawawī, 264.
[7] Nawawī, 178; Wüstenfeld, *Register*, 441.
[8] The name is written 'Ṭalḥa' on its first occurrence; afterwards 'Abū Ṭalḥa.'
[9] Ibn Khallikān (Wüstenfeld), 617.
[10] Flügel, *Grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, 223.

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[1] *Aghānī*, xiv, 88–90.
[2] The MS. reads Abū'l-Ṣalt, but see Ibn Hishām, p. 40, where the verses are quoted.
[3] Flügel, 230.
[4] His name was 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid b. 'Alī. Ibn Khālawaih nicknamed him Ḳurmūṭatu'l-Kabarthal on account of his short stature. Abū'l-'Alā also mentions several of his works, adding that many have perished, because he and his father were slain by the Greeks who took Halab (351 A.H.).
[5] Cf. Ḥarīrī (ed. De Sacy), p. 34; Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, ii, 780.
[6] *Aghānī*, ix, 157.
[7] Well known as a Ṣūfī (Ibn Khallikān, 228; Jāmī, *Nafaḥātu'l-Uns*, 201). Abū'l-'Alā says:

وامّا ابو بكر الشبلىّ رحمه الله فلا رَيْبَ أنّـه من اهـل الـفـضـل وأرجو ان يكون سالمًا من مذهب الحلوليّة وانشدنى (MS. العصل)

[*Continued on next page.*] له مُنشد شعر

RISĀLATU'L-GHUFRĀN. PART II.

This section has run to great length, but now I will set about answering the letter. I perceive that you use the words "May God make me your ransom!" with that sincerity and honesty which are natural to *you*, but remote from the mass of mankind; for everyone cheats his neighbour and has become inventive in lying. If Queen Shīrīn had said to Khusrau, "May God make me your ransom when you stay at home or go abroad!" she would have cozened him therein and played the hypocrite with him, even though she enraptured him by her unadorned beauty and yielded to his desire. Yet he had taken her from a low condition and raised her to the height of luxury. His friends rebuked him, and stories and tales passed among them concerning it. We are told (but God alone knows who is blessed or banned) that he was asked: "Why does

P. 123.

P. 124.

بَاحَ مَجْنُونُ عَامِرٍ بِهَوَاهُ
وَكَتَمْتُ ٱلْهَوَى فَفُزْتُ بِوَجْدِى
فَإِذَا كَانَ فِى ٱلْقِيَمَةِ نُودِىَ
أَيْنَ أَهْلُ ٱلْهَوَى تَقَدَّمْتُ وَحْدِى

هٰكذا أُنشِدتُه نُودِىَ بسكونِ اليآء ولا احبّ ذلک وإن كان جائزًا وانّما يوجد فى اشعار المُحْدَثين الضَعَفَة فان صحّ أنّ هذين البيتين له فلا يمتنع ان يعترض عليه قائلٌ فيقول من زعم انّه صاف ' ممّا يجب ان يكون بغير الانصاف ' وانّعاؤه الانفراد من العالم لا يسلّمه اليه البَشَر إن كان هواه للمخلوقين ' أَوِ الخالق ولا يقين ' فله فى الأمم نظرآء كثير

your Majesty take delight in this shameless creature[1] who will enter Hell-fire[2]?" The king gave them a parable by means of the cup—for when a lady is wooed she may dispense with beads: he put the hair and blood into the vessel, and with the purpose of correcting that individual, said to him as he stood by unrepentant, "Are you willing to drink?" "Nay," said he, "'t is polluted." Then the king poured out and threw away the contents, and having cleansed and washed the vessel he filled it with wine and offered it to the boon-companions; and they all were eager to drink, for who turns in disgust from wine that is old and mellow? "Shīrīn," said he, "is like this, so do not in your folly point the finger [of scorn]."

As for what you say touching my state[3] (may you be protected from calamity's evil eye and endowed with abundance of wealth! *Ḥiyar* = *kathīr*; the *rājiz* says:

P. 127. *O our Lord, if anyone rejoices in being rich, bestow on him plenteous herds, O Lord!*),

long did the idol give good luck [to its worshippers], until the ignorant thought that the coming thereof was a sure

[1] مُومِسَة, *mima*, actress (Wellhausen in Z.D.M.G., lii, 511). مُومِس here seems to have the same sense.

[2] مغمس is not in the dictionaries, and I am doubtful as to its meaning. If it is not = 'fire in which sinners are plunged,' it may perhaps have the sense of 'tavern' (بِيعَة). Cf. the lines of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya (*Kāmil*, 218, 6 sqq.) and the following passage from the *Risāla*, p. 13:

وقد حدّث محدّث انّه رأى بَسِيل [MS. يسبل] ملك الروم
وهو يغمس خبزاً فى خمر ويصيب منه

[3] The whole of this passage should be compared with another in the *Letters* (ed. Margoliouth), p. ٦٠, l. ١٨ sqq.

promise. If I enjoy a vain reputation, I am notorious for having trouble dealt to me in full measure. Verily the patient are rewarded and commended, and 't is beyond doubt that a scanty remnant of water will be the portion of him who changes his abode.

I swear an oath like that of Imru'u'l-Ḳais, when he wished to stay with his beloved and had no fear either of maid or of mistress,[1]

And said,[2] *"By God, I will not stir from my seat, although they should cut off my head and my limbs beside thee!"*

[3]. . . . that I am slandered just as the Arabs slander the *ghūl*, which pays no heed to their stories, and as proverbial sayings malign the lizard, which like a passionate lover makes the hard ground[4] its bed, and speak in the name of the dumb hyena whose tongue is not loosed at dawn or eve. It is supposed that I am a *savant*, whereas I possess neither knowledge nor intelligence. Truly P. 128. this is an affliction that renders it impossible to see things as they really are; yet the sciences demand application and the most assiduous study of books. It is said also that I am religious, but if the veil were lifted, my critics would not be satisfied with abusing me: they would wish to make me drink *jauzal* with vitriol. Yet how can the morning neigh of the wild-ass, whose haunt is the Abyssinian levels, be such measured verse as the damsel in her chamber

[1] Literally: "of the woman spying or of the woman that is the spy's object."

[2] *The Dīvāns*, lii, 22. Abū'l-'Alā has altered فَقُلْتُ into فقال.

[3] In order to save space, I omit three poetical oaths which follow in the MS.: that of Zuhair (*The Dīvāns*, xvi, 16 seq.), of Sā'ida (whom I cannot identify):

حَلَفْتُ أَمْرِئٌ بِرِّ سَرِفْتَ يَمِينَهُ

وَلَكُلُّ مَنْ سَاسَ الْأُمُورَ مُجَرَّبُ

and the famous lines of Farazdaḳ (*Kāmil*, 69. 9 sqq.).

[4] For ضَبٌّ كُدْيَةٍ or كلدٍ cf. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, ii, 608.

listens to? And does any man of sense and discernment imagine that the croaking raven uttered an amatory ode? Or that sparrows which fly with wings are like those of al-Mundhir which ate fodder and grunted?[1] And how should an ordinary bird be thought to coo like the dove, when it is dumb as well as ugly in comparison? Far out is he who asserts that stones speak and feel pain when struck; and whoever seeks to clothe himself with a face-covering (*liṯām*)[2] will have nothing to console himself withal.

Were I ignorant of these reports, I should not have had the trouble of denying or correcting them. I should have been like the idol, which does not care whether it is venerated or split, and like a salt land, which heeds not whether people say "It is fertile," or, "What a bad crop!"; and like the beast slaughtered in its prime, which pays no attention to the man eating it, whether he says "It is fat," or whether (when the butcher cuts it up), "It sticks to the board." God, whose help is invoked against illusion, does not disturb the even balance.[3] *Al-ilāḳī* is connected with *ilāḳ*, i.e. lightning that is not followed by rain. How can I be deemed happy, when I am belied and have knowledge attributed to me, whereas I am not secure in the end from a distant shame? If I joy in this reputation, I am like one suspected of being rich: men believe that his rumoured wealth comes to him in loads,[4] and it pleases him when the ignorant say, "He has plenty of money, gold is on his right hand and his left." Then the sultan requires him to pay over a large sum, and finding mere breath, he beats him

[1] The 'sparrows' of al-Mundhir were camels (see Lane under عصفور). My reading (الكالئة المتاحكة for الكاينة للمتماحنة) does not involve a great change from the original, of which I can make nothing.

[2] The MS. reads اللغام, 'froth issuing from a camel's mouth.'

[3] I.e. "does not make truth prevail over falsehood." But the reading is uncertain. I take الراكدة بالاواقى as a periphrasis for الميزان.

[4] For جمال in this sense see Dozy under جمّل. The exact translation is: "that the rumours (of his wealth) bring him loads (of solid merchandise)."

to extort a confession, till at last he is punished capitally and receives no merciful treatment. God knows, I listen gladly to my critics, because their doubts of me are not baseless, while I am vexed by fictitious praise that leaves me like a trapped animal exposed to the weather. Had I been butted by the 'horns' of the locust, I should have been debarred from all volition.[1] As for the horn of the goat, someone else, in my opinion, has need of it, since to me the horn of the gazelle is fatal.[2] May God pardon those who think well of the evildoer and place a pilgrimage in the postponed month! Were it not that I dislike society, preferring to die the death of a mountain-goat in its lair, and if these visionaries were confronted with me, it would soon be proved that they are in error. May the obscure reality become clear to them, and may the seeker grasp the leading-rope! P. 129.

As regards the story which you mention of al-Ḳuṭrabbulī[3] and Ibn Abī'l-Azhar,[4] the like of it may sometimes happen. It is dubious whether the former was imprisoned in 'Irāḳ, but his imprisonment in Syria is well known. I have been told that when he was asked about the true meaning of this P. 140.

[1] I.e. the feeblest attack reduces me to helplessness.

[2] This appears to mean: "It is a waste of good powder and shot to criticize me, because I am already past praying for." The words برّوق الظبى اطيح may perhaps allude to the proverb (Freytag, i, 383), حمله على قرن أعفر, "he carried him on the buck's horn," i.e. inflicted a great misfortune upon him.

[3] The only person with this *nisba* whom I can find is Ibn Sa'īd al-Ḳuṭrabbulī, mentioned in the *Fihrist*, p. 124. That he was nearly contemporary with Ibn Abī'l-Azhar may be gathered from the statement of Ibn Khallikān (Translation, iv, 80), that Yaḥyā Ibnu'l-Munajjim, who died 300 A.H., found him a pleasant companion. Ḳuṭrabbul is a village between Baghdād and 'Ukrabā.

[4] *Fihrist*, 147; Flügel, *Grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, 97. He died 325 A.H.

sobriquet, he said, "It is derived from *nabwa*," i.e. a hill.[1] He aspired to what worse men than he have aspired to, but a Providence on high directs the course of Destiny: its prizes fall to the fortunate, and it is not afraid of disappointing the earnest striver. Various things in his dīvān show that he was devoted to religion and resembled an imbecile in his craziness, e.g. the verse:

Recompense is given, but none receives it except through his Creator, by divine ordinance.[2]

And again:

How unjust is God, if He requites His creatures, yet does not allow their assertions to be sincere!

But when it comes to fundamental principles, the speech of the tongue tells nothing of a man's belief, for the world is naturally disposed to falsehood and hypocrisy. It is possible that one should profess an article of faith, making it a specious mask whereby to gain applause or some idle transitory ambition, and perhaps in the past there may have been people with devout exteriors and impious hearts. I feel sure that Di'bil b. 'Alī had no religion. Although he professed to be a Shī'ite, his motive was altogether worldly. How many keep the Sabbath by writing odes to their mistresses! I doubt not that Di'bil held the same opinions as al-Ḥakamī[3] and his fellows, whose *zandaḳa* was notorious and emanated from their very doors.[4] Abū Nuwās is a subject of dispute: it is claimed for him that he was pious and used to perform his daily prayers by night, but as a matter of fact he took the way of his contemporaries. The Prophet (on him be God's blessing and peace!) found the Arabs desiring green fodder but not spirited enough

[1] I do not understand this derivation.

[2] Possibly بجزى should be omitted; the metre will then be *ṭawīl*.

[3] Abū Nuwās.

[4] I.e. they were inveterate, radical *zindīḳs*. Cf. the German phrase, 'von Hause aus.'

to pass the outer wall. Some followed him—God best knows their true thoughts. But when Islām became established and its empire firmly based, the Arabs mixed with other peoples and heard the language of physicians, astronomers, and masters of dialectic; and a great number fell away. Heresy has never ceased among men from time immemorial: writers of history allege that Adam (God bless him!) was sent to his children, and that he warned them of the future life and bade them fear punishment, but they would not believe him and rejected his tidings. And so it has continued to the present day. According to some scholars the chiefs of the Koraish were *zindīḳs*. And serve them right! Their poet, elegizing one after another those who fell at Badr, said with reference to Shaddād b. al-Aswad al-Laithī: P. 141

Umm Bakr gave me greeting. Greet Umm Bakr and say, "Peace be with thee!"

How much glory, how many a noble man lies at the well, the well of Badr! [1]

And at the well, the well of Badr, how many a wooden bowl crowned with the camel's hump! [2]

O Umm Bakr, never offer me the cup again, now that the brother of Hishām is gone!

Ah, who will bear my message to the 'Compassionate,' that I renounce the month of fasting?

And now that his uncle is gone, who was a chief among the chiefs, a mighty winebibber.

[1] This verse is supplied at the bottom of the page.

[2] This verse is in Shahrastānī, p. 433; Wright's Reading-book, p. 150. The second line is misunderstood by Haarbrücker. For the sense, "what splendid hospitality was shown by the fallen!" cf. *Ḥamāsa*, p. 611:

ترى الجِفانَ من الشِيزَى مُكَلَّلَةً
قُدّامَهُ وَانه التشريفُ والكَرَمُ

where مُكَلَّلَةً = 'crowned with pieces of flesh.' The hump was considered to be the choicest part of the camel.

When the head is severed from the shoulders, a man has had his fill of meat.

Does Ibn Kabsha[1] *promise us that we shall live? How can there be life for the 'ṣadā' and the 'hāma'?*

Dost thou omit to ward me from death, and wilt thou revive me when my bones are rotten?

Assertions like these are made only by one who is resolved to die after making them[2] and feels no regret when death is near at hand.

P. 144. Touching the complaints addressed to Time by temporal beings, that is a practice borrowed from antiquity. Abuse of Time increased to such an extent that it was prohibited in the *ḥadīth* "*Do not abuse Time, for God is Time.*" What this means is well known, and also that its inner sense is not that which appears on the surface; for one of the Prophets (on them be peace!) used to hold that Time is the Creator but not the Object of worship, and we read in the Kor'ān[3]: "*Nothing but Time destroys us.*" The statement

[1] Shahrastānī (p. 433) gives the line thus:

يُخْبِرُنَا ٱلرَّسُولُ بِأَنْ سَنَحْيَى

which is a manifest reconstruction. Ibn Kabsha stands, by poetical license, for Ibn Abī Kabsha. This was a nickname derisively applied to Muḥammad; it could hardly fail, therefore, to be expunged by the pious *rāwī*. According to a marginal note:

كان ابو كبشة يعبد الشعرى اليمانية وترك دين آبائه وخالفهم فى دينهم وعبادة الاصنام واستعارت الجاهليّة هذا الاسم للنبىّ صلعم لكونه ترك دين آبائه وما كانوا عليه واتّخذ دينًا غير دينهم إنّ الدين عند الله الاسلام

Cf. Ṭabarī, i, 1565; Sprenger's *Muḥammad*, iii, 179.

[2] The desperate man has nothing to gain by holding his tongue. This seems better than to translate "in defence of them."

[3] xlv, 23.

of certain people, that Time is the motion of the heavenly sphere, is a phrase devoid of reality. In Sībawaihi's Book there are indications that, according to his view, Time is the passing of night and day; and marginal notes on this expression have been appended to the text. I have given a definition that well deserves to have been anticipated, although I never heard it before, viz., "Time is a thing whereof the least part is capable of containing something," just like the contents of a vessel; for the predicament of quantity cannot be separated from Contingent Being. With respect to those who say, "*Nothing but Time destroys us*," etc., as for instance the verse generally attributed to al-Akhṭal, but declared by Ḥabīb b. Aus to be Sham'ala the Taghlibite's:

The Prince of the Faithful and his deeds are like Time: no disgrace attaches to the doings of Time.

Or as another says:[1]

Time joined us in concord, and even so Time made a parting between us.

Or as Abū Ṣakhr[2] says:

I marvelled at the mischief-making of Time between her and me, but when our intercourse ended, Time was still.

[1] According to a marginal note:

هذا البيت لأبى محمّد بن عطيّة المُقرى وبعده

وَكَذَاكَ يَفْعَلُ فِى تَصَرُّفِهِ
وَٱلدَّهْرُ لَيْسَ يَنَالُهُ وِتْرُ
كُنْتُ ٱلضَّنِينَ بِمَنْ فُجِعْتُ بِهِ
فَسَلَوْتُ حِينَ تَقَادَمَ ٱلْأَمْرُ
وَلَخَيْرُ حَظِّكَ فِى ٱلْمُصِيبَةِ أَنْ
يَلْقَاكَ عِنْدَ نُزُولِهَا ٱلصَّبْرُ

[2] Possibly Kuthayyiru 'Azza, who was a fanatical Shī'ite (*Aghānī*, viii, 27); or, as is more likely, Abū Ṣakhr al-Hudhalī (*Aghānī*, xxi, 143 sqq.).

It is not alleged that any of these offered sacrifices to the celestial spheres or endowed them with reason. No; this is a thing inherited by one age after another. In the tribe
P. 145. of 'Abdu'l-Ḳais there was a poet called Shātimu'l-Dahr,[1] who is the author of the following verses:

And when I saw that Time's way was hard, and he showed us a hairy face with cropped ears,
And an ape's forehead, thin like the sandal-strap, and a shrunken nose,[2] and he haughtily averted his beard,[3]
I remembered the noble, the munificent who passed away, and I said to 'Amr and Ḥusām, "Oh, give me leave to depart!"

As to your indignation touching the *zindīḳs* and heretics, may God reward you for it, even as He rewarded you for your thirst on the road to Mecca, and for your exposure to the scorching heat at 'Arafa, and for the nights which you passed at Muzdalifa! Doubtless you supplicated God during the numbered[4] and appointed days[5] that He should make soft [to your feet] the hills of Islām, and should set up a shining sign for those who submit themselves to His will.

But *zandaḳa* is an old sore; the skin has long been worm-eaten by it. Some divines have held that, if a man who has shown himself to be a *zindīḳ* repents in fear of being put to death, his repentance is not admitted. There is a difference in the case of other infidels: when an apostate recants his recantation is accepted. Every religion has its heretics,[6]

[1] I have not been able to find any further mention of this poet.

[2] Cf. the verse cited by Lane under جدع:

وَأَصْبَحَ ٱلدَّهْرُ ذُو ٱلْعِرْنِينِ قَدْ جُدِعَا

[3] This is a variation of the phrase لَوَى أَخْدَعَهُ.

[4] The three days following the tenth of Dhū'l-Ḥijja (Ḳor. ii, 199).

[5] The first ten days of Dhū'l-Ḥijja (Ḳor. xxii, 29).

[6] Opposite this line comes the marginal note: مطلب فى معرفة الزندقة.

who are regarded by their orthodox brethren as conformists but are recusants in secret. It is necessary that the impostor should be brought to shame and the springs of evil laid bare; and the kings of Persia used to punish *zandaḳa* with death. The *zindīḳs* are called materialists. They acknowledge neither prophet nor sacred book. This peculiarity was imitated by Bashshār. It is related that among his books a paper was found on which was written, "I wished to satirize so-and-so, the Hāshimite, but spared him on account of his kinship with the Apostle of God." They assert that Bashshār used to take counsel with Sībawaihi, and that one day when he was present in the literary circle of Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, he said, "Is any informer here?" On P. 146. being assured that there was none, he recited to them:[1]

O sons of Umayya, wake from your slumber. The Caliph is Ya'ḳūb b. Dā'ūd!
The Caliph is no more: seek for the Caliph of God between the flute and the lute.

Now Sībawaihi was in the company, and some pretend that he told tales of him, but it is replied that Sībawaihi was too honourable to embark in a meanness of this kind; on the

[1] *Agh.* iii, 70. The lines are cited very inaccurately. Ya'ḳūb was the wazīr of al-Mahdī. According to the MS. (marginal note):

كان سبب هجو بشّار ليعقوب بهذَيْن البيتين هو انّ بشّار مدح يعقوب مدحًا كثيراً فلم يعبأ (يعبؤ .MS) به يعقوب وحرمه ثمّ إنّ بشّار وفد عليه فى بعض الاوقات مادحًا له فطال مُقامه ببابه فلم يلتفت اليه فأحسّ بشّار بيعقوب فرفع صوته مُنشدًا

طَالَ الوُقُوفُ عَلَى رُسُومِ ٱلمَنْزِلِ

فأجابه يعقوب مُسرعاً

فَإِذَا تَشَآءُ أَبَا مُعَاذٍ فَٱرْحَلِ

فرجع بشّار وهجاه بهذَيْن البيتين

contrary, he was a man of lofty ideals. It is related that he found fault with Bashshār for his verse :[1]

Greeting from me to al-Ghazalā ![2] *Long have I toyed with her in the shade of a verdant spot o'ergrown with flowers.*

Sībawaihi maintained that the form *ghazalā* was not used by the Arabs, but Bashshār pointed out that it was analogous to *bashakā, jamazā,* and the like. Bashshār in his poetry employed *nīnān* as the plural of *nūn,* a fish, and Sībawaihi is said to have disapproved of it. But these stories have no authority. According to the Book of Sībawaihi *nūn* makes *nīnān* in the plural, and this fact is enough to demolish the anecdote in question. Bashshār's biographers mention that he threatened to satirize Sibawaihi, but that Sībawaihi made it up with him and cited his poetry. Possibly, however, his citation was nothing more than quoting from memory, as is customary in *salons* and in places where people are gathered together. Those conversant with Bashshār attribute this couplet to him :

Not every man of judgment offers you his advice, and not every one that offers his advice is a man of judgment.

The second half of this couplet occurs without the author's name in the chapter devoted to *idghām* in Sībawaihi's Book. Others declare that the author is Abū'l-Aswad al-Du'alī. It is said that Ya'ḳūb b. Dā'ūd, the wazīr of al-Mahdī, persecuted Bashshār and finally had him killed. There is
P. 147. a dispute as to his age, some saying that he was 80 years old at the time of his death, while others think he was older; but only God knows the truth. I do not decide that he is in Hell, but I mentioned him as I did because I attached him to the will of God, and verily God is forbearing, munificent. The author of the *Kitābu'l-Waraḳa*[3] has

[1] *Agh.* iii, 54. Another account makes al-Akhfash the critic.

[2] This word is not in the lexica. Probably it means 'nimble,' 'quick in her movements.'

[3] Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd b. al-Jarrāḥ (Ibn Khallikān, *Translation,* i, 25, n. 6). The *Kitābu'l-Waraḳa* is mentioned ibid., ii, 361. See also *Fihrist,* p. 128.

mentioned a number of poets in the table of Abū Nuwās and his predecessors, and has described them as *zindīḳs*, but the hearts of men are inscrutable, and only He who knows all mysteries hath knowledge thereof. At that time such beliefs were nourished in secret from fear of the sword, whereas now people's inmost thoughts are revealed and the ostrich's broken egg discloses[1] the ugliest chick. In the former epoch there was a man who had friends among the Shī'ites and also a *zindīḳ* friend. One day when he had invited the Shī'ites to his house, the *zindīḳ* came and knocked at the door and said:

My breast is laden with sorrows, divided with anxieties and cares.

The master of the house said to him, "Confound you! what means this?" So the *zindīḳ* left him and went his way. Afterwards the person who had given the entertainment met him, and said: "Look here, did you want[2] to get me into trouble?" for he was afraid that his friends might suspect him of being a *zindīḳ*. "Invite them again," said he, "and let me know the occasion." So when they were gathered in his house, the *zindīḳ* came and cried:

My breast is laden with sorrows, divided with anxieties and cares.

They said, "O wretched one, why?" He said:

Because of the sin committed against the father of Ḥasan by 'Umar and his friend Abū Bakr.

Thereupon he departed, and the Shī'ites rejoiced at his words. When the master of the house met him, he said, "Thank you heartily, you have freed me from suspicion."

[1] Perhaps وانقضبت should be read. Cf. *Letters* ٣٥, l. ١٧, كانقضاب القائبة من القوب. The manuscript reading (انغاضت) is to be explained by the fact that تريكة also means 'water left by a torrent.'

[2] For the omission of أ in colloquial Arabic cf. Van Vloten's preface to the *Kitābu'l-Bukhalā*, p. 3.

P. 148. A number of scholars used to sit in the *majlis* of Baṣra. Among them was a *zindīḳ* who had two swords, one of which he had named *Khair* (Good) and the other *Falaḥ* (Prosperity), and whenever a Moslem gave him greeting he replied:

Good attend thee in the morning and Prosperity in the evening!

Then he would turn to his companions who were acquainted with the circumstance and say:

Two swords like the lightning when the lightning flashes.

As regards the verse of Abū Nuwās:[1]

The airs of a singer and the elegance of a zindīḳ,

this idea has been criticized. It is said that he meant one of the Banū'l-Ḥārith, well known for his impiety and elegant accomplishments, who was a royal favourite. The first part of the distich,

Boon-companion of a prince, gossip of a king,

resembles the verse of Imru'u'l-Ḳais:[2]

To-day I will drink, not burdening my conscience with sin against God nor intruding as an uninvited guest.

It cannot properly be referred to those cases in which the *h* is pausal, e.g.:

O Baidarah, O Baidarah, O Baidarah!

[1] This line, of which the metre is *munsariḥ*, occurs in Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, i, 214. According to the scholiast, Bashshār b. Burd used to say أظرف من الزنديق, referring to Muṭī' b. Iyās (Brockelmann, i, 73). The same authority declares that it is wrong to say "more elegant than a *zindīḳ*," but the example of the Ṣābi'ans, at Baghdād and elsewhere, and of many Persian freethinkers, fully justifies a general application of the phrase. Muṭī' seems to be the person intended by the vague description "one of the Banū'l-Ḥārith," i.e. Ḥārith b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt (Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, N. 11).

[2] *The Dīwāns*, li, 10.

or as another poet says:[1]

Often the wolf crouched and gathered himself to spring upon a gamesome buck, white in the foreleg, of middle size.
When he saw that he could not enjoy[2] *(the wished-for prey) nor fill his belly, he sidled off to an arṯā-tree in the sandy bend and lay down to sleep.*

This is approved because of the *h* being distinctly pronounced.[3] When a phrase is complete the silent *h* may well be added, but *muḥaddiṯhuh malik*[in] are *muḍāf* and *muḍāf ilaih*, and such a license is inadmissible when the two nouns are practically one.

[1] The first two lines are cited in the *Ṣaḥāḥ* under صدع and the fourth line ibid. under ارط.

[2] دَعَهْ = دَعَةٌ.

[3] See Wright's *Grammar*, ii, 369 D, Rem. *a*.

(*To be continued.*)

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ART. VI.—*A List of Writers, Books, and other Authorities mentioned by El Maqrīzi in his Khiṭaṭ.* By A. R. GUEST.

THIS list is not exhaustive; it is thought, however, that it will be found to contain the names of the principal authorities cited by El Maqrīzi in this book, and, in the absence of an index to the only printed edition at present available, it is hoped that it may be of service to students of Egyptian history.

The names of authors and others who appear to be quoted with reference to matters of but slight or of no historical importance, and also the names of all those who are obviously not quoted at first-hand, are printed in italics. The names of the principal authorities on which El Khiṭaṭ is chiefly based are distinguished by capital letters; the rest are shown in ordinary type.

Numbers not preceded by letters refer to the Būlāq 1270 A.H. edition of El Khiṭaṭ, 2 vols., which is specially denoted where necessary by the abbreviation Maq. = El Maqrīzi.

El Mawā'iẓ wa 'l I'tibār bi Ḏikr El Khiṭaṭ wa 'l Āṯhār, by Taqi ed Dīn Aḥmad, El Maqrīzi, commonly called Khiṭaṭ el Maqrīzī, whose author died 845 A.H. (1441–2 A.D.), was written between the years 820–840 A.H.[1] It was printed at Būlāq 1270 A.H. (1853 A.D.), and this edition is the one that is referred to in these notes, in which the following abbreviations are used:—

Ah. = Aḥmad.
H.K. = Ḥajji Khalīfah's Kashf ez Ẓunūn. Constantinople, 1310 A.H. 2 vols.

[1] Maq. i, 286, 188; ii, 463.

K. = Ibn Khallikān's Wafayāt el A'yān. Cairo, 1310 A.H. 2 vols.
M. = Muḥammad.
Maq. = El Maqrīzi's El Mawā'iẓ (El Khiṭaṭ). Būlāq, 1270 A.H. 2 vols.
S. = Es Suyūṭi's Husn el Muḥāḍarah. Cairo, 1299 A.H. 2 vols.
W. = Wüstenfeld's Geschichtschreiber der Araber. Göttingen, 1882.
W.A. = Wüstenfeld's Arabischen Aerzte. Göttingen, 1840.

In spite of the wide celebrity of El Khiṭaṭ and the familiarity of most readers of Arabic with the book, a brief description of its scope and a few remarks on its general character may not be out of place.

The statement that the Būlāq edition reaches a little over one thousand pages quarto, with 39 lines to the page, will give an idea of its size.

The author of El Khiṭaṭ tells us in his preface the task which he set himself in the composition of the book. He says: "Its object is the collection of the scattered history of Egypt and (accounts of) the condition of its inhabitants . . . so that a person who has mastered it shall know the monuments which were existing and vanished at each period . . ."

He also gives its division into seven parts. The first one relates to the geography of Egypt, to the Nile, to its taxation, and the mountains which bound it (vol. i, pp. 5–128). The second part describes many of its towns (vol. i, pp. 128–285). The third part contains the history of Fusṭāṭ and its governors (vol. i, pp. 285–347). The fourth part gives the history of El Qāhirah (Cairo), the city founded by El Mu'izz (vol. i, pp. 348–496).

The second volume begins with the fifth part, which describes Cairo in the author's own time (vol. ii, pp. 1–200). The sixth part is devoted to the citadel (vol. ii, pp. 201–230).

When, however, we look for the seventh part, announced by the author in his preface as "the causes that gave rise to the decay of Egypt," we do not find it in the second volume, nor, indeed, is this subject treated at length anywhere in the book, and therefore we must suppose that the author altered his intention after writing his preface. In its place we have a history of the Aiyubite and Mamluke kings (pp. 232–246),

followed by an account of the mosques, shrines, and tombs of Cairo and its vicinity, properly belonging, it would appear, to the part 5 of the author's preface (pp. 246–463). In this section there is an interlude on the various sects of Islam and an account of the different doctrines of that religion prevalent in Egypt at divers periods (pp. 331–360) which deserves notice.

The second volume ends with an account of the Jews and Christians of the country, with remarks on their creeds and places of worship (pp. 464–510), the latter being not much more than a list of names.

El Maqrīzi's cosmography and geography has little special interest: the ancient history of Egypt in pre-Islamitic times which he recites merely serves to show the state of ignorance prevalent in his day on the subject. The most interesting part of his first volume is that relating to the taxation of the country, and to its administration under the Fatimites. He gives us many details about the Khalifs of that dynasty, their palaces, treasures, ceremonials, and officers, which enable us to form a conception of the conditions of life in their day. His early history of the governors of Fusṭāṭ and the semi-independent Tulunides and Ikhshidides is not so detailed as his account of the Fatimites, but still most valuable and interesting. His accounts of Aiyubite and Mamluke history are much briefer, which need not be regretted, as information from other sources on these dynasties is abundant. Nevertheless, El Khiṭaṭ furnishes us with a considerable amount of miscellaneous information relating to the Mamlukes, among which an account of the principal officers of their state is very useful.

The great feature of the book which has gained it its wide reputation and its place as a standard classic is its topography of Cairo and its account of the monuments of that town and its earlier neighbour Fusṭāṭ. All the sites in Cairo and its vicinity are treated of with considerable

fulness. Most of the quarters, streets, lanes, and bazaars of the writer's day are noticed, besides the principal buildings, such as mosques, houses of consequence, baths, and the like, down to shrines and tombs of small importance.

On the subject of El Maqrīzi's topography it may be remarked that his description of Miṣr el Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo), the traces of which were rapidly disappearing at his epoch, is brief and incomplete. And as to his description of what was in existence in his own time, indications are not wanting of absence of system in its composition. Streets and buildings of a certain amount of importance are omitted from the special descriptions, though incidental reference to them demonstrates their existence and that El Maqrīzi could have told us something of them. Concerning other monuments, certainly in existence when he wrote, his silence is absolute.

A far more serious defect is the vagueness of his terms of direction. He is unable to define a direction with precision, and rarely gives a distance or a dimension. Also in many cases he tells us almost nothing about the places he mentions, and when he does give us a little information about edifices it often happens that it is impossible to locate them owing to the disappearance of landmarks and the ambiguity of the terms in which he states their position.

In spite of the above, the diligence and learning of the writer of El Khiṭaṭ cannot but command admiration. He has accumulated and reduced to a certain amount of order a large quantity of information that would but for him have passed into oblivion. He is generally painstaking and accurate, and always resorts to contemporary evidence if it is available. Also he has a pleasant and lucid style, and writes without bias and apparently with distinguished impartiality.

On the other hand, although El Maqrīzi's arrangement of El Khiṭaṭ is probably a great improvement on that of the works of his predecessors, it still leaves much to be desired. The book is a collection of articles rather than a continuous whole: history is mixed up with archaeology, so that neither do we get a complete history nor a clear

topography. El Maqrīzi was to a great extent wanting in the critical faculty, and usually copies without comment. He also often lacks a sense of proportion, and will spend as long describing an insignificant shrine as in giving an account of the Grand Pyramid. Further, his accounts are often not worked out: he fails us just where we should like to know more, content to give a few facts about a subject without trying to give a complete or even intelligible description of it.

Therefore El Khiṭaṭ, valuable as it is, must be regarded more as a collection of materials for an Egyptian history and a topography of Cairo than as work that can give a clear account of them.

In this relation it is of the greatest importance, because its writer had access to practically all the authorities of consequence on the subject who preceded him, and more than three-quarters of the works of these have been lost. Fortunately El Maqrīzi is usually careful to quote the sources from which he derives his statements, and this gives his book an increased value. Hence we are able to form an estimate of its reliability, and also to get an idea of the scope of many lost works which can be checked from other sources. The following rough list is intended to show the chief authorities on which El Khiṭaṭ is based, and also to give some idea of El Maqrīzi's library and the verbal sources of his information. It has been thought better to retain the names of the early traditionists, although their sayings were probably in all cases collected by authors at a time long subsequent to their deaths; also the names of authors of works other than historical or who are obviously quoted at second-hand have still been given a place in the list. It will be observed that the principal authorities, whose names are printed in capital letters, only amount to about twenty, but they appear to include all Arabic works of real importance on Egypt, or on Cairene topography and history at any rate, except one, that of Ibn Abi'l Barakāt, which El Maqrīzi had probably never seen, as I cannot find it referred to except in his preface.

The list does not pretend to be in any way exhaustive. It is quite characteristic of the East that the Būlāq edition of El Khiṭaṭ is printed without an index, and to make a thoroughly exhaustive list of the authors cited in it would require more labour than the writer is able to give, or perhaps than the subject deserves. If El Khiṭaṭ appears in a new edition the least that can be expected is that it will be provided with a proper index.

Meanwhile, it is hoped that the following list may be of service in giving a fair idea of the chief authorities employed by El Maqrīzi, and enabling reference to be made to the subjects to which they refer, and be of general assistance to readers of the book.

Ibn 'Abbās. 'Abdullah. † 68 A.H. I, 23, 161, 244.

'Abd . . . v. under second part of compound.

Abuqirāt. (Hippocrates.) I, 42.

El Adfūwī. Abū'l Faḍl Ja'far ibn Tha'lab ibn Ja'far. I, 189. El Kamāl, I, 203. † 748 or 749 A.H. W. 413.

Book. Et Ṭāli' es Sa'īd. I, 189, W. 413–1. Ta'rīkh es Ṣa'īd, I, 236, appears to be the same as the above.

I, 189, 203, 236, 237. These passages refer to Upper Egypt.

Ibn 'Adnān. Qāḍi el Quḍāh bi Dimashq, Shihāb ed Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Ali ibn Ibrāhīm el Ḥusaini. Ibn Abi'l Jinn. I, 162. Verbal to Maq.

Aḥmad ibn Ṣāliḥ. I, 162. † 248 A.H. S. I, 167.

I, 162. Traditionist.

El Akhfash. † 215 A.H. K. I, 208. I, 23.

El Akhṭal. I, 22. † 92 A.H. Aghāni, vii, 169.

El A'mash. I, 23. † 148 A.H. K. I, 213.

Ibn 'Āmir. II, 510.

Ibn 'Amr. 'Abdullah. I, 158.

Ibn el A'rābi. I, 22, 148. † 231 A.H. W. 54.

Ibn el 'Arabi. El 'Ārif Muḥyi 'd Dīn, Muḥammad et Tā'i 'l Ḥātimi. I, 372. † 638 A.H. Maqqari, I, 567. The great Sufi.

Book. "El Mulḥamat el Mansūbah ilaih."

Ibn el 'Arabīyah. I, 50.

El A'raj. Aḥ. ibn Yaḥya's Sa'di. II, 400.

Ibn 'Asākir. El Ḥāfiẓ Abū'l Qāsim 'Ali. † 571 A.H. W. 267.
Book. Ta'rīkh Dimashq. W. 267. 1. I, 268.

Aṣḥhab. † 204 A.H. S. I, 166. I, 23.

Ibn Aslam. 'Abd er Raḥmān ibn Zaid. I, 23.

Ibn Aslam. Zaid ibn 'Abd er Raḥmān ibn Zaid. Circ. 200 A.H. I, 108.
Possibly descendants of Aslam. S. I, 143.

El Aswāni. 'Abdullah ibn Aḥmad ibn Salīm. I, 190.
Book. Akhbār en Nūbah wa'l Maqrah wa'l 'Ilwah wa'l Bujah wa'n Nīl. I, 190.
This author seems to be the same as Mu'arrikh en Nūbah, and pages I, 190–3 appear to be entirely taken from him.

Ibn 'Aṭīyah. Abū M. ibn 'Abd el Ḥaqq. I, 23. † 542 A.H. H.K.
Book. "Tafsīruh." I, 23.

Ibn el 'Aṭṭār. El Adīb Shihāb ed Dīn Aḥ. ed Dunaisari. † 794 A.H. S. I, 330; II, 150, 269, 395. A poet.

El Bairūti, misprint for El Bīrūni.

El Bakrī. Abu 'Ubaid. † 487 A.H.
I, 21, 22, 125, 183, 187, 211, 239, 287. Geographical.

El Balāḍuri. † 279 A.H. W. 74.
II, 271.

El Balkhi. Muḥammad ibn Aḥ. ibn M. ibn Yūsuf.
I, 258. (El Khuwārazmi.)
Book. Mafātīḥ el 'Ulūm. I, 258. Philological.

El Balkhi. Abū Zaid Aḥ. ibn Sahl. † 322. W. 117. I, 10.

Ibn Abī 'l Barakāt. Abū 'Abdullah Muḥammad. W. 230. † 520 A.H. I, 5. A mere mention of him.

Baṭlimūs. (Ptolemy.) I, 42.

El Bīrūni. Abu r Raiḥān M. ibn Aḥ. † 440 A.H. W. 195.
Book. El Āthār el Bāqīyah. W. 195–1. I, 275.
I, 68, 275, 492.

Ibn Būbakht. I, 253.
Possibly Ibn Naubakht. † 416 A.H. K. I, 358.

Ibn Diḥyah. El Ḥāfiẓ Abū'l Khaṭṭāb Majd ed Dīn 'Umar. † 633 A.H. W. 319.

Book. En Nibrās. I, 326. I, 22, 326, 489. II, 163.

Passages at I, 326, 489, II, 163, relate to El Mustanṣir, † 487 A.H., of whom it would appear that Ibn Diḥyah had written an antagonistic account.

Dīmaqrāṭis. (Democrates.) I, 9.

Ibn Dīnār. Shams' ed Dīn M. II, 22.

Ibn Dirghām. ["Shaikhuna"] Abū 'Abdullah M. el Maqri. I, 278.

Daūd ibn Rizq. I, 42. Verbal.

Abū Daūd. "Ṣāḥib es Siyar." † 275 A.H. K. I, 268. Traditionist. I, 28. II, 270.

Ibn Duraid. † 321 A.H. (H.K.) I, 408.

Book. El Jamharah.

EL QĀḌI 'L FĀḌIL. W. 283. † 596 A.H.

Book. Kitāb Mutajaddidāt el Ḥawādith. I, 249.

I, 60, 86, 107, 108, 109, 184, 185, 249, 269, 281, 380, 407, 413.

II, 5, 24, 143, 164, 198.

These passages refer to events in years between 567 and 594 A.H. El Maqrīzi says, "I copied from his handwriting." I, 249, 281. The "Innovations" of El Qāḍi 'l Fāḍil would appear to have been extremely detailed.

Ibn Faḍl illah. Aḥ. ibn Yaḥya. † 749 A.H. W. 411. I, 370. A verse.

El Fākihi. † 272 A.H. W. 69.

Book. Akhbār Makkah. I, 181.

El Farrā. El Baghawi. K. I, 145. † 510 A.H. 1. 161, 1. 186, v. 11–451.

El Faryābi. Abū 'Abdillah M. ibn Aḥ. ibn M. el Ḥāfiẓ, 1. 161. Verbal. A contemporary of Maq.

El Ḥabaishi. Aḥ. ibn M. I, 322 verses.

Ibn Ḥabīb. v. Māwardi.

El Ḥadrami. El Qāḍi Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm. † 182 A.H. K. II, 400. II, 122.

Ibn Abī Ḥajalah. Shihāb ed Din Aḥ. et Tilimsāni. † 776 A.H. W. 437.
I, 122. A verse.

IBN 'ABD EL ḤAKAM. Abu 'l Qāsim 'Abd er Raḥmān ibn 'Abdillah. I, 199. † 257 A.H. W. 63.
Book. Futūḥ Miṣr. W. 63–1. I, 199.
I, 49, 76, 125, 148, 158, 163, 167, 195, 199, 206, 208, 209, 244, 249, 287, 288, 295, 296.
II, 136, 141, 259, 282, 363, 443, 502.
These passages all relate to the early history of Egypt, the latest recorded event dating 86 A.H. I, 209.

El Hamdāni. Abū M. el Ḥasan ibn Aḥ. ibn Ya'qūb. † 334 A.H. W. 110.
Book. El Iklīl. W. 110–1. I. 197, 257.

Ibn Hāni. M. † 362 A.H. K. II, 4. 1. 378.

Ibn Ḥauqal. I, 270, 341. Scrib. 367 A.H. Quoted through Ibn Sa'īd.

Haraushiyūsh. I, 154.

Abū 'l Ḥasan 'Ali ibn el Ḥasan el Kātib. I, 275, 276. Details on taxation in Egypt in 441 A.H.

El Ḥasan ibn M. II, 126. Circ. 658 A.H.?
Book. Es Sawāniḥ el Adabīyah fi 'l Madā'iḥ el Qainīyah. v. H.K.

Ibn Abī Hāshim. Ismā'īl. I, 323, 325, verses.

El Ḥāzimi. I, 287. On Babylon (Old Cairo).

Ibn Ḥazm. El Faqīh 'l Ḥāfiẓ Abū M. 'Ali ibn Aḥ. ibn Sa'īd. I, 258. † 456 A.H. W. 202.

Hishām ibn el Ḥakam. I, 9.

Hishām ibn el Kalbi. † 204 A.H. W. 42. II, 213.

Ibn Hishām. 'Abd el Malik. † 218 A.H. W. 48. I, 287.

El 'Imād. M. ibn Abi'l Faraj M. ibn Ḥāmid el Kātib el Ispahāni. † 597 A.H. W. 284.
Book. Sana'l Barq ash Shāmi. W. 284–1. II, 123.

El Iṣbahāni. Abu 'l Faraj 'Ali ibn el Ḥusain. † 356 A.H. W. 132.
Book. El Aghāni. II, 137.

El Iṣfahāni. 'Ali ibn Ḥamzah. † 356 A.H. ? H.K. I, 125.
Book. A'yād el Fars. I, 268.

Ibn Iṣfahsalār. Aḥmad ibn Rustum ed Dailami. I, 371.

Abū Isḥāq. El Adīb. II, 177. A verse.

El Jafr. Aḥ. ibn Isḥāq. I, 325, verses.

El Jāhiẓ. † 255 A.H. H.K. I, 25, 194.

Jalāl ed Dīn. Ibn Mukram ibn Abi'l Ḥasan ibn Ah. el Khazraji. I, 162. Verse.

Jalāl ed Dīn. Abu'l Mu'izz Ibn Abi'l Ḥasan ibn Aḥ. ibn es Ṣā'igh. Contemporary of Maqrīzi.
II, 25. A verse.

Jalāl ed Dīn. M. ibn Khaṭīb Dāraiya ed Dimashqi el Baisāni. † 810 A.H. II, 429. Verse.

JĀMI' SĪRAT EL BAZŪRI. I, 82, 109.
The subject of the biography was a vizier of El Mustanṣir, 441–450 A.H. The passages refer to the revenue.

JĀMI' SĪRAT M. IBN QALĀ'ŪN. Mūsa ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥya. (En Nāṣir M. ibn Qalā'ūn, † 741 A.H.)
I, 381. II, 143, 278.

JĀMI' ES SĪRAT ET ṬŪLŪNĪYAH. (Ibn Tūlun, † 271 A.H.)
I, 171, 230. II, 178, 265, 267, 409, 457.
This author's name is not indicated. (? Ibn ed Dāyah, † 334 A.H. W. 111.) He would appear to be an early one, and his work was probably detailed.

JĀMI' ES SĪRAT EZ ẒĀHIRĪYAH. Possibly Ibn 'Abd ez Ẓāhir (q.v.). (Ez Ẓāhir Baibars, † 676 A.H.)
I, 433. II, 299, 412.

JĀMI' TA'RĪKH DIMYĀṬ. I, 177, 184.
Relates to the period of the conquest, 20 A.H.
Although no author is mentioned in Maqrīzī's account of Damietta, I, 215, one may suspect that it is taken either from this work or one of a similar kind.

Ibn Abi'l Jar'. Abdullah ibn. M. Circ. 380 A.H. II, 6. Verse.

Jardādaih, misprint for Khurdādbah.

Ibn Jarīḥ. II, 270. Tradition.

El Jauhari. † 393 A.H. H.K.
Book. Es Ṣiḥāḥ. I, 22, 285. II, 405, etc.

EL JAUWĀNI. Esh Sharīf M. ibn As'ad Abū 'Abdillah, I, 288, wrote after 570 A.H., II, 202, and was grown up 539 A.H., I, 330.
Books. (*a*) En Naqṭ li Mu'jam, etc. I, 5, 330.
(*b*) El Jauhar el Maknūn fi Ḍikr el Qabā'il wa 'l Buṭūn. II, 458.
(*c*) Er Rauḍat el Anīsah, etc. II, 440.
I, 5, 288, 296, 330, 332.
II, 81, 164, 202, 271, 409, 440, 444, 449, 450, 452, 458.
The quotations are archæological generally.
H.K. ascribes (*b*) to this writer's son (apparently), and gives the date of his son's death, 588 A.H. He does not give the date of the author of En Naqṭ. I do not find any mention of him either in W. Maq. 2. 14 gives his pedigree at length.

El Jazzār. El Adīb el Fāḍil Abū 'l Ḥusain. † 679 A.H. W. 357. I, 106. Verse.

Ibn Abi'l Jinn, v. Ibn 'Adnan.

Ibn Jinnī. II, 362. † 392. Philological.

Ibn Jubair. Circ. 548 A.H. v. H.K.
Book. "Riḥlatuh." I, 239.

El Kamāl, v. El Adfūwi.

Abu 'l Khair. † 90 A.H. S. I, 161. II, 270.

Ibn Khālawaih. I, 22, 211. † 370 A.H. K. I, 158. Philological.
Book. Kitāb Lais, I, 22. K. I, 158.

Ibn Khaldūn. Shaikhuna Wali ed Dīn Abū Zaid 'Abd er Raḥmān ibn M. † 808 A.H. W. 456. II, 190.

Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad. † 175 A.H. H.K.
Book. El 'Ain. I, 408.

Ibn Khallikān. El Qāḍi Shams' ed Dīn Aḥ. ibn M. W. 358. † 681 A.H. II, 87, 366.

Ibn Khurdādbah. Aḥmad, I, 163.
Possibly an error?

Ibn Khurdādbah. 'Ubaid'ullah ibn 'Abdillah. I, 184.
Wrote 232–272 A.H. See Goeje, preface to Ibn Khurdādbah. Bib. Geo. Arab.
Book. (*a*) El Masālik. I, 184, 227.
(*b*) 'Ajā'ib' el Binyān. I, 120. ?

El Khuwārazmi. M. ibn Aḥ. I, 9.

EL KINDĪ. Abu' 'Umar M. ibn Yūsuf. II, 163, 185. (Frequently called Abu 'Amr in error.) † 350 A.H. W. 124.
Books. (*a*) El Jund el 'Arabi. II, 143.
(*b*) El Khunduq. II, 163.
(*c*) Masjid Ahl' er Rāyah. II, 246.
(*d*) El Mawāli. II, 137, 250.
(*e*) El Umarā. I, 288; II, 436; or Umarā Miṣr. II, 261, 455.
Possibly these books are merely divisions of W. 124—1, 2, 3.
I, 162, 163, 180, 288, 298.
II, 143, 163, 178, 185, 202, 246, 261, 282, 332, 334, 363, 436, 447, 454, 455.
The latest date in these passages refers to 263 A.H. They relate to the Muslim conquest, early sites and history.

Ibn el Kindi. 'Umar ibn Abi 'Umar. I, 124.
Evidently the son of the preceding.
Book. Faḍā'il Miṣr. I, 124, 158, etc.
I, 124, 158, 211, 249.
v. Royal Khedivial Library Cat., v–101, which confuses him with his father, and gives the date of his death 350 A.H., an unlikely one. The Copenhagen MS. names its author 'Umar ibn M. el-Kindī.

Ibn Lahi'ah. † 164 A.H. S. I, 164.
I, 79, 168.

El Laith ibn Sa'd. † 175 A.H. S. I, 164.
I, 79. II, 177, 253.

'Abd 'el Laṭīf el Baghdādi. † 629 A.H. W. 314. II, 367.

Maimūn ibn Mihrān. I, 284.

Ibn Abī Malīkah. A contemporary of 'Abd el 'Aziz ibn Marwān † 86 A.H. I, 210.

El Ma'mār. Ibrāhīm. El Adīb. † 749 A.H. II, 151, 186. Verses.

El Ma'mūn. The Khalif. † 218 A.H. A verse by him through Ibn Khurdādbah. I, 184.

IBN EL MA'MŪN El Baṭā'ihi. El Amīr Jamāl 'ed Dīn, Abū 'Ali Mūsa ibn el Ma'mūn Abī Abdillah M. ibn Fātik ibn Mukhtār. I, 390.

Probably shared in the downfall of his father, vizier of El Amir, 519 A.H.

Book. "Ta'rīkhuh," I, 268, 390, and Mukhtaṣar Ta'rīkhih, II, 144.

I, 212, 266, 268, 279, 390, 401, 414, 420, 422, 432, 445, 451, 458, 468, 469, 470, 480, 481, 492.

II, 24, 256, 282, 411, 412.

Nearly all these passages refer to the years 516 and 517 A.H., only four to dates previous and none later. Ibn el Ma'mūn's father was in power 515–519 A.H. His work was probably an elaborate chronicle chiefly relating to that period.

Imām Mankali Bugha esh Shīrāzi Jalāl ed Dīn. M. I, 371. Verse.

Marhūn el Hindī. (Ṣāḥib Bānah.) I, 182.

Marzūq es Ṣadafi. Abdullah ibn. Circ. 170 A.H. I, 162.

Abu Ma'shar. I, 253. † 272 A.H. The astronomer.

El Masīḥi. Misprint for Musabbiḥi.

El Massāḥ. ? W.A. 75. I, 120.

EL MAS'ŪDI. † 345 or 346 A.H. W. 119.

Books. (*a*) Akhbār ez Zamān. I, 185.

(*b*) Murūj ed Ḍahab. I, 494.

I, 26, 28, 50, 72, 148, 159, 171, 185, 187, 233, 236, 240, 247, 265, 494.

El Māwardi. Abu 'l Ḥasan 'Ali ibn M. ibn Ḥabīb. I, 91. † 450 A.H. H.K.

Book. El Aḥkām es Sulṭānīyah. I, 97.

I, 91, 97.

Mu'arrikh' en Nūbah. v. Aswāni. I, 192.

Muḥammad ibn Abī Ya'qūb el Kātib. I, 326.

"Ḥaddath," 292 A.H.

Mujāhid. I, 161.

El Munḍiri. El Hāfiẓ 'Abd el 'Aẓīm. I, 217. † 656. W. 342.

Muqātil. † 150 A.H. K. II, 112. I, 161.

Mūsa ibn M. ibn Yaḥya. II, 278.
Author of Sīrat M. ibn Qalā'ūn (q.v.).

EL MUSABBIḤI. El Amīr el Mukhtār 'Izz el Mulk ibn 'Ubaid 'illah ibn Aḥ. ibn Ismā'īl ibn 'Abd el 'Azīz. I, 387. †420 A.H. W. 181.
Book. "Ta'rīkhuh," I, 265, and Ta'rīkhuhu'l Kabīr, I, 387. W. 181–1.
I, 171, 181, 207, 265, 387, 389, 408, 451, 457, 458, 465, 467, 494.
II, 4, 5, 14, 20, 28, 143, 145, 195, 280, 282.
He was in the service of the Khalifs of Cairo 398–420 A.H. The dates of the events for which he is cited lie between 395 and 415 A.H., only three earlier and none later.

IBN 'EL MUTAUWAJ. El Qāḍi 'r Ra'īs Taj 'ed Dīn M. ibn 'Abd 'el Wahhāb 'ez Zubairi. I, 342. †730 A.H. W. 397.
Book. Īqāẓ el Mutaghaffil. I, 5.
I, 5, 286, 288, 298, 331, 342, 344, 345, 346.
II, 86, 114, 153, 155, 158, 184, 197, 253, 282, 298, 303, 409, 429.
Almost all these passages refer to Miṣr, i.e. Old Cairo, none to El Qāhirah. All of them are archæological.

Ibn Muyassar. †Circ. 850 A.H. W. 483? This author's date would appear earlier, v. S. II, 132.
I, 60, 420, 427, 442, 457, 467.
II, 163, 415.
The latest date referred to 543 A.H.

En Nābulusi. El Qāḍi Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān.
Book. Ḥusn es Sīrah fi 'ttikhāḍ il Ḥiṣn bi'l Jazīrah. I, 326.

Abu Naḍrah. El Ghaffāri. I, 22.

Nafīl er Rūmi. I, 258. Possibly W.A. 74. †269 A.H.

Ibn en Naqqāsh. Shams ed Dīn M. †763 A.H. H.K. I, 305.
Book. El 'Ibar fī man Maḍa wa Ghabar. II, 279. Reference dates to 761 A.H.

Abu n Nimr. El Warrāq. I, 91.

Abū Qabbān ibn Nu'aim ibn Badr et Tujībi. II, 246.

Qais ibn Salamah. Abu Mus'ab. II, 246. Verse.

EL QAISARĀNI. El Murtaḍa Abu M. 'Abd es Salām ibn M. ibn el Ḥasan ibn 'Abd es Salām IBN ET ṬUWAIR el Miṣri el Kātib. I, 386.

Book. Nuzhat' el Muqlatain fi Akhbār 'ed Daulatain. I, 386. II, 290.

I, 49, 386, 409, 413, 420, 422, 425, 440, 443, 444, 455, 461, 462, 463, 467, 469, 480, 484, 488.

II, 28, 92, 280, 290.

It has not been found possible to exactly fix the date of the author of this book: he is used chiefly with reference to the ceremonies and customs of the Fatimite Court, of which he appears to have given the most detailed account. The only dated reference to be found is I, 49, the taking of Tyre by the Franks.

El Qaisi. Abu Abdullah M. ibn 'Abd er Raḥīm ibn Sulaimān ibn Rabī' el Gharnāṭi. I, 161. † 560 A.H. H.K.

Book. Tuḥfat el Albāb. I, 161.

I, 135, 161, 240.

El Qāli. Abu 'Ali (Ismā'il ibn El Qāsim). † 365 A.H. H.K.

Book. El Amāli. I, 148, 405.

Qātadah. I, 23, possibly W. 17. † 117 A.H.

Ibn 'el Qifti. † 646 A.H. W. 331. II, 5.

EL QUḌĀ'I. El Qāḍi Abu 'Abdillah M. ibn Salāmah. † 454 or 457 A.H. W. 199.

Book. El Mukhtār, etc. I, 5. W. 199–1.

I, 5, 122, 125, 206, 207, 230, 247, 287, 298, 330, 331, 343, 344, 346.

II, 137, 142, 146, 161, 178, 248, 251, 253, 255, 370, 436, 445, 455.

Qudāmah ibn Ja'far. † 377 A.H. I, 258.

Book. Kitāb el Kharāj. I, 258.

El Qurṭubi. I, 485. Too vague to identify. Ta'rīkhuh, v. II, 181.

El Qushairi. El Ustāḍ Abu'l Qāsim 'Abd 'el Karīm ibn Hawāzin. † 514 A.H. K. I, 300. II, 414.

Ibn Qutaibah. W. 73. † 270 or 276 A.H. I, 7.

Ibn er Rafīq. Ibrāhīm. Circ. 400 A.H.

Book. Ta'rīkhuh. II, 154.

Er Rashīq. Ibrāhīm ibn 'el Qāsim. † 456 A.H. v. H.K. "'Umdah." I, 370.

Ibn Ruḍwān. Abu 'l Ḥasan 'Ali t Ṭabīb. † 453 A.H. W.A. 138. I, 42, 247, 268, 339, 365.
On hygienic matters.

Er Ruṣafi. II, 143. Verse.

Ibn es Sā'āti. Bahā ed Dīn Abu'l Ḥasan 'Ali. † 604 A.H. K. I, 363. II, 144. Verse.

Es Ṣābi. Abu'l Ḥasan Hilāl ibn Muḥsin. † 448 A.H. K. II, 202. I, 277.

Es Ṣafadi. Khalīl ibn Aibak. † 764 A.H. W. 423. II, 35, 429.

Ibn Sahl. M. el Aḥwal. I, 188.

Es Sa'īd. El Qāḍi. Ṭhiqat 'el Ṭhiqāt Abū'l Ḥasan 'Ali ibn 'Uthmān, etc. I, 275. Living 580 A.H. II, 460.
Book. El Minhāj fi 'Ilm el Kharāj. I, 247, 275. II, 460.

IBN ṢA'ĪD. † 685 A.H. W. 353.
Book. (*a*) El Mughrib, I, 230. (*b*) El Muḥalla, II, 181.
I, 211, 230, 287, 288, 341.
II, 28, 155, 161, 183, 444, 459.

Sa'īd ibn Jubair. † 95 A.H. K. I, 205. I, 23.

Sa'īd ibn el Musaiyib. † 91 A.H. K. I, 206. I. 23, 284.

Sa'īd ibn el Qāṣṣ. I, 323. Verses.

Saif ibn 'Umar. I, 163.

Ibn 'eṣ Ṣairafi. M. ibn Manjab. II, 5, 436.

Ibn Saiyid en Nās. † 734 A.H. W. 400. II, 414.

Ibn Salām. Abū 'Abdillah 'el Qāsim. I, 97.
Book. Kitāb el Amwāl. I, 97.

Abu Ṣalt. Umaiyah ibn 'Abd 'el 'Azīz. † 529 A.H. I, 15. W. 237. I, 15, 135, 485.
II, 154, 155.
Book. Er Risālat 'el Miṣrīyah. I, 15. W. 237–1.

Esh Sha'bi. † 103 A.H. K. I, 244. II, 270.

Esh Shābusti. Abu 'l Ḥasan 'Ali ibn M. † 388 A.H. W. 153.
Book. Kitāb ed Diyārāt. W. 153. 1. II, 502.
II, 502, 503, 504, 510.

Sharaf ed Dīn ibn Abi 'l Qāsim. II, 88. Verbal.

Sharaf 'ed Dīn Abu 'l 'Abbās Aḥmad. Circ. 650 A.H. II, 26.

Sībawaihi. † 180 A.H. K. I, 385. I, 190.

Ibn Sīdah. II, 2, 117, 129, 144, etc. (frequent references). † 458 A.H.
Book. El Muḥkam. v. H.K. A dictionary.

Ibn Sīnā. Abū 'Ali. † 428 A.H. W.A. 128. I, 61.

Es Suhrawardi. Shihāb 'ed Dīn Abū Hafṣ 'Umar ibn M. II, 414, 427. † 632 A.H. H.K.
Book. 'Awārif el Ma'ārif. II, 427.

Et Ṭabari. Abu Ja'far M. ibn Jarīr. † 310 A.H. W. 94.
I, 23, 257, 408.
Book. "Tafsīruh." I, 23. = Jāmi el Bayān. I, 134.

Ibn Abī Ṭāhir. Abu'l Ḥusain 'Abdullah ibn Aḥmad. I, 273.
Book. Akhbār el Mu'taḍid. I, 273.
I, 273, 275.
? Possibly a son of, W. 78, who died 280 A.H.

Abu Ṭāhir. El Ḥāfiẓ es Silafi. † 576 A.H. W. 268. II, 203.

Abu't Ṭāhir. El Qāḍi 'l Makīn Ismā'īl ibn Salāmah. Circ. 530 A.H. II, 448.

Ibn Abī Ṭaiy. † 630 A.H. W. 316. I, 409, 443, 457.

Et Ṭaiyibi. Shams ed Dīn. II, 499. † 717 A.H.

Ibn Ṭaswaih, M. I, 325. Verses.

Ibn Thābit. Abu Bakr el Ḥāfiẓ el Khaṭīb. I, 206.

Ibn et Ṭuwair. v. El Qaisarāni.

Ibn 'Ufair. † 226 A.H. S. I, 168. I, 79, 118.

'Umar ibn Maimūn. I, 26.

El 'Umari. Shihāb ed Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥyi 'd Dīn Yaḥya ibn Faḍlillah. Kātib es Sirr. † 748 A.H. W. 411. I, 370.

Ibn Wahb. † 197 A.H.? S. I, 165. II, 259.

Wahb ibn Munabbih. † 110 A.H. W. 16. I, 23.

"*Wakīl abī.*" 'Amr ibn Zanki, etc. (verbal). I, 236. Contemp.

El Wāqidi. † 207 A.H. W. 43. I, 183. II, 362.

IBN WAṢĪF SHĀH. Ibrāhīm el Kātib. I, 111. El Ustāḍ. II, 140. Circ. 600 A.H. W. 373, etc.
Book. Akhbār Miṣr wa 'Ajā'ibiha, I, 111.
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II, 140, 177, 480, 481.
All on pre-Islamic history of Egypt, and apparently quite fabulous.

El Yaghmūri. Yūsuf ibn Aḥ. ibn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥ. el Asadi. † 673 A.H. II, 87, 183.
A contemporary of El Malik es Ṣāliḥ.

Yaḥya ibn Bukair. I, 40.

Yaḥya ibn 'Uthmān. I, 211. Circ. 570 A.H.

Yalbugha es Sālimi. I, 224. Verbal.

El Yamani. Possibly W. 263. † 569 A.H. I, 206. II, 161.

Ya'qūb ibn Nu'mān el Qāḍi. Qāḍi Bulghār. (Through El Qaisi.) I, 161.

El Ya'qūbi. Circ. 270 A.H. I, 211, 247.

Yāqūt. † 626 A.H. W. 310.
Book. El Mushtarik. II, 23, 28, 130, 504, 509.

Yazīd ibn Abi Ḥabīb. † 128 A.H. S. I, 163. I, 210. II, 177.

IBN YŪNUS. Abū Ṣa'īd 'Abd er Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad. I, 23. † 347 A.H. W. 121.
Books. (*a*) Ta'rīkh el Ghurabā. II, 114. W. 121–2.
(*b*) Tā'rīkh Miṣr. I, 108. W. 121–2.
I, 23, 108, 332, 489.
II, 114, 123, 137, 163, 177, 332, 334.

Ẓāfir el Ḥaddād. † 529 A.H. K. I, 241. I, 485. The poet.

IBN 'ABD 'EZ ẒĀHIR. El Qāḍi 'r Ra'īs Muḥyi 'd Dīn 'Abdullah er Rauḥi el Kātib. I, 388. † 692 A.H. W. 366.
Books. (*a*) Er Raudat 'el Bahīyah 'ez Zāhirah, etc. I, 5. W. 366, 1.
(*b*) Sīrat ez Ẓāhir [Baibars]. II, 275. W. 366, 2.
(*c*) Tamā'im el Ḥamā'īm. II, 231.
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II, 4, 5, 8, 12, 13, 16, 20, 21, 25, 86, 87, 92, 102, 114, 144, 204, 231, 368, 411, 436.
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Zaid ibn Aslam. I, 26. v. Aslam.

Abu Zahm. I, 23.

Zāhid el 'Ulamā. Abu Sa'īd Manṣūr ibn 'Īsa. II, 405.

Zain ed Dīn Abū 'Abdillah M. ibn Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd el Qādir 'el Ḥanafi. II, 25.
Contemporary of Maq.

Zaki ed Dīn. El Ḥusain. I, 368. Circ. 762 A.H.

IBN ZŪLAQ. El Faqīh Abu M. el Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm. I, 385. † 387 A.H. W. 151.
Books. (*a*) Sīrat el Ikhshīd. II, 25.
(*b*) Sīrat el Mu'izz. I, 385.
(*c*) Tatimmat Umarā Miṣr. II, 25. W. 151–3.
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II, 25.

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El Aḥkām es Sulṭānīyah. (El Māwardi.)
El 'Ain. (Khalīl ibn Aḥmad.)
Ajā'ib el Binyān. (Ibn Khurdādbah.)
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Akhbār el Mu'taḍid. (Ibn Abi Ṭāhir.)
Akhbār en Nūbah. (El Aswāni.)
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El Amwāl. (Ibn Salām.)
El Āthār 'el Bāqiyah. (El Bīrūni.)
A'yād el Furs. (El Iṣfahani.)

El Bazūri. v. Sīrat 'el.

Ed Ḍakhā'ir wa 't Tuḥaf. (Anon. v. S. II, 123. Possibly Mujalla ibn Jamī', fl. 549 A.H., is the author.) v. 1, 416, 417.
Dimyāṭ. v. Ta'rīkh.
Ed Diyārāt. (Esh Shābusti.)

Faḍā'il Miṣr. (Ibn 'el Kindi.)
Futūḥ Miṣr. (Ibn 'Abd el Ḥakam.)

El Ghuraba. (Ibn Yunus.)

Ḥusn es Sīrah fi 'ttikhāḍ il Ḥisn bil Jazīrah. (En Nābulusi.)

El 'Ibar fīman Maḍa wa Ghabar. (Ibn en Naqqāsh.)
El Ikhshīd. v. Sīrat.
El Iklīl. (El Hamdāni.)
Īqāẓ el Mutaghaffil. (Ibn el Mutauwaj.)

El Jamharah. (Ibn Duraid. Philol.)
Jāmi' el Bayān. (Et Ṭabari.)
El Jauhar el Maknūn. (El Jauwānī.)
El Jund el 'Arabi. (El Kindi.)

El Kharāj. (Ibn Qudāmah.)
El Khunduq. (El Kindi.)

Mafātīḥ el 'Ulūm. (El Balkhi.)
Makkah. v. Akhbār.
El Masālik. (Ibn Khurdādbah.)
Masjid Ahl er Rāyah. (El Kindi.)
El Mawāli. (El Kindi.)
El Minhāj fi 'Ilm el Kharāj. ((El Qāḍi) 'es Sa'īd.)
El Mughrib. (Ibn Ṣa'īd.)
El Muḥalla. (Ibn Ṣa'īd.)
Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn. v. Sīrat.
El Muḥkam. (Ibn Sīdah.)
El Mu'izz. v. Sīrat.
El Mukhtār. (El Quḍā'i.)
Mukhtaṣar Tar'īkh ibn el Ma'mūn.
El Mulhamat el Mansūbah ila ibn el 'Arabi.
Murūj ed Ḍahab. (El Mas'ūdi.)
El Mushtarik. (Yāqūt.)
Mutajaddidat el Ḥawādith. (El (Qāḍi 'l) Fāḍil.)

En Nibrās. (Ibn Diḥyah.)
En Naqṭ. (El Jauwāni.)
Nāṣirīyah. v. Es Sīrat en.

Nūbah. v. Akhbār en.
Nuzhat el Muqlatain. (El Qaisarāni.)

Er Rauḍat el Bahīyat ez Zāhirah. (Ibn 'Abd ez Ẓāhir.)
Riḥlat ibn Jubair. (Ibn Jubair.)
Risālat el Ḥaḍrami.
Er Risālat el Miṣrīyah. (Abu Ṣalt.)

Sana 'l Barq esh Shāmi. (El 'Imād.)
Es Sawāniḥ el Adabīyah. (Abu 'l Ḥasan b. M.)
Sīrat el Bazūri. (Anon.)
Sīrat el Ikhshīd. (Ibn Zūlāq.)
Sīrat M. ibn Qalā'ūn. (Mūsa ibn M.)
Sīrat el Mu'izz. (Ibn Zūlāq.)
Es Sīrat en Nāsirīyah = M. ibn Qalā'ūn.
Sīrat et Ṭūlūnīyah. (Anon.)
Sīrat ez Ẓāhirīyah. (? 'Abd ez Ẓāhir.)

Tafsīr. (Ibn 'Aṭīyah.)
Tafsīr. (Et Ṭabari.)
Et Ṭāli' es Ṣa'īd. (El Adfūwi.)
Ta'rīkh. Ibn el Baṭā'iḥi. (Ibn el Ma'mūn el Baṭā'iḥi.)
Ta'rīkh. Dimashq. (Ibn Asākir.)
Ta'rīkh. Dimyāṭ. (Anon.)
Ta'rīkh. Miṣr. (Ibn Yunus.)
Ta'rīkh el Musabbiḥi.
Ta'rīkh el Musabbiḥi el Kabir.
Ta'rīkh el Qurtubi.
Ta'rīkh ibn Rafīq.
Ta'rīkh es Ṣa'īd. (El Adfūwi.)
Tatimmat Umara Miṣr. (Ibn Zūlāq.)
Tuḥfat el Albāb. (El Qaisi.)

El Umara. (El Kindi.)

Ẓāhirīyah. v. Es Sīrah ez.

The following is the sequence of El Maqrīzi's principal authorities: Ibn 'Abd el Ḥakam, † 257 A.H., El Mas'ūdi, † 346 A.H., Ibn Yūnus, † 347 A.H., and El Kindi, † 350 A.H.

Ibn 'Abd el Ḥakam and Ibn Yūnus supply nearly all that he tells us of the conquest and early history of Egypt. It is they who appear to have collected the sayings of the early traditionists. El Mas'ūdi's information is in great part geographical, and that of El Kindi chiefly topographical, relating to Fusṭāṭ.

Besides these there is the anonymous life of Ibn Ṭūlūn, which may reasonably be assumed to be by a contemporary of that prince († 270 A.H.): if so, he is one of the earliest authorities on Egyptian history. El Maqrīzi has taken a good deal from it.

Coming to the Fatimite period, we have Ibn Zūlāq, † 387 A.H., El Musabbiḥi, † 420 A.H., El Quḍā'i, † 457 A.H., the anonymous author of Sīrat 'el Bazūri, of about the same date, Ibn el Ma'mūn, who probably wrote about 520 A.H., and finally El Jauwānī, who was alive in 570 A.H., but who speaks of events he witnessed in 539 A.H., thus enabling us to fix his period pretty closely.

Both El Musabbiḥi and Ibn el Ma'mūn, being in high offices of state, were exceptionally situated as regards information: their works, besides those of Ibn Zūlāq, were doubtless in great part minutely detailed chronicles of their own times, but there is a gap between about 450 A.H. and 490 A.H. for which information seems meagre. This corroborates the statement of Ḥajji Khalīfah to this effect: there is apparently no complete detailed record of the great famine of 460–466 A.H., nor of the vizierate of Badr and his son El Afḍal, written by a contemporary, or, at any rate, El Maqrīzi does not seem to have known of one. The works of El Quḍā'i and El Jauwānī were archæological, referring to Cairo and Fusṭāṭ.

For the observances of the Fatimite Court, their government, and other details of the kind, El Maqrīzi appears to chiefly use El Qaisarāni, besides a book called Ed Ḍakhā'ir wa 't Tuḥaf, which may date from the seventh century of the Hijrah, so that in general it would seem that his remarks on these subjects were taken from authors living a considerable time after the Fatimite period.

After this comes El Qāḍi 'l Fāḍil, † 596 A.H., from whom much has been taken, nearly all relating to matters of which he had personal knowledge; then Ibn 'Abd ez Ẓāhir, † 692 A.H., and Ibn el Mutauwaj, † 730 A.H. The last-mentioned relates almost exclusively to Miṣr, i.e. Old Cairo, and all three are mostly referred to on questions of topography. Ibn el Mutauwaj is the last author of importance frequently quoted by El Maqrīzi, who does not really give us very much detailed history of the Aiyubite and Mamluke period in El Khiṭaṭ. The works of nearly all the authors mentioned in the foregoing have now been lost, either wholly or for the most part, but from the frequent quotations that are made from them in El Khiṭaṭ, it is fair to suppose that its author had access to them all.

In addition to these the remarks of Ibn Sa'īd, † 685 A.H., are amusing, besides being interesting, as the impressions of a stranger visiting a foreign country. These, too, would probably have been lost to us without El Maqrīzi's intervention, and, when we consider the enormous labour that he must have spent upon his book, and how much he has preserved to us, we can realize the extent of the service which he has rendered to the history of Egypt.

ART. VII.—*Note on the Languages spoken between the Assam Valley and Tibet.* By STEN KONOW, of the University of Christiania, Norway.

THE mountainous region between the Assam Valley and Tibet, from Bhutan in the west to the Brahmaputra in the east, is inhabited by a series of tribes which are all of Tibeto-Burman stock.

Beginning from the west, they are the Akas, the Daflās, the Abor-Miris, and the various Mishmi tribes, viz., Chulikatā, Digāru, and Mījū Mishmi.

Our chief sources for the knowledge of the dialects spoken by these tribes are as follows:—

Hesselmeyer, C. H.—*The Hill Tribes of the Northern Frontier of Assam. Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xxxvii, pt. 2, 1868, pp. 192 ff.

Anderson, J. D.—*A short Vocabulary of the Aka Language.* Shillong, 1896.

Robinson, Wm.—*Notes on the Dophlás and the Peculiarities of their Language. Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xx, 1852, pp. 126 ff.

Hamilton, R. C.—*An Outline Grammar of the Dafla Language as spoken by the Tribes immediately south of the Apa Tanang Country.* Shillong, 1900.

Robinson, William.—*Notes on the Languages spoken by the various tribes inhabiting the Valley of Asam and its mountain confines. Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xviii, pt. 1, 1849, pp. 183 ff.

Needham, J. F.—*Outline Grammar of the Shai'yâng Miri Language as spoken by the Miris of that Clan residing in the Neighbourhood of Sadiya.* Shillong, 1886.

Robinson, W.—*Notes on the Languages spoken by the Mi-Shmis. Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xxiv, 1856, pp. 307 ff.

Campbell, George.—*Specimens of Languages of India.* . . . . . Calcutta, 1874, pp. 239 ff.

Needham, J. F.—*A few Digârô (Târoan), (Mîjû) (M'jû), and Tibetian words collected during a trip to Rima and back in December, 1885, and January, 1886.* [Shillong.]

The dialects in question may conveniently be classed together as the North Assam Group of Tibeto-Burman

languages, and in the remarks which follow I shall try to throw some light on their relation to each other and to connected forms of speech.

The dialects spoken by the Daflās and the Abor-Miris are closely related to each other, and their vocabulary, to some extent, agrees with that of Mishmi. Aka, on the other hand, has a different and very peculiar appearance. Strange and radical phonetical laws have been at work in that dialect, and it is, in most cases, very difficult to compare it with other Tibeto-Burman languages. The grammatical structure, however, is exactly the same as in the languages of the surrounding tribes, and there is also a considerable number of words which can be traced in other Tibeto-Burman languages. Thus, Aka *āū*, Daflā *ā-bo*, father; Aka *ā-nī*, Daflā *ān*, mother; Aka *āngā-sā*, Meithei *angang* and *ma-chā*, child; Aka *nyu*, Kuki-Chin *nai* and *nau*, younger brother or sister; Aka *lū*, Tibetan *blo*, Lushēi *lung*, mind; Aka *e-nyī*, Daflā *a-nyī*, eye; Aka *nùsù*, Tibetan *sna*, nose; Aka *khie*, Tibetan *mgo*, Burmese *khaung*, head; Aka *khe-chu*, Burmese *chhaṁ*, hair of head; Aka *mī*, Tibetan *me*, fire; Aka *χū*, Tibetan *chhu*, water; Aka *ju*, Singphō *jan*, sun; Aka *cchī*, Tibetan *ñi*, fish; Aka *tsāu*, Tibetan *za-ba*, Burmese *tsā*, eat; Aka *thū*, Tibetan *a-thung-ba*, Daflā *tū*, drink; Aka *ji*, Daflā *ji*, give; Aka *lāu*, Meithei *lāu*, take; and so forth.

All the dialects in question agree in some points. The differences between them, on the other hand, are considerable, and they do not form a distinct linguistic group. They have been classed together because they are all intermediary between Tibetan and the Assam-Burmese languages of the Tibeto-Burman family, and because the tribes speaking them are found in the same locality. The group, therefore, is both a geographical and a linguistic one.

In order to understand the position of these dialects and their relation to other Tibeto-Burman languages it will be necessary to go into details. It is, however, difficult to do so, because our knowledge of them, and especially of Aka and Mishmi, is very limited. The remarks which follow are therefore given with every reserve. Their reliability

is dependent on the trustworthiness of our materials. They do not extend to the whole grammatical structure, because a comparison of the various dialects would, in many cases, be uncertain. I have confined myself to some remarks on the numerals, the personal pronouns, and a few grammatical features.

The first five numerals are :—

	Aka.	Daflā.	Miri.	Chulikatā.	Digāru.	Mījū.
One ...	*ā*	*akkin*	*ā-kâ, ā-tēr*	*ē-khē*	*ē-khing*	*ko-mo.*
Two ...	*kshī*	*a-nyi*	*ā-nyī*	*kā-ni*	*kā-ying*	*kā-ning.*
Three...	*tzìi*	*a-om*	*ā-ūm*	*kā-sh*	*kā-sāng*	*kā-sām.*
Four ...	*pfī-rī*	*a-pl(i)*	*ā-pī*	*kā-ppi*	*kā-prei*	*kam-brin.*
Five ...	*pom*	*ā-ng(ō)*	*ā-ngâ*	*mā-ngā*	*mā-ngā*	*ka-līin.*

One.—The forms in Daflā, Chulikatā, and Digāru are practically identical. Aka *ā* corresponds to Miri *ā-kâ*, Meithei *a-mā*, Kachin *ai-mā*, etc. Mījū *ko-mō* perhaps corresponds to the forms occurring in the other Mishmi dialects and Daflā. The final *mō* must be compared with *mā* in Meithei *a-mā*, Kachin *ai-mā*, etc.

Two.—Aka *kshī* is probably derived from *kñi*; compare Aka *chhī*, Tibetan *ñi*, fish. The prefix *k* is identical with Mishmi *kā*, and corresponds to Tibetan *g* in *gñis*, two. Daflā and Miri use a prefix *ā* like many Central and Eastern Nāgā dialects.

Three.—Mishmi, and probably also Aka, have a prefix *kā* corresponding to *g* in Tibetan *gsum*, three. Daflā and Miri prefix *ā*. Compare 'Two.'

Four.—All dialects apparently contain a numeral *li* or *ri* with a suffix *pa* or *p*, corresponding to *b* in Tibetan *bźi*, four; *fa* in Lepcha; *b* and *bi* in the Bodo languages; *ba* and *pa* in many Nāgā dialects, and *pa* in Kuki-Chin. To this *p*

Mishmi prefixes *kā* or *kam*. The numeral *li* or *ri* also occurs in Lepcha and most Assam-Burmese languages, while Tibetan has *gi*.

Five.—Mījū *ka-lūn* seems to correspond to Tibetan *lnga* with *ka* prefixed. Aka *pom* is probably derived from *pa-nga*. The prefix *pa* has already been mentioned with 'Four.' *Mā* in Chulikatā and Digāru *mā-ngā*, five, corresponds to the prefix *ma* in the numeral 'five' in Kachin, Meithei, Lhōtā, Miklai, Thukumi, and most Nāgā-Bodo dialects.

The higher numerals, twenty, thirty, etc., are formed by prefixing 'two,' 'three,' and so on to the numeral 'ten' in Aka and Mishmi, while Daflā and Miri suffix the multiplier after the pattern 'tens-two,' 'tens-three,' etc. Tibetan, Kachin, Burmese, Mikir, and other dialects agree with Aka and Mishmi, while Lepcha, the Kuki-Chin, and most Nāgā languages form their higher numerals in the same way as Daflā and Miri.

Generic prefixes are used with numerals in the Bodo languages, some Nāgā dialects such as Mikir and Empēō, and the Kuki-Chin group. They are also used in Daflā and Miri. Compare the generic suffixes in Burmese. Mishmi, and probably also Aka, agree with Tibetan where the numerals are used without such qualifying affixes.

The preceding remarks will have shown that the numerals in Aka and Mishmi are more closely connected with those usual in Tibetan than the forms occurring in Daflā and Miri. These latter dialects in important points agree with the Bodo, Nāgā, and Kuki-Chin languages. All dialects in question agree with the Assam-Burmese languages in the form of the numeral 'four.'

I now turn to the personal pronoun *I*. Aka, Daflā, Miri, and Chulikatā have forms which are identical with or derived from Tibetan and Burmese *nga*. The Digāru pronoun *hā*, I, is probably derived from the same form. Compare Meithei *ai* and Khoirāo *hai*. It is probable that the forms beginning with *h* are due to an aspiration of the initial *ng*, corresponding to the aspirated pronunciation of soft consonants in Eastern Tibet. A strong aspiration might

well supersede the rest of the consonant in the pronunciation. A similar interchange between *ng* and *h* occurs in dialects of Khami. Mījū *kī* corresponds to *kei* in the Kuki-Chin languages. It is probably derived from *nga, ngha*; compare Kachin *ngai*. This derivation is based on the supposition that an aspirated *ng* might become *gh* and, farther, *k*. Compare the aspirated soft consonants in Eastern Tibet, which can scarcely be distinguished from the corresponding hard sounds. In the same way we find Angāmi *ko* corresponding to Āo *ngo*, fish.

Thou.—Daflā, Miri, and Mishmi have the forms *nâ* and *nyâ*, corresponding to Angāmi *no* and similar forms in many Assam-Burmese languages. Aka *bā* seems to correspond to *bā* in Sir George Campbell's Hati Garya.

The personal pronouns of the third person differ in most dialects. All forms are originally demonstrative pronouns, and corresponding ones are found in the neighbouring languages. Thus, Miri and Daflā *bui* corresponds to *bī*, *hē*, and similar forms in Bodo, *po* in Angāmi, etc.; Aka *ī* and *ē*, and Digāru *ē* to *a*, that, in Tibetan and other connected forms of speech; Daflā *ma* to *mā* in the Kuki-Chin dialects; Digāru *he* to *hē*, this, in Lushēi and connected languages; and Mījū *we* to Garo *uē*, Arung *wi*, he, etc.

We shall now proceed to make some remarks on the formation and inflection of words.

A vocalic prefix which occurs in various forms such as *a, e, i, o*, and *u*, is apparently used in all dialects, perhaps with the exception of Mījū. It is not, like the Burmese prefix *a*, used to form nouns of action from verbs, but is very common before nouns, and also before adjectives, apparently without adding anything to the meaning. It is probably identical with the prefix *a* in Nāgā and Kuki-Chin languages, in Lepcha, and in Tibetan words such as *'a-pha*, father; *'a-ma*, mother. In Aka it is identical in form with the personal pronoun of the third person, and it is perhaps originally a pronominal prefix.

Daflā, Miri, and Mishmi also use a prefix *ka* before adjectives, as do also the Bodo, Nāgā, and Kachin languages.

Gender is distinguished in the same way as in all connected languages by using separate words or adding suffixes. Many of the suffixes of gender are identical with those occurring in neighbouring dialects. Thus, the usual male suffix is *pa* or *pō*, corresponding to Tibetan *pa* and *po* and similar forms in most Tibeto-Burman languages. The forms *wa* and *wai* in Mishmi correspond to Kachin *wā* and the pronunciation of *ba* as *wa* after vowels in Tibetan.

It is of interest to note that Daflā and Miri repeat the names of animals, or the last syllable of them, before the suffixes of gender. The same principle also prevails in Kachin.

The genitive is formed by prefixing the governed to the governing noun. Aka often repeats the governed noun by means of a possessive pronoun prefixed to the governing one. The same principle largely prevails in the Kuki-Chin languages. Daflā and Miri possess a genitive suffix *ka*, corresponding to Tibetan *kyi*, Meithei *gi*, etc. The same dialects form their locative by adding a suffix *lâ*, which is identical with the Tibetan dative suffix *la*.

The suffix of the comparative in Daflā and Miri is *yā*, which corresponds to *yō* and *zō* in many Kuki-Chin dialects.

With regard to the inflection of verbs, it is of importance to note that all dialects, perhaps with the exception of Mījū, use the same verb substantive in the formation of a periphrastic present. The various forms of this verb all correspond to Tibetan *ạ-dug-pa*, which is used in the same way.

Miri, and to some extent also Daflā, agree with Mikir in the formation of the future, the suffixes *ye* and *pü* in Miri corresponding to Mikir *jī* and *pō*. Compare also the suffixes of the infinitive of purpose *ye* in Angāmi and *phü* in Burmese, etc. Miri, and apparently also Digāru, often use different suffixes in the negative future, as is also the case in Angāmi. The suffix of the negative future in Miri is *gē*, which is used with a simple future sense in Digāru, while Mījū *yū* probably corresponds to Miri *yē*. This latter suffix is perhaps also connected with *nye* in Aka. Compare the

suffix *nhià* which forms a future of doubt in Angāmi, and the future suffix *nyi* in Semā, etc.

The suffixes of the conjunctive participle are *na* and *la* or similar forms in Aka, Daflā, and Miri. No instances are available for Mishmi. Compare Tibetan *na* and *la* and similar forms in many other connected languages. Compare also the Tibetan case suffixes *la* and *na*.

The formation of causatives is only known in Daflā and Miri, where the verb 'to do,' *ma* and *mō*, respectively, is suffixed to the principal verb. Compare the prefixed *ma*, *man*, etc., in the Old Kuki dialects. The causative in Aka is probably formed in the same way as in Tibetan. Thus, in *shü*, to kill, from *dzü*, to die, we find the causative formed after the pattern intransitive *g*, transitive *kh*.

The negative particle is *mā* or *māng* in all dialects with the exception of Digāru, where it is *im*. This *im* is, however, probably derived from the same original. The negative is *prefixed* to the verb in Aka and Mījū, but *suffixed* in Daflā, Miri, and Digāru. There are no instances available in Chulikatā. Aka and Mījū agree with Tibetan, Kachin, Burmese, Central Nāgā, etc., while the suffixed negative is found in Kuki-Chin, Western Nāgā, Nāgā-Bodo, Nāgā-Kuki, and Bodo. The negative particle *mā* is identical with Tibetan and Burmese *ma*. The forms *māng* in Miri and *im* in Digāru may perhaps contain this *ma* prefixed to some verb substantive. Compare Tibetan *med-pa*, for *mi-yod-pa*, not-to-be. The suffixed negative is perhaps derived from a compound verb of this kind. It is, however, also possible that the position of the negative in the Tibeto-Burman languages was originally freer than it is now.

We may note that the usual tense suffixes are often dropped in the negative mood, as is also the case in Burmese and other connected languages.

It will be seen from the preceding remarks that all the dialects in question have several points of analogy with other Tibeto-Burman languages.

They agree with Tibetan in the use of the same verb substantive in order to form a periphrastic present.

A prefix *a*, *e*, *i*, etc., is used in the same way as the corresponding prefix *a* in Tibetan and most of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Assam, while the peculiar use of the prefix *a* in Kachin and Burmese seems to be foreign to them.

The conjunctive participle is formed by means of the same suffixes as in Tibetan and the languages of Assam.

The numeral 'four' agrees with the forms used in the Assam-Burmese languages.

The prefixes are apparently, to a great extent, full syllables, as is the case in the Assam-Burmese languages. Our materials are not, however, sufficient for entering into this question.

All these points seem to show that the North Assam dialects are intermediary between Tibetan and Burmese, or, more correctly, between Tibetan and the Tibeto-Burman languages of Assam.

Their position would be easier to define if we had sufficient information regarding the existence of tones. We know that several tones exist in Daflā, Miri, and Mishmi, and the same is probably the case in Aka. This fact seems to show that they are more closely connected with Tibetan than with Burmese. The same conclusion must be derived from the fact that initial soft consonants occur to a considerable extent, while they are changed to hard sounds in Burmese.

All the dialects in question differ to a great extent in vocabulary. This is especially the case with Aka, while the Mishmi dialects in many points agree with Miri and Daflā, as will be seen from the comparison of a few words:—

arrow . .	Digāru *m-pü*; Daflā *ō-pū*.
blood . .	Mījū *ui*; Daflā *ūi*.
brother . .	Digāru *nā-pū*; Daflā *á-bū*.
dark . . .	Digāru *kā-nō-ā*; Daflā *kān*.
die . . .	Digāru *sī*; Daflā and Miri *sī*.
dog . . .	Digāru *n-kwī*; Daflā *ī-kī*; Miri *ē-kī*.
dream . .	Digāru *yāmō*; Daflā *yūmrā*.

drink . . Digāru *tūm*; Daflā *tū*; Miri *tüng*.
eat . . . Digāru *dh̲ā*; Daflā *da*; Miri *dâ*.
feather . . Digāru *am*; Daflā *am*.
flower . . Digāru *tā-pā*; Daflā *oppū*.
hair . . . Digāru *dh̲ong*; Daflā *dūm*.
horn . . . Digāru *rō*; Daflā *a-rū*.
mother . . Digāru *nā-mā*; Daflā *ā-mā*.
name . . Digāru *a-mung*; Daflā *a-min*.
pig . . . Digāru *ba-li*; Daflā *illyi*.
slave . . . Digāru *m-po*; Daflā *pā*.
snake . . Digāru *tābō*; Daflā *tab*; Miri *tābui*.
tail . . . Digāru *la-ming*; Daflā *ā-mī*.
tree . . . Digāru *mā-sāng*; Daflā *san*.
water . . Digāru *mā-chī*; Daflā *ishi*.

Such instances might easily be multiplied. They show that there are a considerable amount of common words in Mishmi and Daflā-Miri. These dialects also agree in the use of the prefix *ka* with adjectives, in the personal pronoun of the second person, and other points. Digāru also agrees with Daflā and Miri in the use of a suffixed negative, while Mījū, like Aka, prefixes the negative to the verb.

The Mishmi dialects cannot, however, be classed as closely related to Daflā and Miri. They sometimes also agree with Aka as against the central dialects.

Thus, they use a prefix *ka* in the numerals 'two' and 'three,' as is also the case in Aka and Tibetan. They form the higher numerals as in Tibetan, Kachin, Burmese, etc., after the pattern 'three-tens,' and they do not use generic prefixes before numerals.

The Mishmi dialects also, in some points, agree with Kachin. Thus, the numeral 'five' takes a prefix *ma* as in Kachin, Meithei, and some Nāgā dialects, and the usual prefixes *m* and *n* in Mishmi and Kachin are probably identical. There is also some connection between them in vocabulary. Thus, we find Digāru *nā-pū*, Kachin *phū*, brother; Mījū *bāng*, Kachin *m'bā*, cloth; Mījū and Kachin *manchu*, cow; Mījū and Kachin *shā*, eat; Mījū *mī*, Kachin

mī, eye; Mījū *sāt*, Kachin *sat*, kill; Mījū *sü-lāp*, Kachin *lap*, leaf; Mījū and Kachin *kāp*, shoot; Mījū *laung*, Kachin *n'lūng*, stone; Mījū *phāt*, Kachin *m'phat*, vomit; Mījū *m'bong*, Kachin *m'būng*, wind; etc.

The proportion of common words does not, however, appear to be great.

The central dialects, Miri and Daflā, agree with several of the neighbouring forms of speech. The reduplication of the nouns before the suffixes of gender is also common in Kachin. The prefixes before the first numerals are the same as those used in some Central and Eastern Nāgā dialects. The formation of the higher numerals is the same as in the Kuki-Chin and most Nāgā languages. Generic prefixes with numerals are used in the same way as in the Bodo, some Nāgā, and the Kuki-Chin languages. Compare the generic suffixes in Burmese. The comparative suffix is the same as that occurring in some Kuki-Chin languages. Some tense suffixes are common to Miri-Daflā and Mikir, and so forth.

The result of the above may be summed up as follows:—

The dialects in question occupy an intermediate position between Tibetan and the Tibeto-Burman languages of Assam. They agree with Tibetan in important points, but differ in others in the same way as the connected languages of Assam and Burma.

We can only account for this relationship by the supposition that the tribes in question were gradually driven into their present homes from a locality where the different branches of the Tibeto-Burman family were in mutual contact. This points to the country about the headwaters of the Irawaddy and Chindwin rivers as the locality from which the North Assam tribes crossed the Brahmaputra and wandered westward to their present habitat.

The dialects under consideration cannot be considered as one distinct group, and we must therefore conclude that the immigration into the mountains between the Assam valley and Tibet extended over a considerable period, the various tribes having crossed the Brahmaputra at different times.

The mountainous region which is their home may be considered as a backwater that was gradually filled up from the great Tibeto-Burman current which, in the course of time, split up and flowed into Tibet and Further India.

The Akas are probably the first immigrants, and have lived isolated in their mountains for a considerable time. This would account for the strange appearance of their vocabulary, and also for the many points of analogy with Tibetan.

The Miris and Daflās must have had intercourse with the tribes now known as Kachin, Kuki-Chin, Nāgā, and Bodo, before they reached their present homes. The Mishmis have more affinity to Tibetan, but are also akin to the Kachins. The Western Mishmis, the Digārus, and Chulikatās have also been influenced by their western neighbours, the Miris and Daflās, and perhaps also by the Tibeto-Burman tribes of Assam.

ART. VIII.—*Kusinārā, or Kuśinagara, and other Buddhist Holy Places.* By VINCENT A. SMITH, M.R.A.S., late of the Indian Civil Service.

FORTY years ago Sir Alexander Cunningham, adopting a hint given by Professor H. H. Wilson, identified the Buddhist remains near Kasiā in the Gorakhpur District as marking the site of Kuśinagara, or Kusinārā, the traditional scene of the death of Gautama Buddha.

The discovery in 1875–76 by Mr. Carlleyle among the ruins near Kasiā of a colossal recumbent statue of Buddha, which corresponded closely with Hiuen Tsiang's description of a similar statue at Kuśinagara, seemed to settle the question as to the identity of the site.[1] Archæological writers, the general public, and Buddhist pilgrims from Burma and Ceylon, all agreed in accepting as conclusive Sir Alexander Cunningham's announcement that the remains near Kasiā beyond doubt occupied the site of Kuśinagara. I shared the general belief, and felt no doubts on the subject until I made a special inquiry on the spot, and found the existing facts at Kasiā to be at variance with Cunningham's description and irreconcilable with the accounts of Kuśinagara given by the Chinese pilgrims. The results of my inquiry were published in 1896,[2] and in the same year the true site of the Lumbini Garden, the traditional site of the birth of Gautama Buddha, was discovered. My local inquiry proved by means of topographical details that the remains near Kasiā could not possibly represent Kuśinagara as described

[1] Cunningham: Archæological Survey Reports, vols. i, xviii, xxii.

[2] "The Remains near Kasia, in the Gorakhpur District, the Reputed Site of Kuçanagara or Kuçināra, the Scene of Buddha's Death," by Vincent A. Smith, I.C.S., Fellow of the University of Allahabad. Allahabad: Printed at the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1896.

by the Chinese pilgrims.[1] The discovery of the true site of the Lumbini Garden proved that Kuśinagara, which was known to lie in a south-easterly direction from the garden, could not possibly be represented by the remains near Kasiā, which lie a little west of south from the garden.

The irresistible force of the arguments in refutation of Cunningham's identification was at once admitted, and, so far as I am aware, nobody since 1896 has attempted to maintain the correctness of that identification. The purely negative result that the remains near Kasiā do not represent Kuśinagara was thus obtained and accepted, but no progress was made in affirmatively determining the position of the town which was the scene of Buddha's death. The few words, unsupported by argument, in which five years ago I indicated my belief as to the probable position of Kuśinagara could not be expected to command assent. Dr. Hoey has since endeavoured to locate Kuśinagara in the Sāran District, far to the south, near the Ganges. The etymological foundation of his ingenious arguments, which ignore the testimony of the Chinese pilgrims, seems to me so insecure that I may be excused from the task of detailed criticism.[2]

The question as to the true position of Kuśinagara is therefore still open, and the problem awaits solution. From time to time for seven years past I have devoted many hours and much labour to the search for a solution, and now publish the results of my investigation because there is no immediate prospect of the discovery of additional materials on which to form a judgment. I venture to think that an approximately correct solution of the problem is attainable by strict reasoning from the existing materials, and that this approximate solution involves the settlement of several doubtful points in the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims.

[1] Kuśinagara is the form of the name which corresponds best with the Chinese notation, and is used by Mr. Takakusu in his translation of I-tsing. Mr. Beal transliterates the Chinese as *Kiu-shi-na-k'ie-lo*. Mr. Giles writes *Chü-i-na-chieh*. In Pāli the dental sibilant alone is used, and the name is invariably given in the form Kusinārā.

[2] "On the Identification of Kusinara, Vaisali, and other places mentioned by the Chinese Pilgrims," by W. Hoey, Litt.D., I.C.S.: *J.A.S.B.*, 1900, vol. lxix, pt. 1, p. 74.

The purpose of my investigation is simply to determine the position of the town which was shown in the fifth century to Fā-hien and in the seventh century to Hiuen Tsiang as being Kuśinagara, the reputed scene of Buddha's death. Whether Gautama Buddha really died at that town or not is a question beyond my province. I desire merely to ascertain the identity of the town visited by the two pilgrims, while abstaining from discussion of the authenticity of the holy places shown to them by their monkish guides.

Both pilgrims apparently visited the same place, and it is probable that the town shown to Fā-hien as Kuśinagara at the beginning of the fifth century is the same as that mentioned under the name of Kusinārā in the much earlier Pālī books. Those books certainly preserve a very ancient body of tradition, and we may safely believe, on their authority, that Gautama Buddha, the Śākya sage, really passed away at Kusinārā. The presumption is that the tradition of Buddha's death remained attached to one spot, and until good reason is shown for supposing that the traditional locality was shifted, we may assume the identity of the Chinese Kuśinagara and the Pālī Kusinārā.

The itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims give bearings and distances from which the position of Kuśinagara can be deduced, whereas the geographical indications given by the Pālī books are not sufficient to determine the position of Kusinārā. Therefore, in order to ascertain the position of the traditional scene of Buddha's death, it is desirable to begin with the detailed accounts of the late Chinese pilgrims rather than with the indeterminate indications of the early Pālī writers, and thus to proceed from the known to the unknown.

Professor Rhys Davids, on the other hand, would apparently prefer to take the ancient Pālī books as the starting-point for the investigation, and to treat the Chinese records as of secondary importance.[1]

[1] [I must be allowed to enter a mild protest against this reading of my views. They are expressed, perhaps not clearly, in the words immediately quoted. In discussing historically the archæological remains at any ascertained spot the

"It is a pity," he observes, "that Indian archæologists ignore the details given in the most ancient records concerning the places they attempt to identify. Before writing about Kusinārā, it would seem almost a matter of course that not only the descriptions of a traveller in the seventh century A.D., but also all that can be gathered from the words—at least a thousand years older—of the Pali Pitakas, should be in the writer's mind. We there learn from Mahāvagga, vi, 34–38,[1] that the Buddha journeyed along the following route: Vesāli, Bhaddiya-nagara, Āpaṇa, Kusinārā, Ātumā, Sāvatthi. The contrary route from Sāvatthi to Vesāli is given at Sutta Nipāta, p. 185. The name of the grove of Sālā-trees under which the Buddha died is the Upavattana, 'on the further side of the river Hiraṇyavatī' ('Buddhist Suttas,' S.B.E., xi, p. 85); and the route by which it was reached was Vesāli, Bhaṇḍagāma, Amba-gāma, Jambu-gāma, Bhoga-nagara, Pāvā (these two last also mentioned in the same order in the Sutta Nipāta, p. 185), and across the river Kakuṭṭhā to Kusinārā ('Buddhist Suttas,' pp. 64–74, 82). There is no reference in the oldest texts to its being a walled town; it is called a 'wattle and daub town, a village in the midst of the jungle' (ibid., pp. 100, 248). Other references are Anguttara, 2. 274; Udāna, p. 37."[2]

This criticism would be unanswerable if it were possible, independently of the Chinese pilgrims, to identify the rivers Kakuṭṭhā and Hiraṇyavatī and the various villages named. But, unfortunately, the efforts which I have repeatedly made to effect these identifications have failed, and at present no helpful guidance is to be found in the Pālī books. The enquirer is therefore forced to rely upon the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims in order to ascertain the position of the town Kuśinagara visited by them, which was probably identical with the Kusinārā of the Pālī writers. The

writer should consider *all* the evidence, and not ignore that preserved in the books. I have not said, and assuredly do not think, that the evidence afforded by the Chinese pilgrims, or any other evidence, is of secondary importance.

In the attempt to fix upon a doubtful site, that of the Chinese is of especial value, as it is the Chinese who give bearings and distances. If a book put together many centuries before the Chinese writers visited the spot should happen also (which such books, alas! very seldom do) to give bearings or distances, then these also should be considered and due weight attached to them, and Mr. Vincent Smith does this.—RH. D.]

1 "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xiii, pp. 121–143.

2 *J.R.A.S.*, Oct., 1897, p. 920.

insignificant village which seems to have existed in the time of Gautama Buddha may easily have become a walled town in the long interval of about twelve hundred years between the death of Buddha and the visit of Hiuen Tsiang, who found the town almost deserted and the walls in ruins.

The Chinese pilgrims give three distinct bearings, with distances, for Kuśinagara. These bearings are (1) in an easterly direction from the Lumbini Garden; (2) in a north-westerly direction from Vaisāli; and (3) in a north-easterly direction from Benares, or the kingdom of Benares.

The positions of the Lumbini Garden, Vaisāli, and Benares being now all known with certainty, it would seem at first sight that no problem exists, and that the position of Kuśinagara could be readily determined by drawing three lines on a map and noting their point of intersection. But, as a matter of fact, the problem exists, and is one of considerable complexity.

The Lumbini Garden is now represented by the mound of ruins at Rummindeī, which is situated in the Nepalese Tarāi, about five or six miles nearly due north of Dulhā House in the Bastī District of the North-Western Provinces, and approximately in E. long. 83° 20′, N. lat. 27° 29′. The spot, although not marked on the map, may be easily noted on the edge of Sheet 102 of the Indian Atlas, at a distance of about four miles north of the frontier and half a mile west of the Tilār river, which is marked on the map.

In a subsequent paper I hope to discuss the remains at and near Basāṛ in the Muzaffarpur District of Bihār, which occupy the site of Vaisāli. These remains lie approximately in E. long. 85° 11′ and N. lat. 25° 58′. I cannot stop now to prove the identity of Basāṛ with Vaisāli, and must ask my readers to accept the assurance that the identification is certain.

The position of Benares is defined as being in E. long. 83° 3′ 4″ and N. lat. 25° 18′ 31″. Kuśinagara, therefore, should be sought in an easterly direction from the Lumbini Garden, E. long. 83° 20′, N. lat. 27° 29′; north-westerly direction from Vaisāli (Basāṛ), E. long. 85° 11′, N. lat.

25° 58′; north-easterly direction from Benares, E. long. 83° 3′ 4″, N. lat. 25° 18′ 31″.

A glance at the map will show that the Kuśinagara of the Chinese pilgrims must consequently lie between 84° and 85° E. long. and 27° and 28° N. lat. The resulting rectangle lies to the extent of about three quarters in the hills of Nepāl, and to the extent of about one quarter in the Campāran District of Bihār. The portion of the rectangle which falls within the limits of the Gorakhpur District is inconsiderable. The ruins of Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh (Navandgaṛh) stand on the southern boundary (parallel 27°) of the rectangle, which includes the ruins at Cānkī Gaṛh and the towns of Rāmnagar and Sohariā in the Campāran District. The site of Kuśinagara is therefore either in Nepāl, beyond the Someśvar Range, or in the Campāran District at a distance of a few miles from the foot of the hills.

The distances and bearings given by the pilgrims from each of the three fixed points, the Lumbini Garden, Vaisāli, and Benares, will now be examined in order to fix with greater precision the site sought.

The position of Kuśinagara relative to the fixed point of the Lumbini Garden is defined as follows by Fā-hien, in chapters xxiii and xxiv:—

"East from Buddha's birthplace, and at a distance of five *yojanas*, there is a kingdom called Rāma." After describing a monastery at the capital the pilgrim continues: "East from here four [*leg.* three] *yojanas*, there is the place where the heir-apparent sent back Chaṇḍaka, with his white horse; and there also a tope was erected. Four *yojanas* to the east from this, (the travellers) came to the Charcoal tope, where there is also a monastery. Going on twelve *yojanas*, still to the east, they came to the city of Kuśanagara."[1]

[1] Legge's version. Giles makes the distance from Rāma (Lan-mo) to the place of Caṇḍaka's return to be three, not four, *yojanas*. His other distances agree with Legge's, but he renders the last clause quoted as "proceeding further twelve *yuyen*, they arrived at the city of Chü-i-na-chieh." Beal agrees with Giles in making the distance between Rāmagrāma and Lan-mo to be three *yojanas*. He translates the last clause, "again going twelve *yojanas* eastward, we arrive at the town of Kuśinagara." He gives the name of "Ashes-tower" to the monument named "Charcoal tope" by Legge and

In tabular form Fā-hien's itinerary may be thus expressed:—

From	*To*	*Direction*	*Distance*
Lumbini Garden	Rāmagrāma	Easterly	5 *yojanas*
Rāmagrāma	Caṇḍaka's return	„	3 „
Caṇḍaka's return	Ashes *stūpa*	„	4 „
		Total	12 „
Ashes *stūpa*	Kuśinagara	„	12 „
Grand total, from Lumbini Garden to Kuśinagara,			24 *yojanas*

Taking the *yojana* as equal to about 7½ miles, the distance from the Lumbini Garden to Kuśinagara by road was about 180 English miles. The easterly direction must, of course, in accordance with Fā-hien's usual practice, be interpreted in a very wide sense, as meaning any direction east of a north and south meridian.

Hiuen Tsiang followed the same route as his predecessor, and notes the same stages:—

From	*To*	*Direction*	*Distance*
Lumbini Garden	Rāmagrāma	East	200 *li* or so.[1]
Rāmagrāma	Caṇḍaka's return	„	About 100 *li*.[2]
Caṇḍaka's return	Ashes *stūpa*	South-east	180 or 190 *li*.[3]
		Total	480 or 490 *li*.
Ashes *stūpa*	Kuśinagara	North-east.	Not stated ("A dangerous and difficult road").[4]

"Ashes pagoda" by Giles. Rémusat (Laidlay) calls the same monument "Tower of the Charcoal," and agrees with Giles and Beal in giving three *yojanas* as the distance between Rāma and the place of Caṇḍaka's return. The preponderance of authority is, therefore, in favour of the shorter distance, which is also supported by Hiuen Tsiang's estimate of the distance as 100 *li*, equivalent to 2½ *yojanas*.

[1] "Environ deux cents li" (Julien). The "300 li or so" of Beal is evidently an error. Hiuen Tsiang reckoned 40 *li* to the *yojana*. His distance and direction, therefore, agree with those of Fā-hien.

[2] 100 *li* = 2½ *yojanas*, roughly equivalent to Fā-hien's "3 *yojanas*." Hiuen Tsiang says "about 100 *li*."

[3] 180 or 190 *li* = about 4½ *yojanas*. Fā-hien gives the round number 4. Note the precision of Hiuen Tsiang in direction as compared with his predecessor. The deviation to the south-east adds greatly to the distance by road.

[4] Here Hiuen Tsiang gives the correct bearing, and Fā-hien gives the estimated distance. In the time of Hiuen Tsiang the difficulties of the journey, over the hills and through the forests infested by wild beasts, were so great that

We have thus by a certain and indisputable process obtained the result that the two Chinese pilgrims agree in placing Kusinārā, or Kuśinagara, in an easterly direction from the Lumbini Garden at an estimated marching distance of about 180 English miles, more or less. The later stages lay in exceptionally difficult country, and were therefore liable to be overestimated. In the hills, moreover, experience proves that about one-third must be added to the map measurement to obtain the distance by road. The actual marching distance from the Lumbini Garden to Kuśinagara was, therefore, probably not more than, say, 160 or 170 miles, and the distance measured on the map would be considerably less, or, say, 140 to 150 miles.

I now proceed to consider the bearings of Kuśinagara in relation to Vaisāli. The evidence presents certain difficulties. Fā-hien (Beal, chap. xxiv and xxv) says :—

"Going south-east twelve *yojanas* from this place [Kuśinagara],[1] we arrive at the spot where the Lichchhavis, desiring to follow Buddha to the scene of his Nirvâṇa, were forbidden to do so. On account of their affection for Buddha they were unwilling to go back, on which Buddha caused to appear between them and him a great and deeply-scarped river, which they could not cross. He then left with them his alms-bowl as a memorial, and exhorted them to return to their houses. On this they went back and erected a stone pillar, on which this account is engraved.

"From this, going five *yojanas* eastward, we arrive at the country of Vaisâli."[2]

he did not attempt to estimate the distance. But his distance of 480 or 490 *li* from the Lumbini Garden to the *stūpa* of Caṇḍaka's return agrees with Fā-hien's estimate of 12 *yojanas*. The earlier pilgrim's estimate of the distance from the Ashes *stūpa* to Kuśinagara may, therefore, be accepted as correct.

[1] The distance stated, 12 *yojanas*, is much too short. Rémusat and his colleagues state it as 20 *yojanas* (Laidlay's translation), which figure, according to Beal, is due to a mistranslation. But is it not possible that the text used by Rémusat correctly read "20 *yojanas*"? Inasmuch as the distance from the Ashes *stūpa* to Kuśinagara is reckoned as 12 *yojanas*, and the site of the Ashes *stūpa* (Lauriyā-Nandangarh) is distant about 55 or 56 miles, or 7 to 8 *yojanas*, from Kesariyā, which was, according to Fā-hien, the scene of the leave-taking, the figure 20 is approximately correct. The road from Kuśinagara to Vaisāli passes Lauriyā-Nandangarh.

[2] Legge gives "ten *yojanas*," an absolutely impossible distance. The error is evidently in the text used by him. Giles and Rémusat agree with Beal in stating the distance as "five *yojanas*." Giles points out that there is no authority in the original for the words "went back" in Beal's version.

This account places the scene of the Licchavi farewell at a distance of about 37 miles north-west from Vaisāli, and states that the spot was marked by an inscribed stone pillar.

Hiuen Tsiang's account is in some respects very different. He says (Beal, ii, 73):—

"Going north-west of the chief city [Vaisâlî] 50 or 60 *li*, we come to a great *stûpa*. This is where the Lichhavas (Li-ch'e-p'o) took leave of Buddha. Tathâgata having left the city of Vaisâlî on his way to Kuśinagara, all the Licchavas, hearing that Buddha was about to die, accompanied him wailing and lamenting. The Lord of the World having observed their fond affection, and [*sic*] as words were useless to calm them, immediately by his spiritual power caused to appear a great river with steep sides and deep, the waves of which flowed on impetuously. Then the Lichhavas were abruptly stopped on their way, moved with grief as they were. Then Tathâgata left them his *pâtra* [alms-bowl] as a token of remembrance.

"Two hundred *li* to the north-west of the city of Vaisâlî, or a little less, is an old and long deserted city, with but few inhabitants. In it is a *stûpa*. This is the place where Buddha dwelt when, in old days, ... he was a *Chakravartin* monarch and called Mahâdêva."

Both pilgrims relate the one legend, but they assign it to different localities. Five *yojanas* of Fā-hien correspond with the "200 li, or a little less," of Hiuen Tsiang, and may fairly be interpreted as 4½ *yojanas*, or about 30 miles. Fā-hien places the leave-taking at this spot, which he asserts was marked by an inscribed pillar. Hiuen Tsiang places at the same spot the *stūpa* of the ancient Cakravartin Rāja. A *stūpa*, which is to this day ascribed to a Cakravartin Rāja named Ben, is in existence at Kesariyā,[1] about 30 miles north-west of the site of Vaisāli, but no inscribed pillar at this place has yet been discovered. The leave-taking is assigned by Hiuen Tsiang to a spot distant 50 or 60 *li*, equivalent to about 9 miles, north-west from Vaisāli,

[1] The suggestion has been made that the name Kesariyā may be equivalent to Cæsarea, and may be an echo of the Roman Cæsar (D'Alviella, "Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce," p. 17, note). This conjecture, which cannot be either proved or disproved, is not very probable.

marked by a great *stūpa*, which also has not been discovered. Hiuen Tsiang was clearly right in locating the traditional leave-taking at a spot distant only a few miles from Vaisāli. Fā-hien may not have traversed the whole road between Kuśinagara and Vaisāli, and probably either misunderstood information supplied to him or made a slip in writing up his notes. Hiuen Tsiang may have made an excursion from Vaisāli as far as Kesariyā, but he does not seem to have travelled the road between Kesariyā and Kuśinagara. He went to Kuśinagara *viâ* the Lumbini Garden, Rāmagrāma, and the Ashes *stūpa*, and returned through the Gorakhpur and Azamgarh Districts to Benares.

Whether Fā-hien personally traversed the Kuśinagara-Vaisāli road or not, his text certainly contains an error, and confounds the scene of the leave-taking with the site of the Cakravartin Rāja's *stūpa*. The error may be due to the local guides and not to the pilgrim himself.

With reference to my theory that Fā-hien and Hiuen Tsiang when describing Kapilavastu were describing different places,[1] this case of the Licchavis' farewell deserves to be noted. It is a clear example of a single legend being assigned by the two pilgrims to two distinct localities, separated from one another by a distance of about 20 miles.

Cunningham's attempt to explain the discrepancy by making out the Cakravartin Rāja's *stūpa*, distant 30 miles from Vaisāli, to have been a memorial monument erected to mark the scene of the farewell, which was also commemorated by an inscribed pillar "erected near the home of the Licchavis, that is, at Vaisāli," does violence to the texts, and cannot be accepted as satisfactory. I have no doubt that Hiuen Tsiang's description is, as usual, accurate, and that one *stūpa*, about 9 miles from Vaisāli, commemorated the leave-taking, while another, some 20 miles further on the same road, commemorated the Cakravartin Rāja. Fā-hien may or may not have been correctly informed about the

[1] The exposition of this theory will be found in my Prefatory Note to Bābū P. C. Mukherji's "Report on Explorations in the Nepalese Tarāi."

existence of a stone pillar. But I suspect that his note on the subject is due to erroneous information concerning the Aśoka pillars along the Vaisāli and Kuśinagara road. Such pillars are known to exist at four places, namely, Bakhirā (Vaisāli), 2 miles north-west of Basāṛ village; Lauriyā-Ararāj, about 20 miles north-west of Kesariyā; Lauriyā-Nandangaṛh (Navandgaṛh), about 15 miles north-north-west of Bettiah; and Rāmpurwā, situated "20½ miles to the north-north-east-half-north from Laoriya Naonadgarh" [*sic*], in longitude 84° 34′ E. and latitude 27° 15′ 45″ N.[1] It is quite possible that another similar pillar may yet be found at Kesariyā, and others may be in existence at several other points on the road, which has never been thoroughly explored.

Hiuen Tsiang gives no information concerning localities between the Cakravartin Rāja's *stūpa* and Kuśinagara, nor does he state the distance between the two places. But he confirms Fā-hien's evidence that the road from Vaisāli to Kuśinagara ran north-west for a considerable distance and passed Kesariyā. From Fā-hien we learn that the distance from Kuśinagara to Kesariyā was estimated as being 12 *yojanas*, or about 90 miles, Vaisāli being 30 miles beyond Kesariyā, and in a direction between south and east from Kuśinagara, which therefore, according to this authority, was distant from Vaisāli about 120 miles by road.

The bearing of Kuśinagara in relation to Benares is stated by Hiuen Tsiang only, who, as already noted, returned by way of Benares. After describing the other monuments at Kuśinagara, the pilgrim continues:—

"By the side of the place where he [Buddha] showed his feet is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. This is the place where the eight kings shared the relics. In front is built a stone pillar on which is written an account of this event. . . . . To the south-west of the relic-dividing *stûpa*, going 200 *li* or so, we come to a great village; here lived a Brâhman of eminent wealth and celebrity. . . . . Going 500 *li* through the great forest we come to the kingdom of P'o-lo-ni-sse (Banâras).

[1] Garrick in Arch. Survey Reports, vol. xxii, p. 51.

"This country is about 4,000 *li* in circuit. On the western side the capital adjoins the Ganges."

The above quotation, except the last clause, is from Beal's translation (ii, 40–44). The last clause is rendered in accordance with Julien's French version, "du côté de l'ouest, la capitale est voisine du Gange" (i, 353). Beal's rendering is, "The capital borders (*on its western side*) the Ganges river." Julien's version clearly means that the capital stood on the bank of the Ganges at the western side of the kingdom, and this version gives undoubtedly the true sense. Hiuen Tsiang was approaching Benares from the north-east, and apparently desired to draw attention to the fact that he had to cross the whole kingdom before reaching the capital. Ordinarily, when he states the distance to a kingdom he means the distance to its capital, but in this case, where the capital was remote from his point of entry at the north-east frontier of the kingdom, he seems to have reckoned the distance from Kuśinagara to the frontier of the Benares kingdom, and not to Benares city. The total distance from Kuśinagara *viâ* the Brahman's village to the kingdom of Benares is stated as being 700 *li*, equivalent to about 130 miles. It has been proved that Kuśinagara must have lain between E. long. 84° and 85° and N. lat. 27° and 28°. No site in that approximate position can possibly be made out as being only 130 miles distant from Benares city. The distance of 130 miles from Benares city is, it is true, sufficiently in accordance with Cunningham's identification of the remains near Kasiā with Kuśinagara. But no ingenuity can make out Kasiā to be 24 *yojanas*, as Kuśinagara was, from the Lumbini Garden, the direct distance between the two places being only about 65 miles, or 9 *yojanas*, and the distance by road not more than 10 *yojanas*.

All the foregoing preliminary reasoning has now prepared the way for tracing on the modern map with approximate accuracy the actual course of the pilgrims from the Lumbini Garden, through Kuśinagara, to Vaisāli. At present it is

unfortunately impossible to give the details with precision. A large part of the pilgrims' route lay through territory now included in Nepāl, which is to Europeans almost an unknown land. The portion of the route which lies in the Nepalese Tarāi, or plain below the hills, north of the Bastī and Gorakhpur Districts, is accessible in the sense that the Nepalese Government would probably give an archæological surveyor a pass authorizing his researches. But, owing to the want of roads, the difficulty in obtaining supplies, and the prevalence of fever, this part of the frontier is a very inconvenient region to visit. The portion of the route which lies to the north of the Campāran District beyond the passes is absolutely inaccessible, being jealously closed to all Europeans, and probably even to native Indian subjects. The valley of the Little Rāptī, beyond the Someśvar Range, where the site of Kuśinagara seems to lie hid, is believed to be covered for the most part with dense forest, and there is not the slightest prospect that permission to visit it will ever be given. Even if permission were obtainable, it is quite possible that the explorer would be unable to find the site of Kuśinagara. A dense forest, full of tigers and wild elephants, is not convenient ground for archæological investigation, and many ancient sites, not readily distinguishable, are probably buried in the jungle.

The pilgrim, when proceeding eastward from the Lumbini Garden, would have reached the Little Gandak river at a distance of about 30 miles, and the Gandak river about eight miles further east. The distance from the Lumbini Garden to Rāmagrāma, or Lan-mo, 200 *li* or 5 *yojanas*, is equivalent to about 37 or 38 miles by road, or from 32 to 35 measured on the map. (Five *yojanas* at 7½ miles each = 37½ miles = 200 *li*, at 40 *li* to the *yojana*.)

According to this computation, Rāmagrāma should lie in the space between the Little Gandak and the Gandak rivers, in approximately N. lat. 27° 26′ and E. long. 83° 52′. Just here, exactly on the frontier of the Gorakhpur District and Nepāl, a village called Dharmauli (= Dharmapuri) is shown on Indian Atlas Sheet No. 102. When I was Commissioner

of Gorakhpur I obtained from natives vague information of brick ruins and of a stone pillar in the neighbourhood. Early in 1898 Dr. Hoey, M.R.A.S., who was then Magistrate of Gorakhpur, crossed the frontier from the police station of Thūthibārī in the locality indicated, and moving apparently to the north-west, crossed streams tributary to the Jharahi river, and found a *stūpa* about 25 feet high on the east bank of that river, some two miles south-east of Parāsī in Nepāl. Parāsī, on the Jharahi, is a market village distant five or six miles from the frontier, in approximately N. lat. 27° 29′ and E. long. 83° 50′. Dr. Hoey took a photograph of this monument, which is said to be clearly visible from a distance of two miles, when the view is not obscured by trees.

Somewhere in the same neighbourhood, Dr. Hoey also found the remains of a large reservoir, and he saw in the bed of an unnamed stream the stone capital of a pillar, "about 3½ or 4 feet in diameter and well carved." Remains of stone and brick buildings were also observed. This spot is said to be "about four miles north of Parāsī and slightly west," and "within the village lands of Harkatawa." This locality, which Dr. Hoey is inclined to identify with Rāmagrāma, seems to be on the west side of the Little Gandak, and near the foot of the hills.[1] Without detailed local investigation it is impossible to fix with precision the site of Rāmagrāma, but it certainly lies between the limits of E. long. 83° 50′ to 55′ and N. lat. 27° 25′ to 33′. For the purpose of computing the pilgrims' stages my figures, N. lat. 27° 26′ and E. long. 83° 52′, may be taken as correct.

The pilgrims' next stage was one of 3 *yojanas*, or about 100 *li*, further east, to a place where monuments marked the spot where, according to the legend, Gautama Buddha cut off his hair and sent back his charioteer. Hiuen Tsiang's estimate of the distance as being about 100 *li* (18 or 19 miles) indicates that the stage was something less than 3 *yojanas*, which at 7½ miles to the *yojana*, are equivalent to

[1] Dr. Hoey published an account of his excursion under the title "Buddhist Sites in Nepāl" in the *Pioneer* newspaper, Allāhābād, March 25th, 1889.

22½ miles. The marching distance may be taken as being from 18 to 20 miles. At a distance of 17 or 18 miles, as measured on the map, from Dharmauli, in a south-easterly direction, we find a village named Bihār (= *vihāra*), in the Campāran District, east of the Gandak. This village, which is precisely in the required position, probably marks the traditional site of the return of the charioteer Caṇḍaka, but I have no information concerning the local remains. The name indicates that the ruins of a monastery exist.

The next stage of 4 *yojanas* (31 miles), or, according to Hiuen Tsiang, of 180 to 190 *li* (about 33 miles), brought the travellers to the Ashes *stūpa*, in a south-easterly direction. In that direction at a distance of 31 miles, as measured on the map (Indian Atlas, Sheet 102), we find the remarkable remains at Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh, which have been long known to Indian archæologists.[1] These remains, I believe, mark the site of the Ashes *stūpa*, erected, according to tradition, by the Moriyas (? Mauryas) of Pipalivana over the ashes or charcoal from the funeral pile of Gautama. The remains comprise a pillar inscribed with Aśoka's edicts, dated in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, more than a score of barrows or *stūpas*, some being cased with brick and some made of earth only, as well as the Nandangaṛh mound, a very large detached *stūpa* of brick. The Aśoka pillar, which still retains its lion capital, stands nearly half a mile to the north-east of the large village named Lauṛiyā, on the west side of the Turkāhā stream, and four or five hundred feet to the north of the most easterly *stūpas*.

The great detached mound, still some eighty feet high, known as Nandangaṛh, stands about half a mile to the south-west of Lauṛiyā. The top is said to be from 250 to 300 feet in diameter. Slight excavations made by Bābū P. C. Mukherjī

[1] Cunningham writes the second name as Navaṇdgaṛh, but Bābū P. C. Mukherjī states that the correct form is Nandangaṛh, and in proof of his statement refers to a local folk-tale which associates the remains near Lauṛiyā with the *nand* and the remains at Chānkīgaṛh with the *bhaujāī* of the Rāja or Rānī. *Nand* means 'husband's sister,' and *bhaujāī* means 'elder brother's wife.' Earlier writers on Indian antiquities described this Aśoka pillar under the name of 'Mathiah,' which is a village about three miles distant.

have proved that this vast structure is a circular *stūpa*. The space to the south was enclosed by a massive wall, described as being ten feet in thickness. A small brick *stūpa* exists in the village of Maṛhiā, three furlongs further south, and several other mounds, apparently *stūpas*, have been noticed in the immediate neighbourhood. Some of the bricks used in the construction of the great *stūpa* are of enormous size, measuring about 24 inches in length by 18 in breadth, and 5½ in thickness.[1]

The principal group of *stūpas* at the Lauṛiyā site, to the north of the village and stream, is composed of three rows of monuments.[2] One row running east and west comprises five *stūpas*. The other two rows, farther to the west, are parallel one to the other and run north and south. They comprise about seventeen monuments. All these barrows or *stūpas*, so far as they have been examined, have been proved to be sepulchral, and many of them are probably pre-Buddhistic.

Mr. Carlleyle opened the large mound marked E by Cunningham in the row running east and west, which was about 45 feet in height. Traces of successive interments, consisting of charcoal, fragments and ashes of bone, broken coarse pottery, and "a very few particles of iron totally dissolved with corrosion" [*sic*], were found in the interior at different levels, the details of which were not noted. This monument was an earthen tumulus cased with brick, and furnished with a brick perambulation-path about three or four feet in width. The tumulus marked G in the middle line running north and south had no brick casing. Near its base traces of an interment, or interments, were found, consisting, as in the other case, of ashes and charcoal, with fragments of bone and pottery. Coffins with "unusually

[1] Cunningham estimated the height of the great *stūpa* as 80 feet; Bābū P. C. Mukherjī estimated it as 100. The Bābū visited many of the ancient sites in the Campāran District in March, 1897, under the orders of the Bengal Government. He gave me a copy of his draft report, which has been of use, although it was too crude for publication. The dimensions of the bricks are as stated by the Bābū.

[2] The stream bends to the north, and the most easterly barrow, A of Cunningham, is consequently east of the stream, which flows between A and B. The pillar is north of a point midway between A and B.

long human skeletons" are reported to have been found by other explorers in some of the Lauriyā mounds, but no intelligible account of the discoveries has been preserved. According to Mr. Carlleyle, scores of small earthen barrows exist in the region from three to six miles west of Lauriyā.[1]

It is difficult to determine the age of the great *stūpa* at Nandangarh. Bābū P. C. Mukherjī says that some of the bricks two inches in thickness "contain inscriptions in ancient Pālī characters." He gives an eye-copy of one of these inscriptions, which, though not legible, is evidently in early Brāhmī characters, comprising six or seven *akṣaras*. I think that this is the large *stūpa* erected by Aśoka near the small *stūpa* built originally to enshrine the ashes or charcoal from Buddha's funeral pyre.

The only description of the Ashes *stūpa* is that given by Hiuen Tsiang, who says:—

"To the south-east of the head-shaving *stûpa*, in the middle of a desert ('à travers des plaines sauvages,' *Julien*) going 180 or 190 *li*, we come to a Nyagrôdha [banyan] grove, in which there is a *stûpa* about 30 feet high.

"Formerly, when Tathâgata had died and his remains had been divided, the Brâhmans, who had obtained none, came to the place of cremation, and taking the remnant of coals and cinders to their native country, built this *stûpa* over them, and offered their religious services to it. Since then wonderful signs have occurred in this place; sick persons who pray and worship here are mostly cured.

"By the side of the ashes *stûpa* is an old *sanghârâma* [monastery], where there are traces of the four former Buddhas, who walked and sat there.

"On the right hand and left of this convent there are several

[1] Cunningham, Archæol. Survey Reports, i, pp. 68–74, pls. xxiii and xxv; xvi (Garrick), pp. 104–109, pls. xxvii and xxviii; xxii (Carlleyle), pp. 36–49. In "the large mound directly south of the lion pillar," apparently B of Cunningham, Mr. Garrick found a shallow earthen vessel containing 67 cowrie shells at a depth of seven feet. Cowries have often been found in *stūpas*. In the great *stūpa* of Nandangarh, at a depth of about five feet from the top, Mr. Garrick found an earthenware lamp bearing traces of an inscription in early Brāhmī characters, apparently similar to those of the Aśoka inscriptions. The reports of Messrs. Carlleyle and Garrick are very unsatisfactory, and both gentlemen failed to keep proper notes of their destructive proceedings.

hundred *stûpas*, among which is one large one built by Aśôka-râja; although it is mostly in ruins, yet its height is still about 100 feet.

"From this, going north-east through a great forest, along a dangerous and difficult road, where wild oxen and herds of elephants and robbers and hunters cause incessant trouble to travellers, after leaving the forest we come to the kingdom of Kiu-shi-na-k'ie-lo (Kuśinagara)." [1]

According to the pilgrim's description, which is no doubt quite correct, the remains of a monastery should be traceable. The published accounts of the Nandangaṛh ruins are so imperfect that it is impossible to be certain whether or not a monastery existed there. Bābū P. C. Mukherjī notes that there is a vast accumulation of brick débris at the foot of the great *stūpa*, and that the area enclosed by the massive wall to the south, which is covered by dense and thorny brushwood and includes various brick remains and small tanks, may have been the site of a monastery. Hiuen Tsiang saw several hundred small *stūpas*. At present only a few have been traced, but it is probable that, as at Kasiā, many are hidden below the surface.

The tumuli containing traces of interments may be, as already remarked, pre-Buddhistic. Similar, though smaller, earthen tumuli exist adjoining the Buddhist ruins in the neighbourhood of Kasiā, and I suspect that the existence of these prehistoric cemeteries near Lauṛiyā and Kasiā explains the ancient sanctity of both localities, and their selection as sites for Buddhist monuments. I freely admit that the identification of the Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh remains with the Ashes *Stūpa* site rests mainly upon the fact that these remains are exactly in the position where the Ashes *Stūpa* must have stood, according to my reading of the pilgrims' itineraries. The proposed identification is not contradicted by the local facts so far as they are known; but until an adequate survey of the entire group of ruins is made, and well-devised excavations are effected, it is

[1] Beal, ii, 31.

impossible to affirm positively that the great *stūpa* of Nandangaṛh is the Ashes *Stūpa* built by Aśoka. No other group of ruins is found in the required position.

The important remains at Cānkīgaṛh, about 11 miles directly north from Lauṛiyā, have been described in a fashion still more unsatisfactory. The principal mass of ruin is said by Mr. Garrick to be loftier than Nandangaṛh, being about 90 feet in height, and composed of solid masonry constructed with brick slabs 14 inches square and 2½ inches thick. Remains of ancient buildings are said to exist on the top. The shape of the mound is irregular. Mr. Garrick estimated its length east and west to be about 250 feet. Bābū P. C. Mukherjī doubles this estimate, and gives the approximate height of the mound as 135 feet.[1] This mound is distant only about 27 miles in a direct line from the village Bihār, which I identify with the place of Caṇḍaka's return, and cannot well be the Ashes *Stūpa*.

Assuming that the Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh remains represent the Ashes *Stūpa*, Kuśinagara should lie to the north-east, that is to say, between north and east, at a distance by road of twelve *yojanas*, or about 90 miles. The road in the seventh century was dangerous and difficult, being infested by wild elephants and other beasts. After passing through the forest, the pilgrim emerged in the kingdom of Kuśinagara. This description seems to indicate that it crossed the passes and forests of the Someśvar Range.

A line 90 miles in length measured directly on the map in a north-easterly direction from Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh extends far beyond Kāṭhmāṇḍū. But when the line is measured along the actual road a possible site for Kusinārā is obtained. The hills can, of course, be crossed only at the passes, which were the same in the pilgrims' time as they now are. The direction of the series of Aśoka pillars clearly indicates the Bhiknā Thorī Pass as that used by the pilgrims. The distance from Lauṛiyā *viâ* Cānkīgaṛh and the Aśoka

[1] The correct name of this place seems to be Cānkī, or Chankee, as it is spelled in the Indian Atlas. Mr. Garrick, in Reports, vol. xvi, p. 109, calls it Chandkigarh, whereas in vol. xxii, p. 50, he calls it Jānki Garh.

pillar at Rāmpurwā to the Bhiknā Thorī Pass on the frontier is approximately 30 miles. At the pass the road turns sharply to the west for about 7 miles, and then turns northwards for about 7 or 8 miles to the Chūria Ghāti Stockade,[1] from which the place marked Gurunggaon on Sheet 102 of the Indian Atlas is distant about 18 miles north-east. Gurunggaon is situated at the cross-roads a mile or two beyond the Little Rāptī river. The distance from the Bhiknā Thorī Pass to Gurunggaon is, by road, as measured on the map, therefore (7 + 8 + 18) about 33 miles. Adding one-third because the road is in the hills, the marching distance must be about 44 miles. The marching distance from Lauriyā-Nandangarh in the plains to the Bhiknā Thorī Pass may be taken as about 35 miles. The total marching distance from Lauriyā-Nandangarh to Gurunggaon is, therefore, about 44 + 35 = 79 miles. The 12 *yojanas* of Fā-hien are equivalent to about 90 miles. Considering the nature of the country, the difference between 79 and 90 is not very great. Distances in difficult country are always liable to be overestimated.

I believe that the site of Kusinārā, or Kuśinagara, must lie a few miles beyond Gurunggaon in the valley of the Little Rāptī, which constituted the kingdom of Kuśinagara, into which Hiuen Tsiang entered when he emerged from the "dangerous and difficult" forest and hill paths. The position of Kuśinagara may therefore be defined with a near approach to accuracy as in E. long. 84° 51′ and N. lat. 27° 32′. The spot thus indicated is about 30 miles in a direct line from Kāṭhmāndu, the distance by the circuitous road being probably half as much again.

Hiuen Tsiang describes the Valley of Nepāl as forming a separate kingdom. The kingdom of Kusinārā or Kuśinagara was, according to my view, the valley of the Little Rāptī, which is a tributary of the Gandak.

[1] Marked on Sheet 102 of the Indian Atlas as "Choorea Ghati Pass, a large Stockade." Oldfield spells the name Cherya Ghatti.

From my position for Kuśinagara the stages back to Vaisāli will be, in a general direction between south and east:—

(1) To the Ashes *Stūpa* (Lauṛiyā - Nandangaṛh) 12 *yojanas* = 85–90 miles;
(2) From the Ashes *Stūpa* to the *stūpa* of the Cakravartin Rāja (Kesariyā) about 7 *yojanas*, equivalent to about 53 miles;
(3) From the *stūpa* of the Cakravartin Rāja to Vaisāli, (nearly) 5 *yojanas*, or about 30 miles.

The total marching distance is, therefore (12+7+nearly 5), 23 or 24 *yojanas*, or about (85 (or 90)+53+30) equivalent to 168 to 173 miles. The distance of 12 *yojanas* given in the texts of Fā-hien, translated by Beal, Giles, and Legge as the distance from Kuśinagara to Kesariyā, is impossible. The true distance is between 19 and 20 *yojanas*, and I am therefore disposed to believe that the 20 *yojanas* mentioned by the French translators were really found in the text used by them.

The village of the learned Brahman, which Hiuen Tsiang places on the road to Benares, about 200 *li*, or 37 miles, from Kuśinagara, must be in Nepāl, not very far from the Bhiknā Thorī Pass. It may be represented by Mawāgaṛh, which is said to be the name of considerable remains a few miles west of the Pass.[1]

From the Brahman's village the pilgrim reckons about 500 *li*, equivalent to 12½ *yojanas*, or 93 miles, in a south-westerly direction to the kingdom of Benares. Protraction of this distance and direction from the Bhiknā Thorī Pass brings us to the Ghāgrā River, which formed, I believe, the boundary between the kingdom of Benares on the south and the countries of the Mallians and Licchavis on the north of the river. The kingdom of Benares lay between the

[1] Bābū P. C. Mukherjī heard of Mawāgaṛh, and was told that there are also ruins at a place called Bāngaṛh, to the east of the Pass.

Ghāgrā and the Ganges. Although the beds of the great rivers have often shifted to an enormous extent in some parts of their courses, certain *ghāṭs*, or crossing-places, where the bank is formed of nodular limestone (*kankar*), have remained unchanged from time immemorial.

Such a crossing-place exists under Bhāgalpur in the east of the Gorakhpur District, and is now spanned by the Bengal and North-Western Railway bridge connecting the Gorakhpur and Baliyā (Ballia) Districts. The multitude of ancient Buddhist and Jain remains near the road passing this permanent crossing-place proves that it must have been frequently used by Buddhist pilgrims travelling to and fro between Benares and Nepāl, and Hiuen Tsiang's distance of 500 *li* may be reckoned to this point.[1] Another established and much frequented crossing-place exists further west at Dohrī Ghāṭ between Gorakhpur and Azamgarh. It is possible that Hiuen Tsiang travelled by this route, which nearly suits his statement concerning the distance. If the pilgrim travelled by this latter route, which is the most direct, when returning from Kuśinagara, he would have passed Lauriyā-Nandangarh, Kasiā, Dohrī Ghāṭ, and Azamgarh on his way to Benares. If he travelled by Bhāgalpur Ghāṭ, he would probably have passed to the east of Azamgarh. It is impossible to decide whether he crossed the river at Bhāgalpur or at Dohrī Ghāṭ, but I am convinced that he must have crossed it at either one or the other, and that his distance of 500 *li* from the Brahman's village (i.e. the Bhiknā Thorī Pass) to the kingdom of Benares must be reckoned to the Ghāgrā River at either of these two crossing-places, and not to the city of Benares.

At one time I thought it possible that the ruins near Kasiā might prove to be the site of the Ashes, or Charcoal, *Stūpa*. The existing remains agree well with Hiuen Tsiang's description of the surroundings of the Ashes *Stūpa*. But

[1] A list of the principal known remains on this line of road is given in my paper entitled "The Buddhist Monastery at Sohnāg," in *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1900, pp. 437-439.

both pilgrims agree in placing the *stūpa* of Caṇḍaka's return some 18 or 20 miles in an easterly direction from Rāmagrāma, and Hiuen Tsiang proves that the Ashes *Stūpa* was more than thirty miles in a south-easterly direction from the *stūpa* of Caṇḍaka's return. Owing to the trend of the mountains, Rāmagrāma cannot possibly be far from the position indicated by me, and for the same reason the site assigned to the *stūpa* of Caṇḍaka's return must be approximately correct. Both these sites may possibly be a few miles further north than they are shown in my map, but the difference cannot be considerable, and the possible amount of difference does not seriously affect the position of the Ashes *Stūpa*, which cannot be far from Lauriyā-Nandangaṛh. So far as the distance from Bihār (*Stūpa* of Caṇḍaka's Return) is concerned, Kasiā is nearly (though not quite) in the right place. But it is altogether in the wrong direction. Kasiā lies a little west of south from Bihār, or any possible site for the *stūpa* of Caṇḍaka's Return, whereas the Ashes *Stūpa* must lie considerably eastward from the *stūpa* of Caṇḍaka's Return. Kasiā therefore cannot be the site of the Ashes *Stūpa*. The remains near Kasiā, though always mentioned in connection with that village, have really no concern with it. They are situated in the *mauza*, or village lands, of Biṣanpur, and are distant from nearly a mile to nearly two miles from Kasiā in a westerly direction. The name of Kasiā has been brought into the discussion simply because the police station, magistrate's house, and camping-ground are at that village, to which all visitors to the ruins must resort. Kasiā has no real connection with the Biṣanpur remains. The buildings represented by these remains were probably visited by Hiuen Tsiang when he was travelling from Kuśinagara to Benares, although he has not mentioned them. He must have visited hundreds of monasteries and *stūpas* which are not specially mentioned in his book.

When discussing geographical problems relating to a remote age, it is well to remember the fact that Indian rivers in the plains are liable to extensive movements.

The Gandak River, no doubt, emerged from the hills at Tribenī Ghāṭ in the seventh century, as it does now, but it is quite possible, or even probable, that at that period the river when passing through the plains may have flowed in the bed far to the east, which is still remembered as the Old Gandak. The *stūpa* of Caṇḍaka's Return would then have been on the west side of the stream, and not on the east side as Bihār now is. The legend of the return of the charioteer would naturally be associated with the arrival of the travellers at the first great river which they met, and it is extremely probable that, if the *stūpa* of Caṇḍaka's Return is ever distinctly identified, it will be found on the west bank of an old bed of the Gandak. My information concerning the topography of the Campāran District is not sufficiently detailed to allow of my tracing throughout its whole length the old bed of the Gandak, nor do I know the time at which the river changed its course.

Subject to unavoidable indistinctness of detail, I am convinced that the accompanying sketch map indicates with a near approach to accuracy the route of the Chinese pilgrims from the Lumbini Garden to Kuśinagara. I think that the sites of Rāmagrāma, the *stūpa* of Caṇḍaka's Return, and of Kusinārā, or Kuśinagara, have been approximately determined, and that the site of the Ashes, or Charcoal, *Stūpa* has been almost certainly fixed at Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh. From Kusinārā to Vaisāli the line of march in the plains is clearly marked out by the Aśoka pillars at Rāmpurwā, Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh, Lauṛiyā-Ararāj, and Bakhirā near Vaisāli, and by the Cakravartin Rāja's *stūpa* at Kesariyā.

The position of Kuśinagara as determined in this paper is not very remote from the position of Kusinārā according to the Pālī books. Both Buddhaghosa and the Jātaka place Kusinārā at a distance of 25 *yojanas* from Rājagṛha (Rājgīr).[1] Assuming that the *yojana* used in the Pālī books is the same as that in which Fā-hien makes his computations, 25 *yojanas* are equivalent to about 190 miles. Rājgīr is about 40 miles

[1] Rhys Davids in *J.R.A.S.* for July, 1901, p. 405.

ROUTE OF CHINESE PILGRIMS FROM LUMBINI GARDEN TO KUSINĀRĀ, OR KUŚINAGARA.

nearly due south of Patna, and 60 odd miles from Vaisāli (Basāṛ).

Kāthmāṇḍu, the capital of Nepāl, is about 190 miles distant in a direct line measured on the map from Rājgīr, and the indication given in the Pālī books is sufficient to show that the writers believed Kusinārā to be in the territory now belonging to Nepāl. According to my computation, the marching distance from Rājgīr to the probable position of Kusinārā would be about 32 or 33 *yojanas*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. Prehistoric Burial Sites in Southern India.

Dear Sir,—In the Journal for October, 1901, p. 925, Dr. Burgess draws attention to the interesting excavations made by Mr. Rea in South India, and announced by him in his Annual Report to the Government of Madras. This Annual Report, being embodied in a 'G.O.,' is circulated among a few favoured individuals and institutions, but it does not reach the public. What we want are annual volumes such as those produced by the Egypt Exploration Fund. The world is the richer this month by the publication of Professor Flinders Petrie's last volume. The "Royal Tombs" is a monument of splendid energy, published while all the facts are fresh in the explorer's mind, and profusely illustrated. These volumes are published every year.[1] They embody the outcome of the previous season's work. They profess no finality. They are not kept back, as our Indian volumes are kept back, until some great specialist shall have assimilated everything that can be known, and can write with certainty his full and deliberate convictions. And the result is that while in every civilized country the work going on in Egypt is watched with intense interest by numbers of people who do not profess to possess any great scientific knowledge of the subject, and while, therefore,

[1] The Egypt Exploration Fund has published thirty-three handsome volumes in the last twenty years, besides other Reports and Summaries. Only one or two concerning South India have seen the light in that period, so far as I know.

the Societies engaged are supplied with funds which enable them to carry on the excavations and print their volumes, the labours of the Indian Archæological Departments fall invariably dead and lifeless. Whatever is being done in India is done almost in secret, and everybody knows that nothing will be heard of it for fifteen or twenty years, so that no one cares to support it. If we could have for India annual volumes such as we have for Egypt, I am confident that the Royal Asiatic Society and the Indian Exploration Fund would receive numbers of new adherents, and the value of their work would be greatly increased.

Dr. Burgess's seven handsome volumes have appeared at intervals since 1874, an interval of twenty-seven years. We have had no volume dealing with South India (setting aside epigraphical publications) since 1887. For fourteen years, therefore, the *public* have had no information as to the progress of archæology in that tract. Can this state of things not be remedied?

Notes.

A.—Urn-burial was common in the South of India, and apparently the practice lasted into historic times, for it is clearly mentioned in the "Purra Nânnûru." Dr. Pope publishes in the *Indian Antiquary* for October, 1900 (p. 284), the following extract from one of these poems (date unknown, but apparently of the Chola period). It is ascribed to Mudanâr, the lame bard of Aiyûr :—

"O potter-chief! maker of vessels!
Thou whose furnace sends up thick clouds
Of smoke, veiling the outspread heavens,

. . .

Valavan, the great . . . . .
Hath gained the world of gods. And so
'T is thine to shape an urn, so huge
That it shall cover the remains of such an one."

B.—The rock-bruisings at Bellary are very interesting. They are to be found on a hill about four miles east of that town, above a trap-dyke which had been extensively used for the manufacture of stone axe-heads, hammers, and the like. I made a rough drawing of some of these, which Mr. F. Fawcett published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* in 1892, p. 147.

C.—The 'prehistorics' of South India include innumerable quantities of rude stone circles, cromlechs, dolmens, menhirs, and kist-vaens — the 'holed dolmens' being particularly interesting, and some of them of very elaborate design; flint and other stone weapons, a few being palæolithic but most of them neolithic; hammers, adzes, chisels, mealing-stones, corn-crushers, grinding-stones, and axe-heads of all sizes and shapes; bronze and iron weapons, ornaments, and implements; funereal urns, coffins, and other vessels in pottery; bruisings and cuttings on rocks; cinder-mounds in places (if these are prehistoric); carvings and rude sculptures on stone; gold ornaments; pottery whorls and beads; and many other objects.

Shortly after the above note was written I received, through the kindness of the author, a copy of Mr. R. Bruce Foote's "Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities" in the Government Museum at Madras. No one could be more competent to undertake such a work. Mr. Foote is not only an expert in 'prehistorics,' but his long service in the Geological Department has led him into most of the wild tracts of Southern India. Here, then, is the first attempt at the much-needed classification, and it will be widely welcomed. When I add that a great deal remains to be done it must be understood that the opinion is expressed without the slightest wish to disparage the work of the author, to whom I am personally indebted for much kindness in former years, and for much help, advice, and encouragement. But this publication, in one of its aspects, proves the truth of the assertions made above. The gem of the Madras Collection is the great series brought together by

the late Mr. J. W. Breeks, of the Civil Service, from his explorations amongst the cairns and barrows of the Nîlgiri Hills. The volume, however, dealing with this was published in 1873, and during the subsequent twenty-eight years no systematic researches appear to have been carried out in the Madras Presidency, except by Mr. Bruce Foote and Mr. Rea; and no volume bearing on the subject has been laid before the scientific world until the present year.

We learn from Mr. Foote's treatise that there were in Southern India a palæolithic, a neolithic, and an iron age, but apparently no age of bronze. In the neolithic age men had learned how to drill the hardest stones and how to make household vessels of pottery. In the iron age they knew how to smelt that metal and to forge it into shapes for daily use, both in agriculture and warfare. They used the potter's wheel also for making their pots. They do not, however, appear to have been possessed of any knowledge of mixed metals—of copper or of bronze. There appears to have been a great gap, historically speaking, between the dates of the palæolithic and neolithic folk, but none between the men of the neolithic and iron ages, the latter being the direct descendants of the former. The carved kistvaens and cromlechs of Sholûr and Mêlûr seem to belong to the later iron age, and the grotesque pottery 'figurines' (represented as armed with axes, daggers, and swords) to the earlier iron age. The iron age pottery was frequently so shaped that the vessels might rest embedded in soft soil, or on detached earthenware 'ring-stands.' (This was also the case in Egypt.) No trace of any alphabetic writing has been yet found.

The author himself expresses the regret which all interested will feel, that in so many cases the information is imperfect. Often we have objects incapable of being classified in order of date, or of being assigned to any particular locality, because this information has been for ever lost. Is it too much to hope that in future greater care will be exercised, and that everything found will be so recorded as to convey to the world the full knowledge which it is capable of teaching?

Some of the points of interest in this study of prehistoric man—points which must be worked out in the future—are the following:—(A) As to disposal of the dead. What was the practice in palæolithic days? In neolithic and subsequent ages various customs seem to have obtained. But in what tracts, and amongst what tribes? There is burial in large urns, the body being doubled up. There is burial in large pottery coffins with several legs. There is cremation, followed by burial in small urns. What was the practice amongst the tribes who buried their dead in (1) kistvaens sunk in the ground, (2) dolmens and cromlechs placed above ground, often on slopes of solid rock, as may be seen in the North Arcot District forests? (e.g., was there any cremation prior to interment?) and at what period of history were these monuments raised? It would seem that the custom of urn-burial was in vogue in Chola days, and if so, it is perhaps the latest form of sepulture in existence prior to the introduction of Brahmanical worship into Southern India. (B) As to civilization, arts, industries, manners, and customs. It will be most interesting to compare the condition of primæval tribes with that of the Dravidian and pre-Dravidian races of to-day. In one respect the older folk contrast favourably with the moderns. Their pottery appears to have been far harder and more durable. To what age belong the elaborately-arranged dolmens of the western hills in the North Arcot District? Was the country densely or sparsely populated in prehistoric days? Can the ancient tribes be so localized that in historic sequence their descent can be traced into the dynastic period, and thence to the present day? Thus, if it can be shown that the practice of urn-burial was confined to the pre-dynastic Pallavas of the Eastern and Southern coasts, what was the practice of the tribes which afterwards became merged under the sovereignty of the Cheras, Cholas, and Pâṇḍiyans?

All these riddles and many others will be solved, no doubt, in course of time; but when is the process of solution to be earnestly taken in hand?

And, once more, will the Government, or the Indian Exploration Fund, publish annual volumes, fully illustrated like those issued by Professor Flinders Petrie and his co-workers, containing the results of the work, not of past decades, but of the year immediately preceding the issue of each? It may be safely prophesied that, if this be done, the number of persons interested in Indian antiquities will rapidly increase, and both our Society and the Indian Exploration Fund will greatly benefit.

R. SEWELL.

2. THE AUTHOR OF THE LIFE OF SHĀH ISMA'ĪL.

DEAR SIR,—With reference to Professor Denison Ross's paper in the J.R.A.S. for 1896, p. 249, I beg leave to suggest that the author of the life of Shāh Isma'īl may have been Khwāja 'Abdullah Marwārīd. He was a high officer under Sulṭān Ḥusain Baiqra of Herat, and some years after the death of that prince he entered into the service of Shāh Isma'īl. Ill-health, however, obliged him to give up public employment and to retire into private life, when he occupied himself in writing the life of Shāh Isma'īl in prose and verse. He completed the prose history, which had the name of the Tārīkh Shāhī, but did not live to finish the poem. These facts are recorded by Shāh Isma'īl's son, Sām Mīrzā, in his Taḥafat Sāmī, of which an abstract has been given by Silvestre de Sacy (Not. et Ex., iv, 273). It is true that Sām Mīrzā says that 'Abdullah died in 922, and that Khwandāmīr makes a similar statement in the Ḥabīb-as-Siyar (B.M. MS. Add. 17,925, 438^{b}). But it seems to me that this date, which is only given in figures in the Taḥafat, must be a mistake for 932. In the first place, Sām Mīrzā tells us that 'Abdullah completed his history, but he could hardly be said to have done this unless he lived to the end of Shāh Isma'īl's reign, which did not occur till 930. Secondly, Sām Mīrzā tells us (see p. 283 of De Sacy's notice) that he had been 'Abdullah's disciple. Now Sām Mīrzā, as we learn from the Ḥabīb MS. (loc. cit., 536^{b}), was born in 923, and so

could not have been the disciple of a man who died in 922. 'Abdullah Marwārīd was a very well-known man, both as a public servant and as a writer, and Sām Mīrzā speaks of his history as having considerable vogue. If the anonymous life is not his Tārīkh Shāhī, what has become of the latter? If we suppose that he died in 932 this would agree with the opinions of Professors Rieu, Ross, and Browne that the life was written shortly after the accession of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. As regards the mention of M. Zamān Mīrzā's death in the life, I would suggest that this fact, which occurred in 947, was added by a copyist or by 'Abdullah's son, Mīrzā Mūmīn. He seems to have been connected with Muhammad Zamān, for the two names are bracketed together in Khwandāmīr's notice of Mīrzā Mūmīn (loc. cit., 554[a]), and it is evident from the long details about M. Zamān which are given in the anonymous life that he and the writer must have known one another. Mīrzā Mūmīn was Sām Mīrzā's preceptor, and a well-known writer and calligrapher. He afterwards entered Ṭahmāsp's service, but left him for some reason and went to India (not improbably in company with M. Zamān), and died there. According to De Sacy this occurred in 948, but I do not find this date in the British Museum copy of Sām Mīrzā's work.

Finally, if we must take the date 922 as the correct date of 'Abdullah's death, may we not hold that the latter's life of Shāh Isma'īl was continued and completed by the son.

Notices of 'Abdullah Marwārīd will be found in Mīr 'Alī Shīr's Majālis; in Daulat Shāh, p. 515 of Mr. Browne's edition, and in Bābar's Memoirs, in his account of the eminent men of Sulṭān Ḥusain's Court.

H. BEVERIDGE.

3. A CAMBODJAN MAHĀVAṂSA.

Würzburg, Sanderring 20.
September 14, 1901.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—During the last three months I have possessed here at our University's

library a MS. from Paris, containing, to judge from the catalogue in the J.P.T.S., 1882, p. 35, the Mahāvaṃsa in Cambodjan writing. But the catalogue is mistaken. The MS., which is not badly written, although it abounds with errors of every sort, and far exceeds in size the Mahāvaṃsa, as we know it from the published text, contains a secondary work, embodying the Mahāv. (i.e. the thirty-eight parichchedas), only with many liberties in adapting it to the general plan the author had in view. You will better understand his intentions by the colophon. I quote from it the following verses:—

Buddhavaṃsaṃ Mahāvaṃsaṃ sikkhīnañ ca samāhaṭaṃ
Thūpavaṃsaṃ gahetvāna sampiṇḍitvāna ekato
atthato gandhato cāpi yuttato cāpi ettha ca
ayuttaṃ pāḷiruddhaṃ vā yadi passati kiñcāpi
pubbāparaṃ viloketvā vicāretvā punappunaṃ
dhīmantānaṃ gahetabbaṃ gahetabbaṃ na dosato
tividhopapadānaṃ [written °dhoppapa°] gatiyo[1] duvidhā [written duvu°] ti ca
tasmā upaparikkhitvā veditabbaṃ [written °bbā] vibhāvinā
antarāyaṃ vinā cāyaṃ yathā siddhiṃ upāgatā
tathā kalyāṇasaṃkappā siddhiṃ gacchanti [written °cchati] pāṇinaṃ.

Then follow two ślokas containing the usual prayers. Then in prose: anena puññena mayā katena sikkheyyaṃ [written °yyā] taṃ dhammavaraṃ jinassa, paññāya sīlena kusalena cāti [written cāto or cāgo] anāgate ketumagyaṃ [? ketumāghyaṃ ?] bhaveyyaṃ, yadā sutvāna saddhammaṃ Mettayyass' [thus clearly] eva santike pasanno pītiyā mayhaṃ pabbaji jinasāsane *Moggallāno* ti nāmāhaṃ. Then follow two ślokas of benedictions.

This Moggallāna, of whose date we as yet know nothing, was certainly no great poet, but, so far as he was led by the wish to banish darkness wherever the reader of the existent

[1] In Cambodjan *g* and *t* are the same. I read gatiyo, but the meaning of this verse is not quite intelligible to me.

Mahāvaṃsa may meet with it, and to amplify more and more the original text, his task is executed pretty well. To demonstrate this, I beg to point out only two instances.

(1) After the first four verses of the first chapter follows a section which bears the subscription: Uruvelagamanaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ, of about 490 ślokas, beginning with Pubbe kira gavesanto bodhiñāṇaṃ narāsabho.

From bodhito navame māse (śl. 19 of the Mv.) the compilation agrees with the text, but already in the second half it disagrees and makes a digression, relating in detail and with many interspersed dialogues the affairs in Laṅkā on Buddha's first visit there. Whereas the original text consists of 24 ślokas from Bodhito (v. 19) to the conclusion (v. 43) of the Mahiyaṅgaṇāgamana, Moggallāna has brought them up to more than 200, a few only being identical with those in the printed text of the Mv. In other sections the additions are smaller, but every section has additions.

(2) In ch. v (ed. Turnour, p. 41) is simply related how Tissa propounded to the king (Asoka) the Tittirajātaka. From the circumstances under which this was done it follows that Jāt. iii, 64 sqq. is meant. In the compilation of Moggallāna, however, after the words "thero bodhesi rājānaṃ vatvā Tittirajātakaṃ," the whole Jātaka, i.e. a versification of the commentary, including the stanzas, is inserted, beginning with—

> Atīte Brahmadattamhi kārente bhavanaṃ kira
> samiddhe nagare ramme pure Bārāṇasīvhaye.

This addition consists of thirty ślokas, and it is connected with the 'Rahmenerzählung,' so to speak, by the words—

> tam dhammadesanaṃ sutvā rājā attamano tato
> vasanto garu sattāhaṃ rājuyyāne manorame
> sikkhāpetvā mahīpālaṃ sambuddhasamayaṃ varaṃ.

The verb fin. is missing, as often, and 'garu' instead of 'tattha' (reading of the printed text) was needed, in order to remind the reader that Tissa is spoken of in the second half of the śloka (which, in our case, has an additional line).

For a fuller report on this singular work, its sources and composition, I may be allowed to refer to my new edition of the Mahāvaṃsa now in preparation.—Yours faithfully,

E. HARDY.

4. A SANSKRIT MAXIM.

Redhill.
November 25, 1901.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—In the Preface to my pamphlet on Sanskrit Maxims, which was published last year and noticed in this year's July number of the R.A.S. Journal, I gave a short list of nyāyas contained in the lexicons, but which I had failed to find in the literature. Amongst them was the *andhagajanyāya*, "the maxim of the blind men and the elephant." I have since discovered it, however, in Sureśvara's huge vārtika on *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya*, 4. 4. 566 (p. 1813 of Ānandāśrama edition). The verse is as follows:—

"Ekam evaikarūpaṁ sadvastvajñātaṁ nirañjanam |
Jātyandhagajadṛṣṭyeva koṭiśaḥ kalpyate mṛṣā." ||

But a much more interesting fact in connection with this nyāya is that the story on which it is based is of Buddhistic origin. Several months ago Monsieur Barth informed me that he had met with it in some Buddhist work which he could not then remember; and now the missing link has been supplied by Monsieur Louis de la Vallée Poussin, who referred me to p. 187 of your *Dialogues of the Buddha*. It is there stated that the story was told by Gotama himself to a number of non-Buddhist teachers who were disputing as to the meaning of the Ten Indeterminates ("Whether the world is eternal or not," etc.), and I now learn from yourself that the original is contained in *Udāna*, vi, 4, pp. 66–69 of the Pali Text Society's edition.

I hope to embody this information in a *Second Handful of Sanskrit Maxims* which I have in the press.—Yours sincerely,

G. A. JACOB.

5. Chronology of the Kuṣān Dynasty of Northern India.

Cheltenham.
December 16, 1901.

My dear Professor Rhys Davids,—I shall be obliged if you can spare a little space in the January number of the Journal for the announcement that I believe myself to be so fortunate as to have solved the long-debated problem of the Kuṣān chronology.

The known dates are:—

Kaniṣka,	from	5	to	28.
Huviṣka,	,,	29	,,	60.
Vāsudeva,	,,	74	,,	98.

These dates are, I think, expressed in the Laukika or Saptarshi Era of Kaśmīr, the millenniums and centuries being omitted in accordance with the practice of the Rājatarañginī.

The corresponding dates are:—

King.	*Laukika.*		*Kāli Yuga.*		A.D.[1]
Kaniṣka ..	[32]05 + 25	=	3230	=	129–130
,, ..	[32]28 ,,	=	3253	=	154–155[2]
Huviṣka ..	[32]29 ,,	=	3254	=	155–156[2]
,, ..	[32]60 ,,	=	3285	=	184–185
Vāsudeva ..	[32]74 ,,	=	3299	=	198–199
,, ..	[32]98 ,,	=	3323	=	222–223

I have worked out this result in detail, after consideration of all the principal writings on this subject, including the recent essays of Messrs. Bhandarkar, Boyer, Sylvain Lévi, and Specht.

I hope on another occasion, in due course, to convince others, as I have convinced myself, that my solution is in conformity with the Chinese, epigraphic, numismatic, and monumental evidence—or, in other words, that it satisfies all the conditions of the problem.—Yours sincerely,

Vincent A. Smith.

[1] "Book of Indian Eras," Table xvii.
[2] The table gives the figures as stated, but I should have expected 152–153 and 153–154.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

ZUR ENTZIFFERUNG DER ṢAFÂ-INSCHRIFTEN. By ENNO LITTMANN. pp. viii + 76. (Leipzig, 1901.)

Far to the south-east of Damascus, in the volcanic region of the Ḥarra, and more especially in the neighbourhood of Mount Ṣafā, a number of inscriptions in an unknown character were discovered by the English traveller Cyril Graham in 1857. Others were found in later years by Wetzstein and De Vogüé, and their number has recently been considerably increased by the journeys of Messrs. Dussaud and Macler, and, to a greater extent, by the American Archæological Expedition in Syria in 1899–1900. Graham himself published an article on his finds in this Journal (1860, Vol. XVII, pp. 286–297), but it is to the Germans O. Blau and D. H. Müller, and more particularly to the versatile French scholar Halévy, that we owe any considerable knowledge of the contents of these inscriptions.

In the course of the recent American expedition referred to above, Herr Enno Littmann, of Oldenberg, who represented the department of Semitic epigraphy, made a hurried journey through the Ḥarra and the Ruḥbeh oasis, and copied 134 of these so-called Ṣafā inscriptions, upon the publication of which he is now engaged. The present monograph is a prolegomena to the larger work, and is intended to set the decipherment of these inscriptions upon a surer basis. The first part of his book deals with those characters for which he has suggested values differing from Halévy. To put it briefly, we may say that Halévy drew up an alphabet

of twenty-three characters corresponding to that of the Hebrew, with the addition of a sign for 𐤇 (ח). This additional sign in itself should have aroused suspicion, but for twenty years his identifications have been accepted, and appear, for example, in Euting's fine table of Semitic alphabets which accompanies Zimmern's *Vergleichende Grammatik* (1898). Praetorius, however, in a review of Halévy's book (which was a reprint of a series of papers to the *Journal Asiatique*, 1877–1882), did not fail to see the incompleteness of the identifications, and now Littmann makes it highly probable that the alphabet actually consists of twenty-eight letters corresponding in number and value to the Arabic, a return in theory to the views of the earlier decipherers. Halévy's 𐤉 now becomes 𐤈; a character which was formerly looked upon as a variant of 𐤀 is here shown to be the regular form of 𐤔 (ת), and so on. Littmann makes a fresh examination of the inscriptions, and contends that it is only by adopting the new readings that they become intelligible. For example, Halévy's 𐤑 should be 𐤔, and the name which the former read צעאל should be שעאל, with which Littmann compares the Ṣafā שעהקם, and the newly-discovered Nabatean שיעאל and שיעאלקום. In like manner, Halévy's 𐤔 is clearly to be read 𐤐, and the legend השרם, which was accompanied by a rude drawing of a horse, should obviously be read חפרם. Similarly, for שלטאל we should now read פלטאל, a name which has abundant analogies. In the second part of his book Littmann has transliterated a number of inscriptions which are not wholly genealogical and offer some interesting additions to the vocabulary. Many of these, unfortunately, are almost unintelligible, and the meaning that can be wrested from them is too often only plausible. The majority of them are from De Vogüé and Dussaud, and are not accompanied by any facsimiles.

It is hardly necessary to observe that Herr Littmann's conclusions, if sound, will mark an important stage in the

decipherment of the Ṣafā inscriptions, and will aid the reading of the closely related Liḥyan inscriptions of el-'Olā. Further investigation, it is to be hoped, will give us more precise information regarding the nomad Arab tribes whose work these inscriptions are. Already, thanks to one of Littmann's inscriptions, it is possible to date them more precisely than hitherto, since it is highly probable that the "year of the war of the Nabateans" (סנת חרב נבט), which he has found cited (p. iv), is a reference to Trajan's campaign of A.D. 106. It is noteworthy that, whereas the Sinaitic and Nabatean inscriptions are Arabic solely as regards the proper names, those of Ṣafā are entirely South Semitic; only one or two names (e.g. מתי, p. 44) appear to be Jewish. On the other hand, the article is not אל, as in the Sinaitic proper names, but always ה — apparently connected with the Liḥyan הן. The alphabet, too, does not, like the Sinaitic and Nabatean, belong to the Aramaic branch, but, as Littmann's table shows, is closely related to the South Semitic scripts. Here it may be remarked that it is difficult to see upon what grounds a recent writer[1] has asserted that the Ṣafā alphabet is a link connecting the alphabets of the Southern Semites with the Phœnician, a view which must rest upon a preconceived notion of its antiquity. Though not ancient it is of some interest, since it is not improbable that some of the characters have survived in a modified form in the Arab cattle-*wasms*, specimens of which have been collected by Burton, Doughty, and others. These would then find their analogy in the *χάραγμα* of the Greeks (as instanced in the *κοππατίας* and *σαμφόρας*), and the ancient house- or clan-marks of northern Europe, evidence in favour of a totemic origin being as yet wanting.[2] Returning to Littmann's alphabet, we note that the character which he

[1] The *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1901, p. 46.

[2] Robertson Smith's conjecture (*Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 212 sq.) that, since some of the old *wasms* appear to be pictorial in origin, they may have primarily represented totems, has not as yet been substantiated by the few *wasms* which have been published.

identifies as ג has the form of a rough circle, or even an oblong, either (as he suggests) a borrowing from the so-called proto-Arabic, or, more probably, a differentiation of ע (the view of Praetorius). It is also noteworthy that his signs for צ̄ (ص) and צ are practically identical with the South Arabian ד̄ (ذ) and ם̄. These equations are difficult, and if substantiated will further complicate Semitic phonology. In a work of this nature, where so much pains has been taken to collect material to support the newly-proposed readings, it must sometimes happen that the evidence is of doubtful weight. When, for example, the validity of a proposed reading of a name is supported by a reference to a corresponding Arabic root, even though it may be "zur Namenbildung wohl geeignet" (p. 21), we are reminded of what Renan said of the Arabic lexicon. Moreover, the testimony of names from Greek inscriptions is of necessity sometimes ambiguous. It is certainly difficult to decide whether *αλεσος* should be cited in support of חלץ (p. 26), or whether, like *αλασαθος*, it does not represent a form from the root עלש. Similarly, *ναϑαηλου*, instead of supporting a form נשעאל (p. 21), might, in all probability, like *νεσα*, go back to the Palmyrene נסא or נשא. Littmann's reading גדל (p. 8) is, as the plate shows, far from certain. He supports it by the Sinaitic גדילו, which, as a matter of fact, could also be read גבילו (so Euting) or גזילו. The Palmyrene name גדילת, which he cites in support of his reading גדלת (*loc. cit.*), is not necessarily from the same root (see Cook, *Aramaic Glossary*, *s.v.*). These criticisms, however, do not diminish the importance of Littmann's book, and the weight of the cumulative evidence favours the general correctness of his results.

On p. 17, זהלי, on the last line, is a misprint for זהלן, and for the statement on p. 34 that בעמה is found in

Nabatean I can find no justification. The view that *αλουφα* and *αλαφωνας* come from אלף (p. 32, *s.* עלף) I fail to understand, since *αλαφωνας* occurs in a bilingual inscription where the corresponding Palmyrene reads עלפנא (or rather חלפונא).[1]

In conclusion, it is worth remembering that although the thirty-one Ṣafā inscriptions which Graham published in this Journal do not appear to be absolutely trustworthy copies, yet, of the seventeen identifications which he proposed more than forty years ago, nearly half of them still hold good, and two even (ו and ה), though unrecognized by Halévy, are now substantiated by Littmann himself. Whilst we desire to give Graham's work that prominence which is justly due to every pioneer, our admiration for the patient investigation of later decipherers undergoes no diminution. We shall look forward to the publication of the results of the American Archæological Expedition (of the importance of which we gain some idea from Mr. Butler's report in the *American Journal of Archæology*, vol. iv), and shall await with special interest the appearance of Herr Littmann's edition of the newly-found inscriptions.

S. A. C.

F. H. Weissbach. Die Sumerische Frage. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1898. 10*s.*)

One feels inclined to call this book the description of a modern 'comedy of errors,' for in it is described the process of evolution of the study of the so-called Sumerian language found in the cuneiform tablets. The author gives, in the first half of his book, a minute historical and chronological description of all the views which have hitherto been enunciated concerning the nature and character of this language; the contending notions entertained by Halévy as well as those of

[1] See J. Mordtmann, *Palmyrenisches*, p. 26, in the *Mitteilungen d. Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1899, i.

his opponents. The whole discussion turns mainly round the point raised first by Halévy as to whether there is any truth in the assumption that the so-called bilingual tablets and inscriptions contain a different language or only a variation in the script alone, i.e. whether they represent a different language, called by Oppert Sumerian, or only a different way of writing. The majority of scholars hold to the former theory. In the second part of his book Herr Weissbach treats us to his views on the subject. Whilst in the first he proves to be painstaking and accurate, and therefore reliable, giving a clear picture of the constantly changing views of the representatives of Assyriology, groping slowly from one error to another, and emancipating themselves step by step from those mistakes; in the second he is no less biased and unreliable than all his compeers. It makes one doubt his qualification to discuss with authority the problem when we find him referring to modern argôt and thieves' language as arguments. No one can doubt the fundamental fact that hitherto no clear and unequivocal reference to this language as a distinct and different one from the other (Assyrian) has been found, which, to say the least, is very surprising, considering the large number of such so-called bilingual texts. It can also not be doubted that this language is thoroughly permeated with Semitic words; not one single purely Sumerian text has been found free of these elements, which even predominate in all the texts hitherto recovered. An argument such as the following cannot be taken as serious. It is advanced by the author as an explanation of the fact, that we find in the Assyrian cuneiform script, signs for the purely Semitic sounds Ḳ, Ṭ, Ṣ, and Ḥ. The author remarks, "In modern Persian the Arabic sign ح is also found in Iranian words, and Semitic signs have been adopted for Non-Semitic words. We are therefore justified in believing that the Assyrians could have done the same in adopting the script of another language" (p. 147). The author forgets that it is a totally different thing to adopt signs already in existence and to adapt them to the new requirements—as has happened with the alphabet

in its migration from East to West, where afterwards the superfluous signs have often disappeared—and, on the contrary, to adopt signs which could not originally have existed at all. For if the inventors of the cuneiform script, according to the current theory, were a people of a non-Semitic origin, not having such sounds in their language, they would not idly invent signs which would be of no use to them. If they then originated that system of writing they must have had these purely Semitic sounds in their language, and must have therefore been a Semitic people. It is premature, however, to fix definitely as yet the true character of that language with the still scant knowledge of the so-called Sumerian. A solution will be found if we admit that these bilingual texts represent two different Semitic languages, one more pure, the other mixed, and in a later period, with non-Semitic elements, but still not so much as to be considered as a different language altogether. Hence the silence as to a distinct name, hence its pronounced Semitic phonetics, and some portions of the grammatical structure. In conclusion, the wish may be expressed that henceforth, if possible, the discussion be kept free from the personal element that has contributed so much to obscure the issue. The author of this book has also not been able to withstand temptation.

Rev. Sherrard Beaumont Burnaby. Elements of the Jewish and Muhammadan Calendars, with Rules and Tables and Explanatory Notes on the Julian and Gregorian Calendars. 4to. (London: George Bell & Sons, 1901. 21*s*.)

Since Sachau's edition of Albiruni's "Chronology of Ancient Nations" no more important contribution to this question has appeared in English—nay, in any other language. The subject is not a popular one, and somewhat remote from the daily necessities. It requires some of the idealism of the classical scholar and of the mathematician who revels in abstract theorems, to tackle so delicate and intricate

a problem as the elucidation of the Jewish Calendar. The Muhammadan runs on more smooth lines as far as its original history is concerned, and its governing principles. Not so the former, the origin and history of which are involved in great obscurity. At the time when it appears it is fully developed, and so carefully worked out that during the sixteen hundred years since it has been known not a single alteration has been made to it. With great acumen the Rev. S. B. Burnaby tries to lay bare the guiding principles, and to unravel partly, if not the history, at least the practical manipulation of the system. He is right in asserting that the Calendar, as now known and observed by the Jews, is the one promulgated by the Prince Hillel II, whose computations agree with those of Hipparchus. The whole system is then elaborately described, and numerous tables help to make the book almost indispensable for anyone interested in the Calendar. The author has been able to show that even the best of scholars who have studied the Calendar have gone astray in some details; notably important is his statement that the Kebiôth are not stationary. A valuable contribution is the disquisition on the Megillath Taanith (p. 240 ff.). No less lucid and instructive is the description of the Muhammadan Calendar and of the Julian and Gregorian. The book is the work of a thorough scholar and a master of his subject, and can confidently be relied upon.

M. G.

W. Skeat. Fables and Folk-Tales from an Eastern Forest. Illustrated by F. H. Townsend. (Cambridge, 1901.)

The author of "Malay Magic" presents us here with specimens of folk-tales collected from the same Malayan sources. It is a delightful publication from every point of view, and Mr. Skeat is to be urged on to the publication of all the materials he has collected, if, as we may assume, they are of a similar character. Out of the twenty-six

tales, seventeen are purely animal stories, told in the very language of the East, though shorn of its redundancy, but not adapted to European standards. The poetry of the animal world in tales and fables is being enriched by the lithe and lovable "Friend Mouse-deer," which takes the place of the fox of the Western world. All the tales are taken from the mouth of the local Malay story-teller, and the scholarly reputation of the author warrants the genuineness of the materials thus collected. It is a pity that the folkloristic side of the tales has been completely neglected. When the rest is so good one is often given to ask for more. Many of these tales throw a new light on old acquaintances, which appear here under a somewhat changed form, of great value for comparative studies. I cannot discuss each of them separately. Only a few may be mentioned, for they struck me specially when reading them. The very first, as pointed out by the author in the notes—which, by the way, are, for the rest, of a more philological character—belongs to a circle of well-known tales, connected only in the East with the name of King Solomon. This points to the fact that they must have come with the Islam. This parallel occurs among the so-called Parables of King Solomon as "The Three Advices." No. iv, "Who Killed the Otter's Babies?" is a variant of one of the stories of the Noodles, in which an innocent man, by a chain of curious argumentation, is proved to be the culprit, and is punished for a crime of which he is not aware even in the remotest degree. Of the highest interest to me is the following, No. v, "A Vegetarian Dispute," which I intend studying more fully elsewhere. For I see in it the only known Eastern variant of one of the most curious Byzantine legends, viz. the "Condemnatio Uvae" (v. Krummbacher, p. 883). To the circle of "The Ungrateful Animal" belongs No. viii, with the difference that in the Western tales it is the snake, in the Malay version the tiger, who is caught by his own wickedness. In No. xv we have the Oriental version of the old French fablieau of "Les trois bossus." To the tale of the "Courageous Gipsy," or Cosquin No. viii in a more

modernized form, belongs No. xiii. In the Rumanian, etc., tales he threatens to eat the devil, and the latter runs away, just as in the Malay the Mouse-deer threatens to eat the tiger, and feigns to be grateful to the ape for decoying the tiger to his destruction, by which he frightens the latter away.

The illustrations are spirited, and the book a pleasant instalment of more good things to come from the "Eastern Forest."

M. G.

RAPPORT SUR UNE MISSION SCIENTIFIQUE EN TURQUIE D'ASIE, par Dom J. PARISOT. Extrait des Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques, t. ix. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900.)

The object of Dom Parisot's mission was twofold—(1) to investigate the Neo-Syriac dialect of Ma'lūlā; and (2) to study the music of this part of Asia Minor, and to make a collection of traditional airs sacred and secular.

The three villages of Jub'ādin, Ma'lūlā, and Bakha, comprising in all some 1,500 inhabitants, form a small linguistic island, in which Syriac has continued to flourish, while all the rest of Asia Minor has been submerged by the flood of Arabic. Dom Parisot has already dealt with this interesting survival in his articles' on "Le dialecte de Ma'lūlā" published in the *Journal Asiatique*. The present Report is almost wholly occupied with the musical question, and contains, in addition to an account of the various musical systems, a collection of 358 traditional airs. These are classified as (1) Maronite, (2) Arabic ecclesiastical, (3) Arabic secular, (4) Syrian, (5) Chaldæan; and, as an appendix, are added a number of Israelitish melodies of the Jews of Jerusalem. In a short introduction Dom Parisot explains the peculiarities of tonality and the construction of the musical scale which are characteristic of each of these sections.

The study of Oriental music from a European standpoint is one which can only be undertaken profitably by those few scholars who possess a very rare combination of gifts. As a rule, Orientalists are not musicians, and musicians are not Orientalists in any sense of the word; but, apart from this fact, the scientific grasp of the principles of any foreign musical system, and still more, perhaps, its artistic appreciation, present difficulties which can only be surmounted by years of patient study and actual experience.

For the present, the most important task is to rescue from oblivion all such musical systems as are in danger of passing away without record; and from this point of view—that of providing trustworthy material for the future investigator—the present Report is most acceptable. The collection of so many traditional airs must have been a task of much patience. How truly Dom Parisot's words, explaining one of his difficulties in securing the correct reading in every case, will come home to all who have had much to do with singers!—"Là-bas, plus qu'ailleurs, celui qu'on présente comme le meilleur chanteur n'est pas toujours le plus sûr. Il peut, en effet, céder au désir de déployer son organe vocale au détriment de la fidélité de l'air à noter."

DIE ALTE LANDSCHAFT BABYLONIEN NACH DEN ARABISCHEN GEOGRAPHEN. Von Dr. M. STRECK. Theil ii. (Leiden: Brill, 1901.)

With commendable promptitude Dr. Streck has now issued the second part of his work, but with the thorough-going method that he follows at least two parts more must yet be written to complete his survey of Babylonia. The present instalment describes the course of the Tigris, with the cities on either bank, from Takrīt, the first town of 'Irāḳ on the river a hundred miles above Baghdad, down to Wāsiṭ, below which city the Tigris flows out into the Great Swamps. An interesting chapter (pp. 182–219) is devoted to the topography of Sāmarrā, the capital during more than half a century of the Abbasid Caliphs. Dr. Streck, following

Ya'ḳūbī, gives details of the many palaces which Mu'taṣim and his successors erected there, and next describes the five main thoroughfares which traversed the newly-built city. It is perhaps a pity that the writer, at this point, did not prevail on his publishers to supply a ground-plan of mediæval Sāmarrā, which could easily have been constructed from the detailed description of Ya'ḳūbī and other contemporaries; it would have been interesting to see how the triangulation of main streets and canals could have been worked out.

Coming down below Baghdad, Dr. Streck gives a long account of Al-Madāin, or 'the Cities,' as the Arabs named the complex of seven hamlets that stood among the ruins of Ctesiphon and Seleucia. On p. 270 our author sums up the evidence as to 'the seven,' too long to quote here, but which may be recommended to geographers interested in the subject. Passing on to Ḳūt-al-'Amārah, Dr. Streck points out that the Tigris during the middle ages flowed down the course now known as the Shaṭṭ-al-Ḥay, past Wāsiṭ to the Swamps, this being the all-important fact for understanding the geography of the country during the period of the 'Abbasid Caliphate. At the present day the Tigris takes a more easterly course below Ḳūt-al-'Amārah, but Dr. Streck makes no attempt to solve the problem as to the date when this important change of the Tigris bed took place.

The description of Wāsiṭ is all that can be desired; our author, however, implies (p. 332) that Wāsiṭ never recovered from the Mongol sack in the time of Hūlāgū, A.D. 1258. This is far from being exact; Wāsiṭ must still have been a populous city when the geographer Ḳazwīnī was Judge (Ḳādī) there in the latter half of the thirteenth century A.D., and Wāsiṭ continued to be the chief town of Lower Babylonia till the close of the following century, when the place was taken and sacked by the armies of Timur. In conclusion, we may note that the word *Mashra'at* can hardly be rightly translated (p. 327) as '*Strassenecke*': the very anecdote which Dr. Streck quotes—as to how the governor Ḥajjāj

having been sent an Indian elephant as a present, the great quadruped was landed from the boat at the Mashra'at-al-Fīl —shows plainly that the term must be translated by 'wharf,' and this Elephant's Wharf in later times continued to be a well-known place in Wāsiṭ.

It is to be hoped that in the next instalment Dr. Streck will give us a map of Babylonia.

G. Le S.

Dr. Gustaf H. Dalman. Aramaeisch-Neuhebraeisches Woerterbuch zu Targum, Talmud, und Midrasch. Vol. ii. (Frankfurt a/M.: J. Kauffmann, 1901.)

After six years Professor Dalman has at last finished the Dictionary to the Targum, Talmud, and Midrash, the first part of which had been reviewed by me in this Journal in 1894. The second and concluding volume partakes of the same characteristics then briefly commented upon. It is the first attempt of a complete dictionary of this language in a concise form and at a reasonable price. It will prove indispensable to the beginner, and it is marked by the accuracy which Professor Dalman sometimes overdoes in his desire of giving a correct vocalization and in amending what he believes to be incorrect and corrupt readings in the Midrashic texts. In the first instance he follows in too slavish a manner the Yemenite tradition, adding to it his own interpretation of it. It is specially noticeable in the punctuation and in the placing of the Daggesh in many words where there is no cogent reason to assume that the letters had been pronounced as Tenues. It is a mistake to adopt the biblical tradition as a guide for post-biblical and non-Hebrew words. The rules which guided the Massorites cannot be safely applied to any book outside the sacred Canon, for as often as not the Massoretic tradition deviates from those general rules. A disjunctive accent at once changes the character of an initial letter in the following word, but where is one to look for a similar tradition in texts without accents or vowels based on ancient tradition?

A practical example will show how insufficient the reason is which has guided Professor Dalman in the manner of his punctuation and vocalization. According to him, words with initial כ (*k*), though derived from the Greek, like χαλκος, ought to have the first letter hard, and we find the word in question in the Dictionary with a Daggesh, thus suggesting that it had been so pronounced in ancient times. It is absolutely incorrect and misleading. A Hebrew biblical word in that position would require, if standing absolute, to have the initial letter -כ with Daggesh, but this rule not only does not hold good for New Hebrew, but is in truth not correct, as proved by the examples derived from the Greek, or in later times from the Latin, when כ was surely pronounced soft = χ. Nor can we understand the reason for the vocalization 'Lolab,' when the traditional form is 'Lulab'; there is no grammatical necessity for deviating from this latter form. Why has the author included in his Vocabulary the doubtful Sukkoth (Amos, v, 26), declaring at the same time in definite manner that it was the name of a god? Commentators of the Bible are not agreed upon it. But however many the differences may be between our views and those of the learned author, no one can gainsay that this publication is one of practical use and of great scientific value for the study of the texts written in Aramaic and New Hebrew. Numerous additions at the end of the volume show the book not to be perfect. But there is no limit to such possible additions, especially if we take into consideration the author's attempts at correcting the readings in the texts from which he borrows his materials. Almost every new MS. will offer *variae lectiones*. A German-Hebrew Index would have more than doubled the value of this publication, which, meritorious though it is, does not fully supersede the old and invaluable, but almost forgotten "Semahh David" of David a Portaleone.

M. G.

ASOKA, THE BUDDHIST EMPEROR OF INDIA. By VINCENT A. SMITH, M.R.A.S. pp. 204. (Rulers of India Series. Oxford Press. Price 3*s.* 6*d.*)

I had undertaken to write the book on Asoka for this series, but the very scanty leisure available to me was not sufficient to enable me to get the work ready in time, and I was very glad to hear that Mr. Vincent Smith would undertake it. He has produced an admirable little book, just what was wanted, popular, and at the same time scholarly, giving in brief the cream of the results so far obtained by the study of such evidence as we have on the history of Asoka.

The main evidence is, of course, the edicts promulgated by Asoka himself, and engraved by his orders on stone pillars and rocks throughout his extensive empire. The ones already discovered amount in number to thirty-four, and it is not doubted that others will yet be found. But this evidence is supplemented, and often rendered intelligible, by other information derived from three sources—the details, derived mostly from Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the court of Patna, which have been preserved in scanty and imperfect notices by later Greek writers; the statements, often correct and often legendary, of later Indian writers, including the Ceylon chroniclers; and the incidental references, often correct and often legendary, made by the Chinese pilgrims in the fourth, sixth, and eighth centuries, to the Buddhist shrines in India. Of these the Greek notices are the most reliable, being much older; and it is from Greek sources that the real date of Asoka has been fixed within a year or two. But the traditions of India, as handed down by the Sanskrit, Pali, and Chinese writers, though centuries later, have also preserved, amid much legend and distortion, material of value for the critical historian.

The plan of the book is accordingly very simple. In the first chapters, occupying about a hundred pages, the author gives an account, derived from all the sources, of

the historical facts ascertainable about Asoka and his monuments. There then follows a complete translation, occupying 45 pages, in English, of all the edicts. These have all been translated before, most of them several times; but these former translations are scattered through numerous learned publications; and this is the first time that the whole have been published consecutively in English. Then follows a summary, in 12 pages, of such traditions about Asoka, current in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. at Anurādhapura, as have been preserved in the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa; and finally, in the last chapter of 21 pages, we have a similar summary of such traditions about Asoka, current from the third to the seventh century in India, as have been preserved in the Asokāvadāna or by the Chinese pilgrims.

The first and most important part is exceedingly well done. Without entering into any lengthy or learned discussions, and simply ignoring the later traditions except in so far as they throw light on, or are confirmed by, the earlier evidence, the author, with sound judgment, and in well-written and easy style, tells us what the cultured reader, who has neither time nor inclination to study the edicts word for word, would wish to know. The translation of the edicts, chiefly based, of course, on the invaluable discussions and renderings of Senart and of Bühler, is also a distinct success, both readable and accurate. For the object in view it was not desirable to enter into discussion with the great scholars who have differed in the interpretation of isolated words; but occasionally, in cases of importance, such divergences are referred to in the few short notes, which are brief and clear, and well chosen. It was a happy idea of the author to put a title to each edict; and the titles chosen are such as assist the reader to appreciate more clearly the object the royal author of the edicts had in view.

One of the most distinguished of our Honorary Members is said to have advised the author of a learned work: "Be sure to leave an error or two. You really must think of

the poor reviewer!" And I suppose, as a reviewer, one ought to find some fault. It is not easy; but there are two objects of Mr. Vincent Smith's antipathy I should like to say a word for. He says (p. 7) that he has—

> "shunned the pedantic atrocities of international transliteration systems, which do not shrink from presenting Krishna in the guise of Kṛṣṇa, Champā as Ćampâ, and so on."

Now this is really very funny. For the international system expressly contemplates the use in popular works of such forms as Krishna (which may fairly be regarded as an English word); and it has expressly *rejected* the italic *ć* as a representation of the sound of the English *ch*. One is sorry to find so sound a scholar, who all through the book transliterates rightly enough, going over, on grounds so mistaken, to the camp of the enemy. Correct transliteration is, on practical grounds, a considerable aid to the spread of knowledge, and it will, sooner or later, be generally adopted. The international system has been very carefully considered by a number of scholars of some eminence, for whom the author has, no doubt, a sincere respect; and it has been formally recognized by the Society. But it has still to contend against that sort of sentimental antipathy to which the author gives such forcible expression. And his phrase may be used by the opponents of correct transliteration, who will not, perhaps, always think it necessary to add that his actual practice shows him to be really on the other side.

The other case is of a similar kind. The author seems unable to mention the Ceylon chroniclers — the unknown author of the Dīpavaṃsa, and Mahānāma the author of the Mahāvaṃsa — without a strange ferocity. Three or four times he stops to turn and rend these unfortunate old writers. Are they really so much more mendacious than other chroniclers—the English ones, for instance? Is it quite so certain that they deliberately invented lies? Another hypothesis is at least equally possible, namely,

that they were placing on record the tradition current at the time and place when they wrote, and that they were quite sincere in supposing themselves to be contributing useful work in doing so. Those traditions must, of course, be used under the guidance of the accepted laws of historical criticism relating to the use of such material. But it is quite feasible to observe those laws without forgetting the debt of gratitude we owe to the author whose work the original decipherer of Asoka's edicts found so indispensable a help. Mahānāma was a monk, it must be admitted. But so also were the English chroniclers, and the Chinese pilgrims. He believed in the miraculous. So did they. He has preserved traditions, quite useful as evidence of the belief in his time, and of little or no value as evidence of events centuries before. So did they. He tells us legends which he himself believed, and which we do not. But so did the Chinese pilgrims, of whom Mr. Vincent Smith, very rightly, speaks with courtesy and respect, simply ignoring their miracles, and making what use is critically possible of what else they say. In these two just parallel cases the author's treatment of the pilgrims is an excellent model of what the treatment of the chroniclers might have been. And if I, personally, in the case of the famous old pilgrim, would confess, further, to a feeling of affectionate regard towards the personality revealed in the "Life" and the "Travels," it may be remembered that we know but little of the personality of Mahānāma, and that we may not be so far wrong, after all, if we give him the benefit of the doubt (to which even an accused person is usually considered entitled), and suppose that he, too, may have been a fairly estimable man.

One point is quite certain. The chronology found in the chronicles is not the work of Mahānāma. Even if it be a mendacious fiction (and mistakes in chronology may be due to other causes than that), it existed already before the time of the author of the Dīpavaṃsa, who was some generations older than Mahānāma. Mahānāma would at once, therefore, on this issue, be declared by an impartial court "not guilty."

And in a greater or less degree the same argument holds good of most of the other cases in which the author sees fit to reject Mahānāma's testimony. It would almost seem that the author, when speaking of the chronicles as "a tissue of absurdities" or as "mendacious monkish legends," is scarcely on a line with the universal opinion of modern scholars about such works. He says elsewhere (J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 843) of two similar documents—

> "If, then, one is pure fiction and the other is serious history, the distinction is certainly not apparent on the face of the documents."

But, surely, the unanimous verdict of other scholars would be quite simple. Neither is either. No one dreams of taking such late legends, preserved centuries after the event by well-meaning but biassed monks, learned only in the learning of their time—whether English, Chinese, or Sinhalese—as sober history. No one expects to find such chroniclers versed in historical criticism; or even averse to recording what we now think absurd. On the other hand, the hypothesis of deliberate lying, of conscious forgery, is now in such cases generally discredited; and it is not supposed that such legends are, on the part of the chroniclers, pure fiction. It is difficult, therefore, to understand why any hard words should be necessary at all in this particular case, and we are quite unable to see any essential difference between the Ceylon Bhikshus and the Chinese pilgrims.

But the reader will see that the expressions objected to are merely *obiter dicta*. They have nothing to do with the main line of the argument. Their effect is only therefore to jar upon the reader, not to impair the value of this very able sketch of Asoka, certainly the greatest native sovereign in India, and one of the most interesting and impressive personalities among the sovereigns of the world.

T. W. Rhys Davids.

RĀṢṬRAPĀLA PARIPṚCCHĀ, publié par L. FINOT. 8vo. Vol. ii: pp. xvi and 69. (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy, Bibliotheca Buddhica, 1901.)

It is a great pleasure to see the Buddhist Sanskrit Text Series, inaugurated and managed by Professor Serge d'Oldenbourg, and published at the expense of the Russian Government, now beginning to become an accomplished fact. The present work is little more than a tract, and the text would occupy, if printed after the method followed by the Pali Text Society, about 40 to 50 pages. It is in form a Jātaka. The first half, called the Nidāna, corresponds to the Introductory story preceding each of the Jātakas in the Pitaka Collection edited by Fausböll. The second half gives the Jātaka proper, the story of Puṇyaraśmi.

In the Introduction we have a discussion of the qualities of a Bodhisatwa, that is, those that have to be acquired by a man in order to become a Buddha, and of the qualities obstructive to that end. In the course of this discussion the Buddha tells Rāṣṭrapāla of the qualities he acquired in fifty of his previous births. As the editor points out (p. vi), there are similar enumerations in the Lalita Vistara and in the Mahāvastu. He might have added that a similar list is also found in the Introduction (also called the Nidāna) to the canonical collection of Jātakas; and that two whole books, one in Pali and one in Sanskrit, the Cariyā Pitaka and the Jātaka Mālā, are based on a precisely similar enumeration.

In my Buddhist Birth Stories[1] there was given, twenty years ago, a comparative table of the Jātakas thus referred to in these two books, and it would have been interesting to have had a comparative table here showing the relation in which this new list stands to the older ones. In the books the stories are told; in this Nidāna, as in the Nidāna to the Jātakas, they are only referred to. And Professor d'Oldenbourg has given a valuable table identifying two-thirds of them. It is particularly interesting to find that

[1] London, 1880. Table iv, p. xcviii.

so many of these Birth Stories, perhaps half of them, cannot be traced in the canonical collection.[1] We are frequently finding Birth Stories, both in Pali and in Sanskrit sources, not included in it. It was certainly, even when it was made, by no means complete. But other stories may have been subsequently invented; and a careful discussion of the facts, on this one point, now ascertainable, would already give valuable results towards the history of the literature.

There are added to the book two indices, one of verses and one of proper names. Both of these are most useful. But there is no index of subjects, or of Buddhist technical terms used in the text. It is most desirable that in every future volume published in this series such indices should be provided. For many historical enquiries it is of the first importance to know when a particular idea was first introduced, where and in what degree it was subsequently modified, and how late its existence can be certified. Certain words or phrases are not found in the earliest books, certain other words have changed their exact meaning in the course of time, certain other words are not found *after* a particular epoch. *Abhiññā*, for instance, is, in the Suttantas, used only in a general way in the meaning of 'insight.' Later on, a specific group of six kinds of insight, the *Chaḷ-abhiññā*, has become a common phrase. In this text we find, not six, but five abhiññās. There is a similar history, as yet not traced out, of the idea *Pāramitā*, which in this text are six in number, not ten; and so also of the enumeration of wrong doctrines, speculations (*Diṭṭhi*), which are here referred to as one hundred, and not sixty-two, in number. The ideas of the five *gatis*, or forms of rebirth, of the eightfold Path, of the Great Person (the Mahā Puruṣa) are found here in a form apparently quite the same as they had in the oldest documents. But the Four Bonds, obstacles which keep a man back from becoming a Buddha, are here mentioned (on p. 20) possibly for the

[1] No. 8, the Śibi Birth, is no doubt the same as the Sivi Jātaka, No. 499 in the canonical collection.

first time. In the investigation of any of these questions—and they could be multiplied almost indefinitely—it is evident that good subject indices not only save time, but are practically indispensable.

The examples cited in the last paragraph show how closely this text adheres to the older phraseology. There are differences no doubt, slight differences, but each of these is valuable as historical evidence. Often, too, a comparison with the older texts throws light on later readings, an assistance of which M. Senart, to whom the present work is dedicated, has so often availed himself in his monumental edition of the Mahāvastu. Thus, to cite only one example, M. Finot, at p. 49, has rejected the reading *chinna-prapāta* of his unique MS. in favour of a conjecture supported by the Chinese. A comparison with D. 2. 162 (that is, the Mahā Parinibbāna Suttanta, chap. vi) would have shown that the Chinese author is probably wrong; he has misunderstood a rare and difficult phrase taken over by our author from old tradition, and the manuscript reading is right.

One of the differences, probably the chief one, between this text and the older ones, is the importance it attaches to Bodhisatvaship, practically ignoring the older ideal of Arahatship. Already in 1880,[1] when we had but little Mahāyāna writing before us, I pointed out, for the first time, the importance of this distinction, and ventured to call it "the keynote of the Great Vehicle." It was impossible then to go into detail and show how far the two ethical ideals were different. The Pali texts have now given us full evidence as to the details of the *Bodhi-pakkhiya-dhammā*, the constituent qualities of Arahatship, and their opposites. The present work gives us similar details as to Bodhisatvaship. It would now, therefore, be most interesting to have a careful comparison, carried out into full detail, between the two ideals; and comparing the intermediate stage as represented in the Mahāvastu.

[1] Hibbert Lectures, pp. 254, 255.

In language and metre the Rāṣṭrapāla Paripṛcchā approximates already to the stage reached when Sanskrit became the literary language of India. But there are many of the earlier prakritisms still left, of which M. Finot gives instances in his introduction. He also furnishes a list of the metres, utilizing for that purpose the names afterwards given to metres by the writers on Sanskrit prosody. The list is a goodly one, and will be found suggestive when the history of Indian metres comes to be written.

Altogether this little volume is full of matter to help in the solution of the many historical problems—literary, religious, and social—that now lie ready to the hand of any scholar who has leisure to devote to them. On its probable date the editor has nothing to say. But he mentions that four passages, amounting altogether to about 70 lines, are cited from the present work in the Śikṣā Samuccaya, now being edited by Professor Bendall for the same series; and a list of those readings in the citations which differ from the text here printed has been supplied by Professor Bendall. These citations give us a *terminus ad quem* for the date of the story; and a discussion of the points of doctrine referred to in the text, and of the names of Bodhisatvas said in it to have been in attendance on the Buddha, would have gone far to settle its approximate date as compared with that of other Buddhist texts. M. Finot mentions Chinese and Tibetan versions; but he does not say whether these are based on our text, a retelling of the story in different words, or whether they are actually what we should now call translations. It has been pointed out in our last volume (p. 406) how important it is that this distinction should be observed.

We hope that the learned and able editor will be able to find time, amid his important duties as Director of the Oriental School in Saigon, to discuss some of the questions above referred to. Meanwhile we can heartily congratulate him on the present work; and may venture to express the hope that the other volumes in preparation may soon appear.

T. W. Rhys Davids.

NOTICE SUR LA VIE ET LES TRAVAUX DE JOACHIM MENANT. Par M. LE DUC DE LA TREMOÏLLE. (Paris, 1901.)

The interesting biographical notice of the late M. Menant, published by the Duke de la Tremoïlle in the *Comptes Rendus* de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, has been reprinted in quarto form, with an excellent heliogravure of the deceased Assyriologist prefixed.

M. Menant, who, like many others, devoted himself to study in the midst of other occupations, was born in 1820, and died in 1899. He will be remembered as having worked, when the science of Assyriology was young, with Professor Oppert, the veteran Assyriologist, and became, with him, a pioneer of the study in France, turning his attention also, in later years, to the decipherment of the hieroglyphic system of writing generally called Hittite. He was elected a free member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres in 1888. His works were very numerous (a list of forty-seven of his principal publications are given by the author of the notice), one of the last being the *Catalogue méthodique et raisonné de la Collection de Clercq*, a splendid work of extreme utility, by which the owner of the collection, as well as M. Menant, earned the thanks of the learned world. M. Menant likewise wrote concerning the Yezidis, and upon ancient and modern Persia. By his death, a noteworthy and much-respected personality, linking the present and the past in the Assyriological world, disappeared, to the regret of all who had come into contact with him.

T. G. P.

FOUR Egyptological papers have appeared from the pen of that indefatigable Egyptologist of the Museum of Brussels, M. Jean Capart. His *En Egypte: Notes de Voyage* are exceedingly interesting, and are illustrated by some excellent reproductions of photographs. The paper is naturally mainly archæological, but observations upon the

country as it is at present occur in it, and are noteworthy. Concerning the belief of the Arabs as to the treasures to be found among the ruins, the following (probably an anecdote well known to those who have travelled in that land) is interesting:—

"Au dire des Arabes, les ruines des temples et des tombeaux sont pleines de trésors, sans cela comment expliquer que l'on vienne de si loin pour y faire des fouilles? N'est-ce pas, comme ils le racontent, dans les pyramides de Méroé que Lepsius a trouvé l'or qui, quelques années après son voyage, permit à l'Allemagne de battre la France?"

Another paper by the same author is entitled *Une Déesse thébaine: Miritskro*, and treats of the deity in the form of a serpent adored on the great Western Peak ("la grande cîme d'Occident"). The royal tombs there add to the desolation of this mountain, in which lifeless place the goddess was worshipped. The meaning of her name ('lover of silence') is just what one would expect to find applied to a divinity dwelling there. Pictures of the goddess in the form of a serpent, as a serpent with a woman's head, as a woman having a serpent's head, and as a serpent with three heads, one of a woman and two of serpents, are shown. A very interesting account of the worship is given.

To the periodical *Man* M. Capart contributes an article on the "Libyan Notes" of Messrs. MacIver and Wilkin. Based on these researches, M. Capart puts forward two hypotheses: Either the prehistoric Egyptians were for the most part Libyans, or at the moment of the entry of the Pharaonic Egyptians into Egypt, the Libyans were also on the point of invading the country, which they surrounded from the west of the Delta as far as Upper Nubia. In this case the Pharaohs, to consolidate their power, had to fight with the native population, and repel, at the same time, the Libyan invasion. This hypothesis, he says, is more simple than the other if the Libyans formed the bulk of the population in Egypt.

The fourth contribution of M. Capart to the science of Egyptology is entitled "La Fête de frapper les Anou," and appears in the Transactions of the First Congress for the History of Religion, which saw the light at Paris last year. Taking as his text the palettes of slaty schist found by Mr. Quibell at Hieraconpolis, he examines once again these much-discussed objects. In his opinion, they bear representations of a festival, that called in the calendar of Palermo "the destruction of the Anu," as has been suggested by M. Naville; and the victory of Nar-Mer over the inhabitants of the Delta, north of the Fayoum, as Spiegelberg has shown. M. Capart then goes on to show how important this people, the Anu of Nubia, were, and that they are to be classed among the original inhabitants of the country, separated by the Pharaonic invasion from their kin of the north; and their expulsion was such a triumph, that it was celebrated thereafter by the Egyptians during the history of their rule. Remarks upon the religion of the Egyptians, the festival in question, and the names of towns containing the element *an*, etc., are added by the author, giving to the paper additional interest and value.

Full of information is the paper by the Baron von Oefele entitled *Vorhippokratische Medizin Westasiens, Aegyptens, und der mediterranen Vorarier*, in the *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin*. Though discursive, it is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject. Medical science in pre-Arian India, among the old Nubian peoples, "in the land of the gods and of incense" (the neighbourhood of the Red Sea), among the north-west Africans, with the Trojans, etc., etc., are all treated of. One could have wished for a better arrangement of the material, but there are probably many who will find it all that could be wished, and, after all, the facts brought together are the main thing. I greatly regret that I cannot follow the author in much that he says about the literature bearing upon the subject found in Babylonia and Assyria (quite apart from the difficulty of the reading of medical texts by those who are not medical men, to which the author refers). My translation of the

inscription on a physician's cylinder-seal, for instance, differs entirely from that given in this paper.

Nevertheless, Dr. von Oefele evidently has an excellent knowledge of the tablets bearing upon the medical knowledge of the Babylonians and Assyrians. He refers to the opinions of the ancient Sumerians (Akkadians) with regard to the human body. The seat of understanding was the heart, the body is designated as "flesh," and the blood is the life of the body. The central organ for the blood, however, was the liver. "Heart and liver" was used to the latest times for "soul and body." The central organ of the will is the ear. Arterial blood and veinous blood were distinguished. As some of these points are not universally accepted, a few extracts giving examples of these ideas would have added greatly to the value of this part of the paper. With regard to the expressions for arterial and veinous blood, however, it may be noted that they were not "blood of the day (?)" and "blood of the night (?)," but "light blood" and "dark blood" respectively.

T. G. P.

KEILINSCHRIFTLICHE BIBLIOTHEK, in Verbindung mit L. Abel, C. Bezold, P. Jensen, F. E. Peiser, H. Winckler, herausgegeben von EBERHARD SCHRADER. Band VI, Theil 1: Assyrische-babylonische Mythen und Epen, von P. JENSEN. (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1900–1901.)

Notwithstanding that the state of his health renders it difficult for the Father of Assyriology in Germany to do much original work, his editorship of these volumes of the Assyrian Library is a thing of extreme usefulness. It is impossible to have any other feeling for the veteran Professor of the University of Berlin than affectionate regard, mingled with admiration for his past work and his courage under affliction, and all will wish him a long life and a useful one to edit this series of texts in transcription and translation, and sincerely hope that he may yet have health to contribute many things to this collection himself.

The present work is one of the most comprehensive that has ever been published, and Professor Jensen's contributions to it among the most characteristic and noteworthy. In the present volume we have eleven of the most complete of the legends of Babylonia, including—

The legends of the Creation.
Bel and the LABbu (as the author has it).
Myths of Zū, the storm-bird.
The I(U)ra-myth.
Nerigal and Ereškigal.
Ištar's descent into Hades.
Adapa and the south wind.
The Etana-myth.
The Gilgameš (Nimrod)-Epos.
Êa (?) and Atar-ḫasis (?).
The King of Cutha.

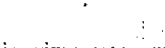
The system used in this "Assyriological Library," edited by Professor Schrader, is, to give the Assyrian (Semitic-Babylonian) transcription on the left-hand page, line for line, numbered, and the translation on the right-hand page (where, however, the lines are unfortunately not numbered, making it rather unsatisfactory, notwithstanding the careful folding, to find the corresponding lines except where near the beginning or the end of a page or a paragraph). At the end of the book is a commentary, giving the reasons why any particular translation of a word or a phrase has been chosen, or the other possible renderings. Doubtful passages are indicated by italics and queries.

The translations are besprinkled with all Professor Jensen's peculiarities and mannerisms. Thus, the doubt between *b* and *p*, *k* and *q*, is represented by printing both letters (*ab(p)-k(k)al-lu*, *ti-iṣ(z, s)-b(p)u-tu*, etc.), and in the translations possible alternative renderings are indicated in much the same way. Other devices give a picturesque (though not always comprehensible) appearance to the translations :—

" : Erschlag' mich nicht, mein Bruder! Ich will dir
" eine Rede sagen." "
" [Von Ni]n-ḫar-biš ihre Verwünschung erhebe sich
(gegen) dich (, dich)! "

Naturally such a work as this is difficult to review within the compass of a short notice on account of its extent (it runs to 301 pages of transcription and translation, and 288 pages of notes thereon). All that can be said is, that these new renderings bring many improvements into the translations of the inscriptions as hitherto known, and suggest a number of other possible alternative readings, which may or may not be adopted later on. It is unfortunate that, in the Story of Bel and the Dragon (the Semitic account of the Creation), the author was unable to use the fragments lately published by the Trustees of the British Museum, as that completing the second tablet[1] is important, especially in connection with the reverse of the duplicate of the first tablet, found by Mr. Rassam at Abu-habbah, and published by me in 1890.

The new renderings which he introduces into the translation of the first tablet of the Creation series are important, though it remains to be seen whether they will stand in every respect the test of time. Thus *ammatum*, generally rendered 'earth' (its connection with the Heb. אַמָּה all Assyriologists must have seen), he now translates by '*die Feste*' (in italics, implying uncertainty). For the much-discussed word *mummu* he gives the translation 'Urform,' which seems to be a good reading, better than 'mother' or any other suggestion. This translation is not rendered improbable by the translation of *mummu* by *bêltu*, 'lady,' as that might simply be a kind of descriptive title, all female divinities, by their exalted position, being 'ladies,' just as all gods

[1] A duplicate of this gives some variants, and another fragment, also unpublished, completes, to a certain extent. K. 4832. The most important restoration is l. 11 (= *Mythen und Epen*, p. 6, l. 32, and p. 8, l. 12), where I have copied  . . . *-mu a-mu-uk-ka*.

might be called *bêlu*, 'lords.' One of the epithets of Tiāmatu, the *mummu*, or 'original shape,' is *ḫupur* or *ḫubur*, concerning which Jensen gives many suggestions. It expresses a 'cosmic idea,' it is the name of a river, and apparently the river of the underworld, which Tammuz, on his way thither, has to cross; and there is nothing to be brought against the conjecture that Ḫubur and the Ḫubur river are the Ὠκεανός which surrounds the earth. In the translation he translates *ummu ḫubur* 'the mother of the *north*,'[1] which is a rendering to all appearance capable of improvement. An interesting paragraph is that in which the author refers to the word *ûmu* in the meaning of 'day,' and the beings personifying the "raging, gliding, onrushing day." In connection with this he seeks to show that the word *ûmu* has also the meaning of 'appearance,' a rendering which would probably please those who see in the first chapter of Genesis the six days of creation as so many visions. His suggestion that the name of the Babylonian Noah may be read *Ûm-napištim* instead of *Pir-* or *Par-napištim* would, if correct, restore my own reading of some years ago, though I took *ûm* to have its usual meaning, 'day of,' or something similar. It is noteworthy that, in this note, Professor Jensen speaks of Professor Delitzsch as having "made front" against him energetically on this question, but this is a thing he ought not to mind—it is one of the proud privileges of German scholarship.

Excellent as this book is, and anxious as the author has evidently been to express himself with caution and reserve, so as to disarm, wherever possible, the criticism which, in Assyriology more, perhaps, than in most other branches of study, prevails, it is doubtful whether he has altogether succeeded. One cannot but admire, however, the straightforward way in which he always expresses his doubts upon the renderings which he gives, though one could wish, in many cases, that, for the sake of clearness, he had done it in a different way. All scholars will look forward to the

[1] The italics are Professor Jensen's, and imply that the rendering is doubtful.

succeeding parts of the sixth volume of Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, which is to contain "religious texts of every kind," by the same author. Even though one may not agree with him, there is generally something suggestive and noteworthy in what he has to say.

T. G. PINCHES.

KATALOG DER HANDSCHRIFTEN DER UNIVERSITÄTS-BIBLIOTHEK ZU LEIPZIG. I: Die Sanskrit-Handschriften, von THEODOR AUFRECHT. (Leipzig, 1901.)

This volume of nearly 500 pages is the first of a series of catalogues which is to appear within the next five years, and which, when complete, will contain a description of the whole of the ancient manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leipzig. That it is the work of the veteran Professor Aufrecht, the greatest of all the makers of Sanskrit catalogues, is in itself a sufficient guarantee of its scholarly character.

The Leipzig University Library, unlike some others, notably the Berlin Library and the Library of the India Office, had not the good fortune to become the repository of any of the celebrated great collections of Sanskrit manuscripts made in the earlier days of Sanskrit studies. Its acquisitions seem to have been chiefly the result of purchases made, for the most part, within the last twenty years; but they fairly represent the whole range of Sanskrit literature, and constitute altogether a most serviceable collection. The fine series of astronomical and astrological works may, perhaps, be specially mentioned. A glance at Professor Aufrecht's description of this portion of the collection will show that several of these works, apart from their interest from the point of view of astronomy or mathematics, may be expected to yield incidentally a rich harvest of historical and geographical information when they are properly studied and indexed.

E. J. RAPSON.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF WESTERN INDIA. Vol. vii: Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad; Part i, A.D. 1412–1520. By JAS. BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., etc. (1901.)

The previous volume of this series dealt with the Muhammadan architecture of the provincial towns of Gujarat, a considerable proportion of which dates from the fourteenth century A.D., when the country was ruled through governors appointed by the Sultāns of Dehli. The present volume is confined to those Muhammadan buildings of the capital which were erected during that portion of the rule of the Ahmad Shāhi Sultāns of Gujarat, which extends from the foundation of Ahmadabad in 1412 to the year 1520. Such is the wealth of the Muhammadan architecture of Ahmadabad that another part will be needed for the description of those monuments which belong to the remainder of the sixteenth and to the early part of the seventeenth century.

In an architectural work of this kind, the letterpress is confessedly held subordinate to the illustrations; and, in the present volume, the 112 photographic and lithographic plates may, to a very great extent, be left to speak for themselves. The short historical introduction to the volume and the descriptions added to the plates are written with all Dr. Burgess's usual clearness, and supply everything that is needed to enable the student to appreciate a particularly interesting branch of Muhammadan architecture.

As Dr. Burgess points out, this school of Muhammadan architecture carries on, to a very great extent, the pre-existing Jaina architecture, the great formative idea of which consists in "an octagonal dome resting on horizontal architraves supported by twelve pillars." The work, moreover, was executed by craftsmen who were really Hindu, and Muhammadan in little more than name. We have, therefore, the interesting phenomenon of an essentially Indian style of architecture modified and elaborated in accordance with Muhammadan ideas. The analogy suggested

by Dr. Burgess with the early Christian adaptations of the temples of heathen divinities at Rome is precisely to the point. In either case we see the conversion of "a pagan style of architecture to the purposes of a religion abominating idolatry."

E. J. RAPSON.

NEUN MAHABAN-INSCHRIFTEN. — ENTZIFFERUNG, UEBERSETZUNG, ERKLÄRUNG. By Dr. GEORG HUTH. (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde.) (Berlin, 1901.)

In this monograph, Dr. Huth deals with one class of those inscriptions in unknown characters which are found in districts on the extreme north-western frontier of India. The inscriptions of this particular class are characterized by their use in common of an alphabet of which at least some thirty different characters are to be distinguished; and these characters recur in the various published inscriptions, and are to be recognized in new inscriptions as they are brought to light,[1] in a manner which conveys a *prima facie* impression of genuineness. So much can scarcely be said about some of the other inscriptions, or supposed inscriptions, from the same part of the world, which have been published.

And just as there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the inscriptions now published by Dr. Huth, so it is extremely probable, as has been generally suggested, that their language is some ancient dialect of Tūrkī. It is on this assumption that Dr. Huth's decipherment is founded.

Manifestly, no complete examination of Dr. Huth's position is possible without some acquaintance with Tūrkī. All that can be attempted in the present notice is a bare statement of the facts of the case, and some estimate of the probability or possibility of any certain decipherment in similar circumstances. The finding of a bilingual inscription in these unknown characters and in one of the known Indian alphabets, for instance, would, of course, settle the question

[1] E.g. the inscription published in this Journal, 1898, p. 619.

definitely; but, failing this, we may well consider how far the admitted facts of the case would justify us in maintaining an attitude of scepticism towards any suggested decipherment, however plausible.

Now, the whole amount of the material used by Dr. Huth consists of nine very short inscriptions, of an average length of not quite five lines each, containing in all, as transliterated and transcribed by him, 470 alphabetic characters or 235 words. It must be confessed that this amount of material would have been perilously small, as far as any certain decipherment is concerned, even if the decipherer had started with some certain clue—even if, for example, he had known with certainty the values of ten of the alphabetic characters.[1] But he had no clue of the kind. He can only have proceeded experimentally, assuming certain values for certain signs, until, by a process of selection, he obtained results which gave a more or less satisfactory meaning, on the hypothesis that the language of the inscriptions was some dialect of Tūrkī. In the absence of a clue of any kind, this procedure is, of course, the only one possible; and there is no reason why a satisfactory result should not be obtained by it. The question is whether it is, on the whole, probable or not that such a result has been obtained in the present instance.

This question may no doubt, to a great extent, be solved by the discovery of other inscriptions of this class in the future, or finally settled by the discovery of some bilingual

[1] How exceedingly difficult the task of decipherment would have been even with the aid of a clue of this kind may be seen at once by putting any *English* sentence continuously, without division of words, into a cipher composed partly of letters having their proper value and partly of signs representing the other letters used. In the following cipher, for instance, which represents a sentence in the present notice, ten letters appear with their proper value, while the other ten letters which occur are represented by dissimilar inverted letters :—

ᗅ⊥TBᗅΛMO⊥OGᑎA⊣BDᑎBUTBDIAƎΛƆᗅTBO⊥ICƎAΛΛO
FTBOΛIᗅ⊥ΛCᑎᗅ⊣TᗅO⊥Λᗅ⊥U⊥K⊥OƆ⊥CBAᑎACTIᑎΛƆB
ᗅCBAᑎIFOU⊥Dᗅ⊥DᗅΛTᑎᗅCTΛO⊥TBIIXTᑎIMI⊥OᑎTBƆ
IΛTIᑎ⊥FᑎO⊥TᗅIᑎOFᗅ⊥DᗅA.

inscription. In the meantime, we are left to form for ourselves some opinion as to the probability of the correctness of Dr. Huth's decipherment by an examination of his methods.

The language of the Mahaban inscriptions is, according to Dr. Huth, written in an alphabet which, like many other Eastern alphabets, expresses only the framework of words and leaves to the reader the task of filling in the 'moving' vowels. It is the enormous extent to which this filling in is left to the imagination or to the knowledge of the reader—surely quite unprecedented even among Eastern alphabets—that would seem to suggest a doubt as to the possibility of the correctness of Dr. Huth's system. To take an instance at random. In Inscription Pa. iv, lines 3 and 4, we find in the transcription the letters—s_2 s_2 l_2 *d* *š* k_1 s_2. These are vocalized and made into words by Dr. Huth as follows:—*äs äsil idi iš kiši*. This, it must be remembered, is not a specially selected example, but is fairly typical of all the nine inscriptions. It is difficult to believe that an alphabetic system which left so much to be supplied by the reader can ever have obtained even in the East. It has often been said of certain other Eastern alphabets that, like language, they would seem to have been invented by man for the concealment of his thoughts; but surely none of the others can have effected this purpose so completely as the alphabet of the Mahaban inscriptions.

The interpretation of the language would, moreover, seem to have required just as much use of the imagination as the transcription of the alphabet. The passage just quoted is translated word for word by Dr. Huth, *Geist Herkunft Herr Handeln Mensch,* and the whole is interpreted, (*der*) *an Geist* (*und*) *Abstammung ein Aristokrat, in Handeln* (*ein einfacher*) *Mensch* (*war*)! which, it must be allowed, is a good deal to get out of s_2 s_2 l_2 *d* *š* k_1 s_2.

The difficulties in the way of accepting Dr. Huth's decipherment of the Mahaban inscriptions are, therefore, not slight; but he will have our thanks and our admiration for the great patience and ingenuity which he has brought to bear on a most difficult problem. He has, at least, furnished

us with a working hypothesis which must serve until a better is forthcoming; but, with all respect to Dr. Huth, many scholars will doubt whether the time is yet quite ripe to speak of the "grosse historische Bedeutung" of these inscriptions.

E. J. RAPSON.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON A JOURNEY OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL EXPLORATION IN CHINESE TURKESTAN. By M. A. STEIN, Indian Educational Service. (Published under the Authority of H.M.'s Secretary of State for India in Council: London, 1901.)

Recent numbers of our Journal have contained contributions by Dr. Stein himself giving an account of the main results of his explorations in the neighbourhood of Khotan while they were actually in progress. Since the appearance of these articles, Dr. Stein has brought to London the whole collection of antiquities which he made in this region and entrusted it to the safe keeping of the British Museum to await the opportunity—may it not be long deferred!—of such an extended leave of absence from his official duties in India as will enable him to return and superintend the production of a full detailed report. In the meantime he has issued the present "Preliminary Report" describing the various sites excavated and the nature of the various classes of objects discovered, without making any attempt to produce a *catalogue raisonné* or entering into any minute discussion of questions of art or epigraphy. Such a catalogue and such discussions will find a place in the final report, which will include, moreover, the important results of the topographical and ethnographical investigations which Dr. Stein combined with his archæological work.

The "Preliminary Report," however, is amply sufficient to enable us to form an estimate of the importance and the extent of Dr. Stein's discoveries. It has for years past been recognized that the ancient civilization which flourished

where now the Taklamakān Desert presents but a vast expanse of shifting sand-dunes, was to some extent Indian in character. The bilingual coins from this part of the world, with their inscriptions in ancient Chinese and in the Kharoṣṭhī of the Indo-Scythic period, bore positive testimony to this fact, and their testimony has in recent years been supported by the discovery of other antiquities, above all by the discovery of a birch-bark manuscript of the *Dhammapada* in Kharoṣṭhī characters. But these documents have, for the most part, been obtained casually by European travellers, or procured through the agency of native 'treasure-seekers' by Russian and British political officers. It has remained for Dr. Stein to organize and carry out a systematic scientific exploration of the most important ancient sites in this now desolate region. This exploration has proved marvellously fertile in results. It has brought to light ancient objects of art—statues, frescos, pictures, terra-cottas, and seals—which present the most interesting problems. There can be no doubt that some of the seals are purely classical, while others show the influence which native ideas exercised in modifying the Western art thus strangely planted in far-distant Central Asia. Some of the statues and sculptures, again, like those of Gandhara, undoubtedly show, in varying degree, the influence of Græco-Roman art. Both of these classes present a most interesting parallel with the coins of the Græco-Indian kings who held the Kabul Valley and the Northern Panjab from *c.* 200 B.C. to *c.* 25 B.C. In all three classes alike may be traced a gradual degradation from the Græco-Roman standard, ending at last in Oriental monotony and conventionality. These remarks may be illustrated by a comparison of the following seals represented in Dr. Stein's plates—(1) N. xv, 330, a seated Eros (pl. ix); (2) N. xv, 137 (pl. viii), and N. xv, 166 (pl. x), Athene Promachos; (3) N. xv, 167 (pl. ix), a portrait in juxtaposition with a Chinese inscription; (4) N. xv, 71 (pl. ix), a portrait.

These seals, if one may judge from the analogy which the Kharoṣṭhī writing of the wooden tablets to which they

are affixed presents with that of the Indo-Scythic coins, belong, in all probability, to the first and second centuries A.D. Of a later date (perhaps *c.* 500–800 A.D.) are the painted tablets (pl. ii) and the frescos (pl. iv), which show a predominant Chinese or Tibetan influence.

The most important of Dr. Stein's discoveries are, however, the inscribed documents, and, in particular, the parchments and wooden tablets bearing Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. The fragments of MSS. in Brāhmī, Chinese, and Tibetan characters, in all probability represent, for the most part, portions of the Buddhist canon. The Kharoṣṭhī parchments and wooden tablets, on the other hand, present us with something novel, alike as regards alphabet, language, and contents; and, as there are over 400 of these, it is evident that from this source we may expect very considerable additions to our knowledge of the history of this part of Central Asia in the first centuries of the Christian era. The alphabet is cursive, and therefore differs from the formal Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on the coins of the Indo-Scythic kings. It has more compound consonants than the Kharoṣṭhī of the Dutreuil de Rhins MS. of the *Dhammapada*, and some of these compound consonants, especially when they occur only in non-Indian titles or non-Indian names, will prove extremely difficult to determine. The language would seem to be not far removed from Sanskrit—e.g., the genitive singular in *-asya* and the 3rd singular future in *-iṣyati* are found, and not the corresponding Prakrit forms; but it has many peculiarities, due, no doubt, to the locality. Nothing certain can yet be said as to the nature of the contents of these documents; but by far the greater number are undoubtedly royal commands, and it is extremely probable that they are safe-conducts ensuring the bearer protection and assistance throughout the king's dominions. It is probable that the seals affixed to them were added as tangible evidence of their authority. They are regularly dated in regnal years, with the addition of month and day. The names of more than one king occur, and these names seem to be non-Aryan in character, and the documents are

addressed to more than one personage. It is not possible to say, until the whole number have been most carefully studied, how much historical information these Kharoṣṭhī parchments and wooden tablets may be expected to yield; but, from the point of view of language and epigraphy, their importance is unquestionably very great.

Dr. Stein started on his expedition on May 29th, 1900 (p. 6), and exactly a year later, on May 29th, 1901 (p. 69), he left Kashgar with his archæological finds *en route* for London. It seems almost incredible that this prolonged expedition, necessitating the employment of numbers of carriers and excavators, and all the accessories required for residence in the desert far away from any base of supplies, should have been carried out at a cost to the Government of India of only some £700; but such appears to be the case. Surely a similar amount has never been bestowed to better purpose on archæological work of any kind or in any country. The Indian Government is to be thanked for the enterprise which has produced such notable results, and, at the same time, to be congratulated on having at its disposal the services of a scholar of Dr. Stein's attainments, capability, and tact.

E. J. RAPSON.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA: A Report on a Tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal, the region of Kapilavastu, etc. By BABU PURNA CHANDRA MUKHERJI, with a Prefatory Note by Mr. VINCENT A. SMITH, B.A., M.R.A.S., etc. No. xxvi, Part 1, of the Imperial Series. (Calcutta, 1901.)

This detailed description of the antiquities in the immediate neighbourhood of Buddha's birthplace is most welcome. The district seems to have been explored under the sanction and with the aid of the Indian Government and the Nepalese Government by Mr. Mukherji and Major Waddell independently, and the Report of the latter will, presumably, appear separately as Part 2 of vol. xxvi of the Archæological

Survey of India (Imperial Series). Whether it is wise to divide forces in this way, is a question which could only be answered by one who was in possession of all the facts of the case.

The identification, which is absolutely beyond doubt, of Rummin-dei with the Lumbini-vana, the actual birthplace of Buddha according to all the Buddhist scriptures, affords a fixed point in early Indian archæology, which may, perhaps, be best compared with the fixed point which was gained for Indian chronology when Sir William Jones identified the Sandrocottus of Megasthenes with the Maurya king Candra-gupta; and we may confidently expect that, starting from it, similar progress will be made in the determination of much that is at present indistinct and nebulous.

Apart from the identification of the Lumbini-vana with Rummin-dei, there can scarcely yet be said to be any consensus among archæologists as to the identification of the sites and monuments of early Buddhism as known to us from the Pali books and from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims. In the present volume, for instance, the site of Kapila-vastu, the capital of the Śākya dynasty to which Buddha belonged, is discussed by Mr. Mukherji and by his editor, Mr. Vincent Smith, with rather different results. Mr. Mukherji comes to the conclusion (p. 50) that it is to be identified with Tilaurā-koṭ. Mr. Vincent Smith, on the other hand (Prefatory Note, p. 10), sees reasons for supposing that in their descriptions of Kapila-vastu the two Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsiang, are referring to two entirely distinct places—the former to Piprāvā, the latter to Tilaurā-koṭ. Mr. Vincent Smith has arrived at this conclusion, which seems at first sight somewhat startling, as the only possible means of reconciling the accounts which the two pilgrims give of Kapilavastu and its position relative to Śrāvasti and other places. To quote his own words, "The moment that this explanation flashed on my mind, all difficulties in the interpretation of the documents vanished. Each locality described dropped into its proper

position in the itinerary of each pilgrim, and each itinerary fitted into the other. Hiuen Tsiang now supports Fa-hien, and Fa-hien supports Hiuen Tsiang."

On consideration, this theory is not so improbable as it may appear at first glance. As Mr. Mukherji points out (p. 15), Kapilavastu had decayed before the date of these pilgrimages. Of it Fa-hien, *c.* 400 A.D., says, "there is neither king nor people: it is like a great desert. There is simply a congregation of priests and about ten families of lay people"; and Hiuen Tsiang, about 230 years later, describes the district as having "some ten desert cities, wholly desolate and ruined." It is by no means improbable that, amidst this desolation, traditions may have been lost or confused. It would be interesting to ascertain whether similar confusions in the identification of places connected with the life of Christ are to be found in the Holy Land.

Mr. Mukherji has brought together a mass of information dealing with the ancient monuments of this most interesting district, the home of Buddhism, which will prove of great importance to future workers in this field. The whole scheme of his operations and his instructions as to methods of procedure were drawn up at the request of the Government of India by Mr. Vincent A. Smith. It is a matter of the deepest regret that Mr. Smith's retirement deprives India of one who, by his great knowledge of the monuments, his faculty of weighing evidence, and his sober judgment, was eminently qualified to serve the cause of Indian archæology.

E. J. RAPSON.

INDIENS KULTUR IN DER BLÜTHEZEIT DES BUDDHISMUS. KÖNIG ASOKA: von EDMUND HARDY. (Mainz: Kirchheim, 1902.)

This beautifully illustrated and extraordinarily cheap volume—it costs only four shillings—is one of a series on "The World's History in Character-pictures." The publisher of the series has been fortunate to obtain the

services of so able a writer and so careful a scholar as Professor Hardy for this particular volume. It is true that the popular nature of the whole series has precluded the author from the discussion of those doubtful points in the biography of the great Buddhist sovereign which would have given the best scope for his special knowledge. But the hand of the scholar is traceable throughout.

We have first an account of Alexander's invasion of India. It is incidentally noticed that copper coins struck then and there by Alexander, in just the square form of the Indian currency of the time, are still extant. A figure of one of these coins now in the Old Museum in Berlin is given in illustration The author is of opinion that it was the invasion of Alexander that gave rise in India to the idea of a Cakravartī, of a sovereign of the world. In my little manual (p. 220) I have said, speaking of Candragupta, not of Alexander: "Is it surprising that this unity of power in one man made a deep impression upon them? Is it surprising that, like the Romans worshipping Augustus or like Greeks adding the glow of the sun-myth to the glory of Alexander, the Indians should have formed an ideal of their Cakravartī, and transferred to this new ideal many of the dimly sacred and half understood traits of the Vedic heroes? Is it surprising that the Buddhists should have recognized in *their* hero the Cakravartī of righteousness, and that the story of the Buddha should have become tinged with the colouring of these Cakravartī myths?"

This does not say in so many words that the idea was not older than Candragupta. But that was probably in my mind; and I take the present opportunity of saying that, for the reasons given in this book, it was almost certainly Alexander, and not Candragupta, whose power and career first gave strength to this old conception of the king of the golden age, so powerful ever afterwards in the minds of the peoples of India.

There then follows an account of Asoka's life as crown prince: and incidentally we have the very interesting question discussed whether the two bas-reliefs on the eastern

Toraṇa at Sāṅchi do not represent the state processions at the time of the taking of the Bo Tree from Budh Gayā to Ceylon. Dr. Grünwedel was the first to suggest this. Dr. Burgess (pp. 70–72 of the English edition) has adopted his view. Professor Hardy (pp. 10, 11) evidently thinks it is probably right, and makes the further suggestion that the two figures above the peacock (mayūra, mora) may be meant for Asoka and his wife. It is well known that Asoka's clan-name, Maurya, is derived from the peacock. The question is a difficult one to discuss without plates; and Professor Hardy's are much larger, clearer, and better than any we have yet had.

The description of Asoka's activity after he ascended the throne is based on the inscriptions, but illustrations of a most suggestive kind are throughout adduced both from the literature and from the monuments. And attention is directed (p. 24) to the point, sometimes overlooked, that royal edicts are not always entirely to be trusted, even when their meaning is not open to doubt. We are glad to see that the author understands the *sambodhi* exactly in the sense in which it is taken in the "Dialogues of the Buddha," 1. 190–192. And the observations at pp. 29–31 are both new and true. It has been sometimes supposed that it was Asoka who gave importance to Buddhism. On the contrary, says Professor Hardy, Asoka, always intent on practical political results, probably chose Buddhism, not so much on account of its peculiar doctrines, as because it was already the creed of the majority, and therefore politically more important than other creeds. This is an exact analogy (he might have added) to the relation of Constantine to Christianity.

The book is full of suggestive points of this kind, and we trust that the author will find opportunity to publish more in full his views on several subjects, especially, for instance, on the chronology of the edicts and on the interpretation of the Bhabra Edict, on both of which he differs from M. Senart.

RH. D.

BUDDHIST ART IN INDIA. Translated from the "Handbuch" of Albert Grünwedel by AGNES L. GIBSON. Revised and enlarged by JAS. BURGESS. (London: Quaritch, 1901.)

The original handbook on which this work is based was noticed at some length in this Journal when it appeared in 1893, and the hope was expressed that, as it was the best book on the subject, it would be translated into English. The best possible fulfilment of this wish lies before us in the present handsome volume, brought out under the supervision of the veteran archæologist to whom students of the history of Indian art are already so much indebted.

The letterpress in the English work is about twice as long as that in the original German, and the number of illustrations is 154 as against 73. This is partly due to additions made in the second edition of the German, and partly to additions made by the English editor. It would not be possible, without a detailed examination of all three editions, to apportion the various parts of the present volume to their respective authors, and no one will think such an examination worth while. Dr. Burgess, with his usual modesty, has only affixed his initials here and there to a note. But his work has not been at all confined to the notes so distinguished, and he has added many of the illustrations. What we have, then, is all that is contained in the German edition, elucidated and added to by the most competent authority in England. The result is a volume quite indispensable to anyone, whether in Europe or in India, who is occupying himself with the real meaning and history of Indian art; and it would scarcely be possible to estimate too highly the debt they owe to both author and editor.

As a general account of the work has already been given, it will suffice here to make a few suggestions for the new edition, which will certainly be wanted, and will, we hope, be wanted soon. As will be observed, most of these

suggestions have little or nothing to do with art, and are therefore matters which probably have not been considered.

Throughout the book the word Nirvana is wrongly used. The Buddha attained to Nirvana when seated under the Tree of Wisdom. For forty-five years afterwards he wandered, very much alive, over the plains of Hindustan. This is the use of the word, without any exception, in India. For the Jain usage see, for instance, Jacobi, "Jaina Sūtras," i, p. 201. I am aware that, in popular English usage, Nirvana is supposed to be the name of a sort of heaven into which the Buddha is believed to have entered after death. But this idea, though in harmony with most European notions as to salvation, is antagonistic to Indian views. Nirvana meant, at the date in question, precisely what *jivan-mukti* meant, centuries afterwards, to the followers of Śaṅkara.

At pp. 74, 208 it is said that Sanskrit was chosen at Jālandhara for the language of the sacred texts. This is a mistake. It was chosen as the language in which were written three specified commentaries (one on each of the three Pitakas of the sacred texts). These commentaries themselves are not sacred texts. A similar mistake is made on p. 13, where the Avidūre Nidāna is called a canonical text. It is only one of the commentaries on a canonical text.

On p. 10 it is said that the system of caste was fully established in the time of the Buddha. That used to be the opinion of scholars, but I think I have conclusively shown ("Dialogues of the Buddha," 1. 97–102) that this cannot possibly have been the case.

On p. 11 there is a curious contradiction. It is there said at the top of the page that religion in the fifth century B.C. was "entirely in the hands of the brahmins." Just below it is said, on the contrary, that the forms of worship of the common people "were quite left to themselves." The latter view is, no doubt, the correct one.

On p. 15, line 7, we are told that the Buddha "journeyed about in Behar." For "in Behar" read "in Hindustan." Just below there is the expression "the Master gone into

Nirvana," on which see above. (So also p. 68, "disappeared into Nirvana.") And again, in the fifth line from the bottom the word *them* is puzzlingly ambiguous.

In the division of the monuments on p. 20 the third class is called Chaitya. The meaning adopted, following Fergusson and Cunningham, is that of a temple containing a stūpa or dāgaba. This is never the meaning of the word in Indian books. It always means a sacred place, usually in a grove or on a hill-top, pertaining to the non-brahminical and non-Buddhist local cults. The word is much wanted in this sense, for which we have no other expression. The caves to which Fergusson wrongly applied this name were chapter-houses for the Order, halls where the Patimokkha was recited and the Kammavācās, the formal corporate acts of the Order, were carried out. A Vihāra, on the other hand, always means in the canonical books an apartment, a cell. A cave containing several such cells may rightly therefore be called a Vihāra cave. The secondary use of the word in the sense of monastery has not yet been found earlier than the fifth century A.D.

At the end of the interesting discussion on Vajrapāṇī, the name given by the author to the figure with the thunderbolt in his hand (so often represented, on the bas-reliefs of the Gandhāra school, in attendance on the Buddha), it is said (p. 95) that Vajrapāṇī at first meant Sakka, then got separated from him and was converted into a distinct god, and lastly that Sakka "sinks into a *yaksha*." Now in one of our very oldest texts, the Ambaṭṭha Suttanta (translated in my "Dialogues of the Buddha," p. 117), Vajrapāṇī is used as an adjective to describe a yaksha in attendance on the Buddha. It would seem, therefore, that the process has been exactly the reverse. First we have the yaksha with a descriptive adjective (not yet a name), *vajirapāṇi*, that is, 'having a thunderbolt in his hand.' This may be as old as the fourth century B.C. Nine hundred years later we find Buddhaghosa, in his commentary (quoted by me *loc. cit.*), identifying this yaksha with Indra. There is no evidence that this identification had been already made at the time

of the bas-reliefs. All one can say is that it may have been so. And in any case the yaksha does not end, he begins the series. When we find him twice on the same bas-relief there is no necessity to suppose that we have two different conceptions. The two figures may be meant for the same yaksha at different points in the story to be illustrated, as is so often the case elsewhere.

Throughout the book the fullest and most careful references are given to previous European writers on the art of the bas-reliefs. The references to the books containing the stories or legends which the bas-reliefs are intended to illustrate might be greatly improved. It is odd that there is not a single reference (so far as I have been able to discover) in this book on Buddhist art to any one of the Buddhist canonical texts. The reference given in the last paragraph would have been very much to the point, and have probably led to a modification of the text. At pp. 46, 62, 93, 95, 122 references are given to texts long posterior in date to the works of art in question. It would be easy to replace these by references to works of approximately the same age.

The bas-relief reproduced in fig. 57 can scarcely refer to a Nāga asking to be admitted to the Order. There is no such case in the books. A comparison of the canonical passage on the point (translated in "Vinaya Texts," 1. 218) would have shown that a Nāga wishing to join the Order could only do so by assuming human form. In the bas-relief the Nāga appears quite distinctly as a Nāga, and must therefore merely be asking for instruction or for some favour.

At p. 158, for *vartagati* read *vartayati*; and on p. 78 Milinda is three times spelt with a cerebral *l*, which is perhaps possible, but is against the authority of the MSS.

RH. D.

Du Déchiffrement des Monnaies sindo-ephthalites, par Édouard Specht. (Extrait du *Journal Asiatique*, mai-juin, 1901.)

M. Specht applies the term Sindo-Ephthalite to that class of the coins attributed by Cunningham to the White Huns which is characterized by its thin 'Sassanian' fabric, and by the presence of inscriptions in an alphabet which has not hitherto been deciphered. This term has the advantage of indicating, at the same time, the country from which the coins come—Sind, the valley of the Lower Indus—and the nationality of the monarchs who struck them—Ephthalite, Hūṇa or White Hun. The attribution of these coins to the Hūṇas would seem to be proved by the very close resemblance which they bear to certain coins having the names of the Hūṇa monarchs, Jabubla (Toramāṇa) and Mihirakula, in Sanskrit characters. Until, therefore, anything can be proved to the contrary, the designation 'Sindo-Ephthalite' would seem to be admirably suited to describe this class, which, in point of date, would fall within the period from the fifth to the seventh century A.D.

In attempting the decipherment of these inscriptions in unknown characters, which he supposes to be of Aramæan origin, M. Specht has been guided by the analogy of other alphabets derived from the same source, and has sought, in the first instance, to determine certain words which might naturally be expected to occur on the coins, e.g. the word *malka*, which he recognizes with the variant forms *malkīn* and *malkun*, and the proper names of the kings *Chāch* and *Silāj*, who are known from Arab historians to have ruled in Sind during this period. With the results thus obtained, M. Specht proceeds to the decipherment of the remaining portions of the inscriptions. There is much that he confesses must at present remain doubtful, and he appears to be modestly diffident as to a considerable proportion of the readings and interpretations proposed by him. There must naturally remain a great deal of uncertainty as to the

correctness of his system of decipherment; but it must be acknowledged that the results obtained seem, in many cases, to be extremely probable. The discovery of further specimens and the more minute study of this class of coins may be expected to throw further light on the whole subject. In the meantime, M. Specht has suggested an ingenious solution of a very difficult puzzle.

E. J. Rapson.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(October, November, December, 1901.)

I. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

I. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Band lv, Heft 4.

Bürk (A.). Das Āpastamba-Sulba-Sūtra.
Jacob (B.). Zu Friedrich Schulthess' Besprechung S. 337 ff.
Poznański (S.). Zu Hai Gaons Kitâb al-Ḥâwi.
Littmann (E.). Zu Cl. Huart's Bemerkungen.
Meinhof (C.). Das Ṭši venda.
Nöldeke (T.). Zur Geschichte der Omaijaden.
Nestle (E.). Hillīt und Millīt.
Hertel (J.). Nachträge zu S. 489 ff.
Wellhausen (J.). Zwei grammatische Bemerkungen.
Nestle (E.). Pinehas-Manṣur.

II. Vienna Oriental Journal. Vol. xv, No. 4.

Goldziher (I.). Spottnamen der ersten Chalifen bei den Schiiten.
Spölgen-Schmidt (P. P.). Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Valman Sprache.
Stackelberg (R. v.). Beiträge zur persischen Lexicographie.

II. Obituary Notices.

Professor Albrecht Weber.

On November 30th, at Berlin, died Albrecht Weber, one of the greatest Orientalists of our time. If less known to the public than men like Max Müller or Renan, amongst his fellow-workers in Indian research Weber occupied a position quite unique. As a writer no man has explored so many new fields; as a teacher none can boast so goodly an array of pupils.

Born at Breslau in 1825, studying at Bonn and Berlin, Weber settled (after some scholarly travel in England and France) in 1848 in Berlin, where he was appointed Professor in 1856, and taught for the remainder of his life. His first great work was the edition of the "White Yajur-veda," of which vol. i appeared in 1849 (the same year that saw the first volume of Max Müller's "*Rig*veda"). About the same time Weber undertook the cataloguing of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Royal Library at Berlin. The first volume appeared in 1853. This was the earliest full and scientific catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. published, and it has remained a model. Its special feature was the full description of the subordinate works of Vedic literature, till then known in Europe mostly by hearsay. Not content, however (like some cataloguers), to leave his best results to be gleaned by others, Weber followed this up by numerous essays on all branches of Indian research on subjects as widely separated as Vedic astronomy and the relatively modern cult of the god Krishna. These were published partly by the Berlin Academy of Sciences (to which he was elected in 1857), but chiefly in his own periodical for the study of Indian antiquity, *Indische Studien*, of which seventeen volumes (1850–85) appeared, in great part written by himself.

Besides his work on Sanskrit, Weber was also the first real pioneer in the scientific study (still neglected) of Prakrit, the middle stratum of Indian speech, from which

the vernaculars of Northern India have sprung. In several forms of this speech Weber edited texts, especially in that adopted by the Jain religion, of which Europe owes to him its first trustworthy information. His interest in this probably led him to compile the second volume of his great library catalogue, in 1,202 quarto pages, of which the last 787 are devoted to Jain literature. The results of the latter portion were worked out in *Indische Studien*, and have thence been translated with the author's revision into English. The results of some of his university teaching were embodied in his lectures on Indian literature, which, on the ground of their wide grasp of facts (for Weber had no graces of style), remained the standard work on the subject throughout Europe for half a century.

Angelo de Gubernatis, one of the most versatile of his pupils, calls him "le grand maître des indianistes contemporains," and, indeed, it is probable that not only half the numerous chairs of Sanskrit in Germany (where the subject is far more widely endowed than here) are occupied by his pupils, or their pupils, but also a goodly number in Holland, Switzerland, Italy, and America. Weber's personality was most genial, and his venerable figure will be missed from the numerous congresses of scholars that he attended as long as he was able. In later years his sight failed. He says pathetically in the *Vorwort* to his last great catalogue (1891): "Es ist ein mühsames Werk das ich hiermit abschliesse. Ein gut Stück meiner Sehkraft liegt darin begraben." But in spite of failing powers he died in harness, returning in his numerous recent publications mainly to his earliest subject, the Veda, and corresponding in his own hand with his many friends, in their own language, both in Germany and in this country.

C. BENDALL.

[From the *Athenæum*.]

III. Notes and News.

Lady Hunter has presented the Library with the Life of Sir W. W. Hunter, by Mr. F. E. Skrine, late of the Indian Civil Service. This interesting biography, as well as Mr. J. F. Hewitt's new book on the History and Chronology of the Myth-making Age, will be reviewed in the next Journal.

Tēr.

In the previous volume of the *Journal* (pp. 537–552), Dr. J. F. Fleet, C.I.E., has given an interesting discussion on the identification of the ancient Tagara of the Śilāhāra dynasty with the modern Tēr, a town in the Naldurg district of the Nizam's dominions: lat. 18° 19′ N., long. 76° 12′ E. In the early part of November, Mr. H. Cousens paid a short visit to Tēr, which proved very successful, and he has supplied me with the following facts, which are of interest:—

(1) He obtained a loan of a copy of a *Māhātmyam*, styled the *Māhātmyam of Satyapura*, which contains no mention, however, of Tagara or Tēr, but states that the village or town was called Satyapura in the first age, Śāntapura in the second, Kankāvati in the third, and Siddhāśrama in the fourth age. This hardly helps us, and one is inclined to suspect that this *Māhātmyam* may possibly have come from some other place in possession of a Brāhman who had removed to Tēr.

(2) In the village is an inscribed land grant on a stone slab, dated Śaka 1076, but so much abraded that possibly little can be made out from it. Mr. Cousens has, however, taken paper impressions, a photograph, and a plaster ca[st] from it, and they will be submitted to Dr. Fleet. He [has] also copies of a set of Persian copperplates, about 25[0] old, in which the Qāzi of Tēr (تیر) confers certain [rights] on the head of the Tēli caste. He obtained also [some] coins—three Muhammadan, one unintelligible, an[d one] corroded Andhra coin with four small circles con[nected] cross lines on one side, and probably an elepha[nt]

other. He had obtained two similar coins some years ago at Banavāsi, on one of which is [Sa]takaṇ[i].

(3) But more interesting still, he has found a venerable ancient Buddhist Chaitya, built of brick, and—though used as a modern Vaishṇava temple dedicated to Trivikrama, and has a later maṇḍapa attached—it is not seriously injured. In form it is just the structural counterpart of the rock-cut Chaityas, and recalls the outlines of the Sahadeva and Ganeśa Rathas at Māmallapuram, having a barrel- or waggon-vaulted roof running up to a ridge, with an apsidal back. The façade is a rough counterpart of the Bauddha Chaitya cave known as Viśvakarmā at Elura—worked in relief in brickwork. This façade is about 33 feet in height, and the chaitya is 31 feet in length outside. It stands in the town of Tēr, in fairly good preservation, its base mouldings being now some 4 feet below the level of the present narrow court. The bricks measure 17 inches in length by 9 broad and 3 thick, are well made, and carefully laid with very fine joints.

This is the second Buddhist structural Chaitya that has been found: the first was discovered by Mr. Alex. Rea, of the Madras Archæological Survey, some years ago at Chezarla in the Kistṇā district, and is of about the same size as this at Tēr. When complete drawings and photographs of these two remarkable structures can be compared, we may obtain some new light on Bauddha architecture. There are also said to be some Pāli inscriptions at Chezarla.

Mr. Cousens adds that, in a modern Jaina temple outside and to the west of Tēr, are four Buddhist sculptures, two of which probably belonged to the dāgabā that once occupied the apse in the Chaitya, and a third is a portion of a Buddhist *pāduka* slab that bore a pair of colossal footprints with a beautiful border of lotuses, makaras, and birds, in low relief. These are carved apparently on Shāhābād limestone, which closely resembles the Amarāvati stone or marble.

(4) Two very old brick temples were also found, similar in style, and apparently in age, to some early Dravidian temples at Kukkanūr. All the decorative work is produced

in finely moulded and carved brick. With the beams and ceilings, the doorways are all in wood and very richly sculptured. No stone is used in their structure.

Outside Tēr, on the south and west, are great mounds from which, to the present day, the villagers dig out old bricks. The city must also once have extended to the opposite side of the river, where huge mounds of débris and a small hamlet indicate its extent.

(5) The *tagara* shrub, from which Tagarapura possibly took its name, the people declared did not grow nearer than Dhārāśiva, and but little there. This, however, is not conclusive: we may not know the local name for *tagara*; in North India Roxburgh tells us the *Valeriana Hardwickii* is known as *tagar*; in Tamil the *Cassia tora* is called *tagarai* and *ushit-tagarai*; and the Telugu name for *Heterophragma chelonioides*, according to Ainslie, is *tagaḍa*—the Marāṭhi *pâdal*. The same name is, not unfrequently, applied to different plants in different provinces.

Edinburgh, Dec. 2, 1901. JAS. BURGESS.

INDIAN DOCUMENTS ON PARCHMENT.

Dr. Stein, in his most interesting "Preliminary Report on Archæological Exploration in Chinese Turkestan" (p. 47), notes with surprise that the rubbish heap near the Niya River "yielded another writing material, little suspected among a Buddhist population with an Indian civilization. About two dozen Kharoshṭhī documents on leather, mostly dated and apparently of official nature, prove that the Buddhists of this region had as little objection to the use of leather for writing purposes as the pious Brahmans of old Kashmir had to the leather bindings of their Sanskrit codices. Plate xi shows one of these documents on leather, both in its original folded state and when opened after centuries of burial."

These leather documents discovered by Dr. Stein will probably prove to date from the second century A.D. Strabo has preserved a notice of an Indian official letter on

parchment sent to Augustus, who died in A.D. 14. "To these accounts," he writes, "may be added that of Nikolaos Damaskênos. This writer says that at Antioch by Daphnê he met with the Indian ambassadors who had been sent to Augustus Cæsar. It appeared from their letter that their number had been more than merely the three he reports that he saw. The rest had died chiefly in consequence of the length of the journey. The letter was written in Greek on parchment and imported that Pôros was the writer, and that though he was the sovereign of 600 kings, he nevertheless set a high value on being Cæsar's friend, and was willing to grant him a passage wherever he wished through his dominions, and to assist him in any good enterprise. Such, he says, were the contents of the letter. Eight naked servants presented the gifts that were brought."[1]

VINCENT A. SMITH.

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[1] Strabo, xv, 72, 73, translated by McCrindle in "Ancient India as described in Classical Literature" (1901), p. 77.

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. IX.—*Description of Persia and Mesopotamia in the year* 1340 A.D. *from the Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb of Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfi, with a summary of the contents of that work.* By G. LE STRANGE.

(*Continued from p.* 74, *January Number*, 1902.)

Chapter 2. *'Irāḳ 'Ajam.*

Contents: Iṣfahān, 142*f*, and its eight districts, viz., Jay, Mārbīn, Karārij, Ḳahāb, Burkhuwār, Khānlānjān, Barān, and Rūdasht, with their villages, 143*e*; Fīrūzān, 143*w*; Ray, 143*y*; Ṭihrān, 144*r*; Varāmīn, 144*s*; Sulṭānīyah, 144*v*; Ḳazvīn, 145*k*; Abhar, 146*t*; the Districts of Daylam and Ṭālish, 147*a*; Āvah, 147*e*; the Rūdbār District, with Castles of Alamūt and Maymūn Diz, 147*l*; Zanjān, 147*v*; Sāvah, 148*c*; Sāūj Bulāḳ, Sujās, and Suhravard, 148*q*; Satūrīḳ, 148*v*; the two Ṭārum Districts, 149*d*; Sarjahān and Ḳuhūd or Ṣāyin Ḳal'ah, 149*a*; the Ṭāliḳān District, 149*l*; Kāghadh Kunān or Khūnaj, 149*p*; Muzdakān and Sāmān, 149*v*; Ṭabarik, Marjamnān, and Andajan Districts, 149*y*; Pushkil Darrah, 150*c*; Ḳum, 150*f*; Kāshān and Fīn, 150*l*; Ardistān and the Tafrīsh District, 150*s*; Jurbādaḳān or Gulpaygān, 150*v*; Dalījān, 150*y*; Zavārah, 151*a*; Farāhān and Dih Sārūḳ, 151*b*; Karaj, 151*e*; Naṭanz, 151*j*; Nismūr, 151*k*; Marāvadīn, 151*l*;

Vashāḳ, 151*m*; Great Lur District, 151*o*; Īdhaj, 151*q*; Aruḥ or Sūs, 151*r*; Lurdakān, 151*s*; Little Lur District, 151*t*; Burūjird, 151*u*; Khurramābād and Samsā, 151*w*; Ṣaymarah, 151*x*; Hamadān, 151*y*, and its five districts, viz., Farīvār, Azmādīn, Sharāhīn, A'lam, and Sardrūd, with their villages, 152*g*; Asadābād, 152*o*; the districts of Māja'lū and Tamsār, 152*p*; the District of Kharrakān, with the (northern) Āvah, 152*q*; Darguzīn, 152*s*; Rūdrāwar, Tuvī, and Sarkān, 152*v*; Sāmān, 152*y*; Shabd Bahar and Fūlān, 152*z*; Nihāvand, 153*a*; Yazd, 153*d*; Maybud and Nāyin, 153*l*.

What had of old been the province of Media the Arabs named Al-Jibāl—'the Mountains'—a perfectly appropriate name, as will be seen by a glance at the map, for the great mountain region separating the plains of Mesopotamia from the highlands of Persia. In the time of the Saljūḳ princes, by some misnomer, this, their capital province, came to be called 'Irāḳ 'Ajamī, or *Persian* 'Irāḳ, a name that was totally unknown to the earlier Arab geographers. Hence in after days Al-'Irāḳayn, 'The Two 'Irāḳs,' were taken to mean Media and Lower Mesopotamia, which last for distinction was thenceforth called *Arabian* 'Irāḳ — 'Irāḳ 'Arabī. Originally, it is to be observed, Al-'Irāḳayn had been a term applied to the two great *cities* of (Arabian) 'Irāḳ, namely, Kūfah and Baṣrah; but the Saljūḳs had affected the title of Sulṭān of the Two 'Irāḳs, which in consequence, as explained above, came to be applied to the two provinces, but as Abu-l-Fidā (p. 408) writes "among the vulgar," and wrongfully (see also Yāḳūt, ii, 15, and Lane, *Dictionary*, s.v. *'Irāḳ*). The name, however, has continued in use down to the present time.

Further, it is to be remarked that after the Mongol settlement Persian 'Irāḳ was greater in extent to the eastward than the older Arab province of Jibāl, by the addition thereto of Yazd and its district, which formerly had been counted as of Fārs; on the other hand, it had been diminished in size by the creation of the new province of Kurdistān, which had been taken from its western part, and Kurdistān now divided Persian from Arabian 'Irāḳ. Under the Ilkhāns Persian

'Irāḳ became the capital province of their empire, for it included the four great cities of Isfahān, Ray, Hamadān, and Sulṭānīyah, the new metropolis recently founded by Uljaytū.

The eight districts of Isfahān mentioned by Ḥamd-Allah all exist at the present day (as do many of the villages which he also enumerates, and which are described by General Schindler in *Eastern Persian 'Irāḳ*, pp. 120, 122). The city, he says, originally consisted of four wards (still existing in name), viz., Karrān, Kūshk, Jūbārah, and Dardasht, the walls round these having been built by Rukn-ad-Dawlah the Buyid. In the Julbārah quarter (now pronounced Gulbārah, and lying to the north-east of modern Isfahān, round the Maydān-i-Kuhnah or Old Square) was the Madrasah (College) and tomb of Sulṭān Muḥammad the Saljūḳ, and here might be seen a block of stone weighing 10,000 *man* (equivalent, perhaps, to a little less than 32 tons weight), this being a great idol carried off by the Sultan from India, and set up before the College-gate (L. 142*u*). History, however, does not record that this Sulṭān Muḥammad (a son of Malik-Shāh, who reigned from 498 to 511 A.H.) made any conquests in India, nor does Ḥamd-Allah himself allude to the fact in the *Guzīdah* when treating of his reign.

Isfahān lay on the northern or left bank of the river Zandah-rūd, which is described as rising in the mountains of Zardah Kūh, the 'Yellow Mountains,' still so called from their yellow limestone cliffs (L. 204*q*). Of this region also were the Ashkahrān mountains, lying on the frontiers of Greater Lur (L. 202*u*). After passing the cities of Fīrūzān [**1**][1] and Isfahān, the Zandah-rūd flowed through the district of Rūdasht, of which the chief town was Fārifān [**2**], and there became lost in the great swamp of Gāvkhānī. The river was also known as the Zāyindah or Zarīn-rūd, and, according to popular belief, after sinking into the Gāvkhānī swamp, it flowed for sixty leagues underground to Kirmān,

[1] The numbers in square brackets refer to the Map.

when it rose again to the surface and thence attained the sea (L. 214*r*). Besides Isfahān town, the Isfahān district included the two great cities of Fārifān and Fīrūzān. The former still exists as a village (Schindler, op. cit., p. 126) not far from the Gāvkhānī swamp. Fīrūzān city has apparently disappeared from the map, but according to our author it stood on the river bank in the Khānlanjān District, and paid revenue to the amount of 164,000 dīnārs (about £41,125). Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 52), who visited the town, says it was six farsakhs distant from Isfahān.

The city of Ray (Rhages) was ruined during the Mongol invasion. Mustawfī says that in the time of Ghazan Khān the houses were in part rebuilt, but Varāmīn [3] had already supplanted it and become the chief town of the province. The Shrine of the Imām-Zādah 'Abd-al-'Aẓīm[1] was to be seen near Ray, as mentioned in the Itinerary (Route ix), and the castle which was called Ṭabarik lay at the foot of the hill of Kūh Ṭabarik to the north, where there are said to have been silver-mines (L. 205*t*). Of this castle, however, apparently no trace exists, though the Shrine of Shāh 'Abd-al-'Aẓīm is still a famous place of visitation. Mention is made of the river Kardān-rūd, which waters the Ray Districts, thence flowing out to the desert; and some other lesser streams are also named as coming down from the Kharrakān District; also the Jāij-rūd from Damāvand and the river Garm-rūd or Kūh-rūd of Sāuj-Bulāk (L. 216*v*, *x*, and 217*r*, *v*, *x*, but cf. *Jihān Numā*, p. 304). The great mountain of Damāvand rose to the north of Ray, visible from a distance 100 leagues away, and of its many marvels

[1] Otherwise called Ḥusayn, a son of the eighth Imām, 'Alī-ar-Riḍā. Ṭabarik is also the name of the Castle of Isfahān, which, according to 'Alī of Yazd (*Ẓafar Nāmah*, i, 431), was occupied by Timur, and of which the ruins still exist. The foundation of Ḳal'ah Ṭabarik of Ray is ascribed by Ẓahīr-ad-Dīn (Dorn, *Muhammedanische Quellen*, i, p. 15 of the Persian text) to Manūchahr the Ziyārid, at the beginning of the fifth century (the eleventh A.D.), and he states that *Ṭabarik* means a 'hillock,' being the diminutive form of *Ṭabar*, signifying a 'hill or mountain,' in the Ṭabaristān dialect. According to Yāḳūt (iii, 507), Ṭabarik of Ray was destroyed in 588 (1192 A.D.) by Ṭughril II, the last Saljūḳ Sulṭān of 'Irāḳ, and Yāḳūt gives a long account of the siege of the famous castle.

Ḥamd-Allah gives a full account (L. 203*z*). Ṭihrān, the present capital of Persia [**4**], was already in the time of Ḥamd-Allah a fair-sized town, though formerly, he says, a mere village. Both Ray and Varāmīn are now only marked by ruin-heaps lying some distance to the south of Ṭihrān.

Sulṭānīyah, founded by Arghūn Khān, was completed by Uljaytū, who made it the capital of Īrān; and he was buried here in a magnificent sepulchre, the ruins of which still exist. Ḥamd-Allah has much to say about Ḳazvīn, his native town, with its dependent villages, among which were Dahand, Fārisjīn [**5**], Sūmghān [**6**], and Sagsābād [**7**], lying on the road eastward as named in Routes ix and xxvi. He also describes its many streams, namely, the Khar-rūd, the Būh-rūd, the Turkhān-rūd, the Ḳazvīn river, and the Āb-i-Kharraḳān (L. 217*j*, *q*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *v*, and *Jihān Numā*, p. 305). These streams had their sources for the most part in the Barchīn Kūh and the Rākhid (or Rāhand) mountain (L. 203*s* and 204*n*). Abhar [**8**], on the river of the same name (L. 217*g*), had a famous castle called Ḥaydarīyah, after Ḥaydar its builder, one of the Saljūḳ princes; and to the north of Abhar on the Gīlān frontier lay the Daylam and Ṭālish districts, among which were the towns of Ashkūr, Khawkān, and Khasjān (but the reading of these three last names is very uncertain, and they are not given by other writers, nor are they to be found on the map). The city of Āvah [**9**], between Sāvah [**10**] and Ḳum, stood on its river, the Gāvmāhā-rūd, which flows down from near Hamadān in the west to the great dam between Sāvah and Āvah, where it forms a lake (L. 217*a*).

The Rūdbār district, in which stood the ruins of the famous castles of the Assassins, lay along the course of the river Shāh-rūd, the lowest of the many affluents of the Safīd-rūd; and the District was at some distance to the north of Ḳazvīn (L. 215*n*). The city of Zanjān lay on the Zanjān river, also called the Māj-rūd (L. 217*e*), which was another affluent of the Safīd-rūd; and the town of Zanjān is said by Mustawfī to have been named Shahīn by its first

founder, King Ardashīr Bābagān. The city of Sāvah [**10**], chiefly remarkable for its lake, which history reported had miraculously dried up at the birth of the prophet Muḥammad, lay on the Muzdaḳān river (L. 217*n*); and a number of villages are named by Mustawfi in the Sāvah District, of which, however, the readings are uncertain, and they are not to be found on the map. Sāūj-Bulāḳ, the name of the district round Sunḳurābād [**11**], meaning 'the cold spring,' is given in some MSS. (e.g., British Museum, Add. 23,543, and Cambridge, Add. 2,624), but this paragraph is omitted in the lithographed text. Under the Mongols it was considered as of the Sāvah Province, though it had originally been counted as of Ray; its villages were Kharāv and Najmābād.

Sujās and Suhravard [**12**] were before the Mongol invasion important towns according to Iṣṭakhrī (pp. 196, 200) and Yāḳūt (iii, 40, 203); they are now apparently not marked on any modern map, though Sir H. Rawlinson, writing in 1840 (Journ. Roy. Geographical Society, x, 66), speaks of Sujās as a small village then existing, with Suhravard close to it. According to Ḥamd-Allah, Sujās was five leagues distant to the south of Sulṭānīyah (L. 145*h*), and the surrounding districts were called Jarūd and Anjarūd, apparently identical with Ijarūd and Angurān of the present maps. In the hills near Sujās was the grave of Arghūn Khān, of which a long account is given in the *Nuzhat*. The town of Satūrīḳ [**13**] lay at the western end of the Anjarūd district, and was celebrated for its palace, rebuilt by Abaḳah Khān, and the lake which was reported to be bottomless. This is the well-known Takht-i-Sulaymān, described by Sir H. Rawlinson (J.R.G.S., x, 65), who would identify this place as the site of the northern Ecbatana. The castle of Sarjahān [**14**] has disappeared from the map, but it lay five leagues to the east of Sulṭānīyah on the Ṭārum mountain, and Yāḳūt (iii, 70), who had visited it, reports that it was one of the strongest castles of the district, and from its towers the city of Zanjān was plainly visible.

Ṣāin Ḳal'ah [**15**], which still exists,[1] this being the Mongol name for the Ḳuhūd village, lay south of the Ṭārum district, otherwise called the Ṭārumayn, 'the two Ṭārums,' Upper and Lower, of which the capital formerly had been Fīrūzābād. Of Upper Ṭārum the chief town was Andar, with many dependent villages; in Lower Ṭārum the most important place was the Castle of Samīrān or Shamīrān, of which Yāḳūt (iii, 148) gives a long account. The streams of the Ṭārum districts all flowed into the river Safīd-rūd (L. 217*k*), and the name of this district (Ṭārum) is still marked on the map. The Ṭāliḳān district, which in the time of Ḥamd-Allah lay to the south-east of Ṭārum, apparently no longer exists, and the towns of Jarūd, Ḳūhbānah, and Karaj, which our author mentions, are no longer to be found. Kāghadh Kunān, 'the Paper Factory,' or Khūnaj [**16**], was an important place, the position of which is fixed by the Itinerary (Route xx) as south of the river Safīd-rūd and fourteen leagues north of Zanjān, in the district known as the Mughūlīyah. Muzdaḳān [**17**], which gave its name to the Sāvah river, as already mentioned, still exists, also Sāmān [**18**] at the place where the river rises. The three villages of Ṭabarik, Marjamnān, and Andijān lay among the hills to the north of Abhar [**8**], but have apparently now disappeared, and the Pushkil Darrah district was that lying to the east of Ḳazvīn and south of Ṭāliḳān.

The holy city of Ḳum was watered by the Gulpaygān river (L. 216*z*), and between Ḳum and Āvah was the salt mountain called Kūh-Namak-Lawn, a solitary hill, the summit of which was said to be unattainable (L. 206*x*). The neighbouring city of Kāshān (which the older geographers always spelt Ḳāshān, with the dotted *ḳ*) had its water from the Ḳuhrūd hills, the stream flowing to the desert (L. 217*m*). Ardistān [**19**], to the south-east of Kāshān, and the Tafrīsh districts, to the westward of Ḳum, still exist, and Dalijān [**20**] lies about half-way between Kāshān and Gulpaygān [**21**],

[1] Meaning 'the Castle of Ṣāin,' possibly called after Ṣāin, otherwise Bātū Khān, grandson of Changhīz Khān.

which latter town of old was called Jurbādaḳān. The hamlet of Zawārah [**22**] lies on the desert border near Ardistān.

Coming to the western side of Persian 'Irāḳ, the Farāhān District—of which the chief town was Dih Sārūk [**23**], visited recently by Mrs. Bishop (*Kurdistan*, i, 146)—is the region lying eastward of Hamadān. The chief town here at the present time is Sulṭānābād, founded in the reign of Fatḥ-'Alī Shāh at the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to Ḥamd-Allah there was a lake here, which the Mongols called Jaghār Nāzūd (but the reading is uncertain), which is doubtless the present Lake of Tualā to the north of Sulṭānābād. Dawlatābād was of the Farāhān villages, and this is still an important place lying to the east of Nihāvand. The city of Karaj, called Karaj of Abu Dulaf, has entirely disappeared from the map. Its position is given in the Itinerary (Route vii), and from the fact that the town lay to the south of the Rāsmand mountains, which are those now known under the name of Rāsband, it is easy to locate the site. The streams from these hills watered the celebrated pastures called Marghzār Kītū (or Kīsū) lying round the town; and its castle was named Farzīn (L. 204*h*). Returning once more to the eastern side of the province, near the desert border was Naṭanz [**24**], with the castles called Nīsmūr and Washāḳ, with the District of Marāwadīn, but the reading of these three last names is very uncertain, and with the exception of Washāḳ, which is mentioned in the *Guzīdah* (see E. G. Browne, J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 25, n. 4), being also copied into the *Jihān Numā* (p. 299), these names do not occur elsewhere.

In the south-western corner of the province of Persian 'Irāḳ was Luristān, divided between the Greater and the Lesser Lur districts. Īdhaj, otherwise known as Māl-Amīr [**25**], was the capital of Great Lur, the district which lay entirely to the south of the great bend of the Kārūn (between its left bank and the plain-country); and Great Lur for the most part had been counted as of Khūzistān by the Arab geographers. Īdhaj was famous for its bridge, and its

whirlpool, and the city has been described by Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 29), who visited this region. The town of 'Arūj, or 'Arūḥ, otherwise called Sūsan, or Sūs [**26**], also lay on the Kārūn river, some four leagues to the north-west of Māl-Amīr, and this place must not be confounded with the other Sūs in Khūzistān to the south of Dizfūl. Its ruins have been described by Sir H. Rawlinson, and were visited by Sir H. Layard (see the J.R.G.S. for 1839, ix, 83; also 1842, xii, 103). Lurdagān, or Lurkān [**27**], is found on the map near the affluent joining the Kārūn at its extreme western point. The district of Lesser Lur was the highland to the north of the great bend of the Kārūn; and in his *Guzīdah* Ḥamd-Allah gives the following account of this district, which is worth quoting[1]:—

"In the province of Lesser Lur are three rivers, namely, the Āb-i-Sīlākhūr flowing down to Dizfūl, the Khurramābād river which goes towards Ḥawīzah, and the Kazkī (?) river which also flows down by Dizfūl towards Ḥawīzah. And there are three towns that are still flourishing places, namely, Burūjird, Khurramābād, and Sābūrkhwāst. This last was of old an immense city, extremely populous, being inhabited by people from all nations, for it was the residence of kings: it is now, however, merely a provincial town. Finally, in Lesser Lur are three ruined cities named Kirisht (?), Būrisht (?), and Ṣaymarah."

The importance of this passage lies in the proof here given that Sābūrkhwāst is *not* identical with Khurramābād, as has been often supposed, since both towns existed in the time of Mustawfi; and the fact is confirmed by his statement in the Itinerary (Route vii) that, bifurcating at Burūjird from the Karaj high road, "the road to Sābūrkhwāst here goes off to the right hand" (L. 195*r*). The ruins of Sābūrkhwāst [**28**] have not yet been identified, but they must

[1] The paragraph is given at the end of Section xi of Chapter IV, immediately before the Section devoted to the Mongols. It is wanting in many MSS., but occurs in the old MS. of which I made a copy in Shīrāz in 1880, and also is found in the British Museum MSS. numbered Add. 7,630, Add. 22,693, and *Egerton*, 690.

be sought for some few leagues to the south of Khurramābād [**29**]. The town of Burūjird [**30**] is frequently mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (pp. 258, 262) and Yāḳūt (i, 596); the Arab geographers, however, appear not to have known of Khurramābād in Lesser Lur, and Ḥamd-Allah is probably the earliest authority to mention this important town. He says that dates grew well both here and at Ṣaymarah [**31**], the old capital of the Mihrajānḳadhaḳ District; according to Ibn Rustah (p. 269) and Yāḳūt (iii, 443), already in the fourteenth century A.D. a ruin. Ṣaymarah is marked on the map at some distance from the western bank of the Karkhah river, but I am unable to identify Samsā (or Samhā) and Diz-i-Siyāh, 'the Black Castle,' which stood near it according to our author. Somewhere in Lesser Lur also was the mountain called Huwayn (or Harīn) Kūh, where there were celebrated iron-mines (L. 207*b*). In regard to the three rivers of Lesser Lur mentioned in the *Guzīdah*, these are referred to again in the *Nuzhat* (L. 215*u*, *w*). Sīlākhūr is the name of the plain in which Burūjird stands, and its river is the chief source of the Āb-i-Diz; further the Kazkī is apparently the affluent now known as the Āb-i-Baznoi. The Khurramābād river drains to the Karkhah, which Ḥamd-Allah describes as passing through the Ḥawīzah country, and this latter river now joins the Kārūn below Ahwāz, as will be noticed in the chapter on Khuzistān. The Karkhah and its affluents came down from the Alvand mountain (L. 202*p*), lying southward of Hamadān; its peaks were almost always covered with snow, and forty-two streams take their rise in this region, which, says Mustawfi, measures thirty leagues in circumference.

Hamadān city, when Ḥamd-Allah wrote, was for the most part in ruin; it included five townships, Ḳal'ah Kabrīt—'Sulphur Castle'—Ḳal'ah Mākin, Girdlākh, the Ḳishlāḳ or 'Winter Quarters' of Shujā'-ad-Dīn Khūrshīd, and Kūrasht. The surrounding province comprised five other Districts with many villages, namely, Farīvār (or Karīwār), Azmādīn (or Azyārdīn), Sharāhīn (or Sharāmīn), A'lam, with Sardrūd and Barbandrūd (or Barhanarūd). None of

these names appear on the present map (those given in parenthesis are from the Turkish text of the *Jihān Numā*, p. 300); but Farīvār was watered by the upper affluent of the Gāvmāhā or Gāvmāsā river (already mentioned), which rose in the hills of Asadābād [**32**] to the north-west of the city (L. 217*a*).

The places called Māja'lū and Tamsār appear to be unknown, but the two districts of Kharraḳān (marked Karaghān on our maps) are those lying to the south-west of Ḳazvīn, towards which and out eastward to Ray the Kharraḳān streams took their course (L. 217*v*), as already described. The chief town in the Kharraḳān District is Ābah [**33**] or Āvah (not to be confounded with Āvah near Sāvah, already mentioned), and there were besides forty other villages. The Darguzīn District lies between Kharraḳān and Hamadān, Darguzīn [**34**] being also the name of the chief town of the district, and this formerly had been included in A'lam, one of the five Districts, as already mentioned, of Hamadān, which, says Ḥamd-Allah, by the Persians was called Alāmar. Rūdarūd or Rūdrāvar [**35**] was a large town, the ruins of which still exist at Rūdīlāvar (*Mission Scientifique*, De Morgan, ii, 136), near Tuvī and Sarkān. These ruins probably also represent the older town of Karaj of Hamadān, which, according to Yāḳūt (ii, 832; iv, 251), was the capital of this Rūdarūd district, and lay seven leagues distant both from Hamadān and from Nihāvand. Here were the five Districts named from the rivers Hind-rūd, Sarkān-rūd, Karzān-rūd, Lamī-rūd, and Barazmahin respectively.

Sāmān of Kharraḳān, at the headwaters of the Muzdaḳān river, has already been mentioned. Shabdabahar and Fūlād (the readings are uncertain) are districts no longer shown on our maps, but which probably lay near the city of Nihāvand; and this last, Mustawfī writes, comprised three Districts, named Malāir, Isfīdhān, and Jahūḳ, which, however, are likewise not to be found on modern maps. Coming finally to the south-eastern corner of the province of Persian 'Irāḳ, Ḥamd-Allah notices the cities of Yazd, Maybud [**36**], and Nāyīn [**37**], which, as he rightly remarks, were formerly

counted as belonging to Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis), and hence were of the province of Fārs.

Chapter 3. *Adharbayjān.*

Contents: Tabrīz, 153*p*, and its seven districts, viz., Mihrān-rūd, Sard-rūd, Sāvīl-rūd, Arūnak, Rūdkab, Khānum-rūd, and Bidūstān, 155*e*; Awjān, 155*v*; Ṭasūj or Ṭarūj, 156*a*; Ardabīl, 156*c*; Khalkhāl and Fīrūzābād, 156*k*; Dārmaraz, 156*s*. The Shāhrūd district, 156*t*; the Pīshkīn district, 156*w*; Unār and Arjāḳ, 157*a*; Ahar, 157*d*; Takallafah and Jiyār, 157*f*; Darāvard, 157*h*; Ḳal'ah Kahrān, 157*j*; Kalantar, 157*k*; Kīlān-Faḍlūn, 157*m*; Murdān Na'īm, 157*n*; Naw-Diz, 157*o*; Maft, 157*s*; Khuvī or Khoi, 157*t*; Salmās, 157*x*; Urmīyah, 158*b*; Ushnūyah, 158*g*; Sarāv, 158*k*; Miyānij and the Garm-rūd, 158*n*; Marāghah, 158*q*; Pasavā, 158*x*; Dih Khwārḳān, 158*z*; Laylān, 159*b*; Marand, 159*e*; Dizmār, 159*h*; Zanjiyān, 159*l*; Rīwaz, 159*m*; Karkar, 159*n*; Nakhchivān, 159*o*; Akhbān and Urdūbad, 159*r*.

Ḥamd-Allah notes that the capital of Adharbayjān under the earlier Mongols had been Marāghah, but this pre-eminence had in his day been transferred to Tabrīz.[1] A very full account is next given of Tabrīz, beginning with its early history, and how it had recently been rebuilt and enlarged by Ghāzān Khān. Details follow of the new walls, with the ten city gates, also of the outer suburb and wall, with its six gates. Tabrīz, according to Ḥamd-Allah, was the largest city in Persia; it was watered by the river Mihrān-rūd, which rose in the Sahand mountain lying to the south, and round the city lay the seven districts (given above) called for the most part after the various streams which irrigate their lands (the reading of these

[1] The Arab geographers generally give Ardabīl as the capital city; and this became also the capital of Persia under the earlier Safavī kings, until Shāh 'Abbās removed his court to Isfahān.

names, however, is in many cases very uncertain). The Mihrān-rūd, which ran through the suburbs of Tabrīz, and the Sard-rūd to the south-west, which also came down from Mount Sahand, both joined the Sarāv-rūd at a short distance to the north of the city; and this latter river, which rose in the great mountain district called Sablān-kūh to the north-east of Tabrīz, flowed out into the Urmīyah Lake, some forty miles away to the westward of the city. The mountains of Sahand and Sablān, as also these various streams, are all carefully described by Ḥamd-Allah in Appendices II and IV (L. 204*w*, 205*h*, 217*c*, 218*e*, *j*).

The Urmīyah Lake appears to have been known to Ḥamd-Allah under the name of the Lake of Khanjast,[1] but the origin of the name is nowhere explained. He also frequently refers to it as the Salt Lake (Daryā-i-Shūr), or as the Lake of Ṭarūj or Ṭasūj, from the name of the town near its northern shore; and he writes that in an island of the lake the Mongol Princes had their burial-place under a great hill (L. 226*f*). The town of Awjān, or Ujān [**1**], which Ghāzān Khān had rebuilt, lies to the east of Tabrīz, and its river, which rises in Mount Sahand, joins the Sarāv-rūd (L. 218*a*). Ṭarūj [**2**] or Ṭasūj,[2] which sometimes gave its name to the Urmīyah Lake, lay close to its northern shore, and to the west of Tabrīz.

Ardabīl lay at the foot of Mount Sablān, on the river Andarāb, also called the Ardabīl river; this, after passing the Bridge of 'Alī-Shāh, became an affluent of the Ahar

[1] The MSS. vary greatly as to the spelling of the name; *Janjast*, *Janjīsh*, *Khnjant*, and *Ḥanjast* appear with other variants. The mediæval Arab geographers knew of the lake also under various names: thus Mas'ūdī (i, 98) and Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 247) call it the Lake of Kabūdhān, Iṣṭakhrī (p. 181) writes of the Buḥayrab-ash-Sharāt, and in Muḳaddasī (p. 380) it is called merely the Lake of Urmīyah. Abu-l-Fidā (p. 42) knows it as the Lake of Tilā; and according to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (MSS., folio 27*a*) the island in the middle of the lake (now the Shāhī peninsula, which only becomes an island at flood-water: see R. T. Günther, *Geographical Journal* for 1899, p. 516) was crowned by the castle known as Ḳal'ah Tilā, said to have been built by Hūlāgū Khān. He had stored his treasures here, and after his death his tomb was made in this castle, which henceforth was called Gūr-Ḳal'ah, or 'Tomb-Castle.'

[2] Both spellings are given in the MSS. and occur on the present maps. In the map to the paper referred to in the previous note, Mr. Günther gives the name as Turseh.

river, which last flowed into the Aras (L. 217*w*). Above Ardabīl, on the slopes of Mount Sablān, stood the Castles of Diz Bahmān and Diz Rūyīn (or Rūbīn) with some others (L. 204*w*). Khalkhāl is still the name of the District at the foot of Mount Sablān; in the time of Mustawfi it was also the name of its chief town [**3**], but this has apparently disappeared. The town, according to Yāḳūt (i, 198) and the Itinerary, was two days' march from Ardabīl. In former times Fīrūzābād had been the capital of the Khalkhāl District, and Mustawfi mentions a number of the neighbouring villages (Amidah, Khāmidah-Bīl, Sanjad-rūd, and Zanjīlābād), but none of these unfortunately are now to be found on the map. Dārmaraz, with the villages of Ḳūl, Jāmkū, and Zāhar, was of this neighbourhood. Shāhrūd was the District on the stream called the Āb-Shāl, an affluent of the Safīd-rūd (L. 218*h*). Of this district the chief places were Shāl [**4**] and Kulūr (which still exist), and adjacent lay the Ṭālish (or Ṭawālish) District of 'Irāḳ 'Ajamī. Pīshkīn (which in the present maps is written Mīshkīn) is the name of the District of which Ahar [**5**] was the chief town; the town of Pīshkīn also existed, and formerly was known as Varāvī, lying one march from Ahar. A number of other places were of this district, among them Takallafah, Unār, which with Varāvī is described by Yāḳūt (i, 367; iv, 918), also Arjāḳ, Jiyār, and Kalantar, this last being at the foot of the hill called Siyāh Kūh, 'the black mountain' (L. 205*k*). Most of the other places in Pīshkīn here mentioned must have stood on the southern slopes of the Sablān mountain (L. 204*w*), though only the last named, Kalantar, now appears on the map, Ibn Pīshkīn being the family name of the Amir of the Province.

The city of Ahar [**5**] lay on the river of the same name (the Ahar-rūd). This flowed down from the Pass of Armīnān, which the Mongols called Gūlchah Nīl (Blue Lake), and after taking up the Ardabīl river discharged into the Aras (L. 217*y*; see also Route xxiii). To the north of Ahar was the mountain called Sarahand (L. 205*e*), and in the neighbourhood at the foot of Mount Sablān stood the

following places, namely, Darāvard, where the Mongols had their winter quarters, the Castle of Kahrān, Kīlān-Faḍlūn, and Māft (some MSS. have Yāft, and Bāft is printed in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 385). Murdān Na'īm apparently lay to the northward of Ahar, on the Aras river. The castle of Naw-Diz (surrounded by the towns of Ḥūl, Būl, Hinduvān, and Bulūk-Injū) stood on the upper waters of the Ahar river and is described by Yāḳūt (iv, 822). The city of Khuvī [**6**], or Khoi, stands on an affluent of the Aras which rose in the mountains to the north of Salmās [**7**]. This latter city, as well as Urmīyah [**8**], which now gives its name to the Lake, and Ushnūyah [**9**], all lie at some distance to the westward from the shore, standing on streams that flow into the Lake. The town of Sarāv [**10**], otherwise written Sarāt or Sarāb, lies under Sablān Kūh in the midst of four Districts, these are named by Mustawfī Warzand, Darand, Barāghūsh, and Saḳhīr; its stream has already been mentioned as the most important of the rivers flowing through Tabrīz.

Miyānah or Miyānij [**11**], formerly a large town, but when our author wrote a mere village, stands in the Garm-rūd or 'Hot River' district. At some distance above the town the river Garm-rūd, which rises in the mountains south of Sarāv, joins the left bank of the Miyānij river, and this last below the town further receives the water of the Hasht-rūd—'Eight Streams'—on its right bank, which, before flowing in, passed under a great bridge of thirty-two arches, and had its source in the hills to the eastward of Marāghah (L. 218*h*, *n*, *q*; also *Jihān Numā*, p. 388). The Miyānij river itself came down from the west, rising in the country south of Ujān; after receiving the streams of its two affluents, it turned northward at no great distance from the town of Miyānij, and poured its water into the Safīd-rūd, which from this point, and down a considerable length of its lower course, formed the boundary between the provinces of Adharbayjān and Persian 'Irāḳ. The Safīd-rūd—'White River'—which Mustawfī says the Turks called Hūlān Mūlān (evidently a corruption

of the Mongol words *Ulan Mören*), meaning 'Red River,'[1] had its head-waters in the Kurdistān province in the Jibāl Panj Angusht, called in Turkish Besh-parmaḳ, both names signifying the 'Five-finger-mountain.' Flowing northward, the Safīd-rūd first received the Zanjān river (already mentioned in Chapter 2) on its right bank, then the Miyānij rivers on its left bank, and, next turning westward, received also on its left bank the united streams of the Sanjīdah and Gadīv-rūd (given in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 388, as Sanjad and Kadpū) coming down from the hills to the south of Ardabīl (L. 218*f*), the position of which river is fixed by the Itinerary (Route xx). Below this, and also on the left bank, there flowed in the Shāl river[2] from the Shāhrūd District, already spoken of in a previous paragraph. After passing through the Ṭālish district, the Safīd-rūd was next joined on its right bank by the Ṭārum river, and then by the river Shāh-rūd of the Country of the Assassins, both of which streams have already been mentioned in Chapter 2, and finally in Kawtam of the Gīlān Province the Safīd-rūd flowed out to the Caspian (L. 215*c*).

Marāghah, one of the former capitals of the province of Adharbayjān, stood on the river Ṣāfī-rūd, which, rising in Mount Sahand, flowed out directly, or indirectly by overflowing into the bed of the Jaghtū-rūd, into the Urmīyah Lake (L. 218*g*). The city of Marāghah was famous for the Observatory built by the order of Hūlāgū Khān for Nāṣir-ad-Dīn of Ṭūs, the astronomer, but in the time of Ḥamd-Allah this building was already in ruins.[3] The districts of Marāghah are given as Sarājūn, Niyājūn, Dazakh-rūd, Gāvdūl, Hasht-rūd, Bihistān, Angūrān, and Ḳūl Uzān

[1] Part of its course is now known as the Ḳizil Uzen, which in Turkish has the same meaning. For the Mongol words see *Mongolisch-Deutsch Wörterbuch*, by J. J. Schmidt, pp. 52*b* and 223*c*. From this and other passages, it is clear that Mustawfī uses *Mughāl* (Mongol) and *Turk* indifferently.

[2] This stream is now called the Shāhrūd, like the great right bank affluent from the mountains north of Ḳazvīn, with which it must not be confounded.

[3] These are described by General Schindler in the Berlin *Zeitschrift für Erdkunde*, 1883, p. 338, and a plan is there given.

but the spellings are uncertain. Basawā [**12**] or Pasavā will be found on the map to the south-east of Ushnūyah, and Dih Khwārkān [**13**], on a stream from Mount Sahand, lies near the eastern shore of Lake Urmīyah. Laylān [**14**]—the MSS. generally spell the name Naylān—is on the Jaghtū river, which, side by side with the river Taghtū, both rising in the Kurdistān hills, flows into the lake from the south. At periods of high flood the waters of the rivers Ṣāfī, Taghtū, and Jaghtū all mingle together in the swamp formed at the south-western corner of the Urmīyah Lake (L. 218*b*, *p*).

The town of Marand [**15**] lies to the north of the lake, and its river, which is also called the Zūlū, is a tributary of the Khoi (or Khuvī) river, which flows to the Aras (L. 218*l*). To the northward of Marand lay the castle of Dizmār, on a tributary of the Aras, which Yāḳūt (ii, 573) has also described. Zanjiyān or Zangiyān [**16**] stood near the bridge over the Aras called Pūl-i-Khudā Āfarīn, and this was counted as of the Murdān Na'īm district mentioned above. In this neighbourhood also appears to have been the town of Rīvaz—some MSS. give Zathūr and Dīvaz, with Zanūz in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 387). Karkar [**17**] is mentioned by Yāḳūt (iv, 262), and is possibly identical with the fortress named Ḥiṣār Karni (from a mistake of the copyist) by 'Alī of Yazd; it stood close to the great bridge over the Aras, built by Ḍiyā-al-Mulk, son of Malik-Shāh's Wazīr, the celebrated Niẓām-al-Mulk. 'Alī of Yazd describes this bridge at some length (*Ẓafar Nāmah*, i, 399), and it crossed the Aras on the direct road from Nakhchivān to Marand.

Nakhchivān [**18**], which the Arab geographers called Nashawā, lies to the north of the Aras, and four leagues from the city was the snow-clad mountain of Māst-Kūh (L. 206*r*). The fortress of Alanjīḳ, according to Saint Martin (*Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, i, 146), was called Erenjag in Armenian, and lay a short distance to the east of Nakhchivān. Mustawfī also speaks of Shūrmārī, Naghaz, and Faghān as fortresses of the Nakhchivān District; and probably likewise of this

neighbourhood was Akhbān (or Ajnān), known as the Kār-khānah or 'Workshop,' on account of the works at the neighbouring copper-mine. Urdūbād [**19**] stands on the Aras, at the junction of a stream from the north, which Mustawfi says rises in Mount Kiyān (or Kibān), and on this same river higher up lay Azād, the last town mentioned in this chapter.

Chapter 4. *Mūghān and Arrān.*

Contents: Bajarvān, 159*z*; Barzand, 160*f*; Pilvār, 160*j*; Maḥmūdābād and Hamshahrah, 160*k*; Baylaḳān, 160*n*; Ganjah, 160*p*; Barda'ah, 160*s*; Hīrak, 160*v*.

Mūghān or Mūḳān is still the name of the Steppe country lying south of the lower course of the Aras river. Ḥamd-Allah states that this district stretched from the right bank of the river southward to the pass of Sang-bar-Sang—'Stone upon Stone'—in the hills above Pīshkīn, and that from the plain the mountain of Sablān Kūh was everywhere visible. As of this province he also mentions (L. 206*k*) the region called Gulistān Kūh—'Rose-garden mountain'—noted for its flowers, and here the Mulāḥid sect or Assassins had their famous paradise. Bajarvān had of old been the capital of Mūghān, but in the time of Mustawfi was fallen to ruin and become a mere village. It is no longer found on the map, but its position is given in the Itinerary (Routes xx and xxiii) as lying four leagues north of Barzand [**1**], which still exists, and which was a notable town as early as the days of the Caliph Mu'taṣim, son of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd. Pīlvār [**2**] or Pīlsuvār (not marked on any map) stood on the stream coming from Bajarvān, and was eight leagues distant from the latter town. It is said to have been named after an Amīr of the Buyids. Maḥmūdābād [**3**] in the plain of Gāvbārī, near the Caspian, according to the Itinerary (Route xxi) was twelve leagues beyond Pīlvār. Hamshahrah lay two leagues distant from the sea-shore; it

was also called Bū-Shahrah or Abar-Shahr, according to the *Jihān Numā* (p. 393), but it is impossible now to fix exactly the position of any of these places, which appear to have completely disappeared from the modern maps.

The territory of Arrān, which the Arab geographers always spell Al-Rān (pronounced Ar-Rān), as though it were an Arabic name, is the triangle of land included between the rivers Aras and Kur—the Araxes and Cyrus. The Aras is described (L. 213*b*) as rising in the Ḳālīḳalā mountains near Arzan-ar-Rūm (now Erzerum), whence it flows through Armenia and along the southern border of Arrān to its junction with the Kur, having been previously joined from the south, or right bank, by the Ḳāra Sū, the name, apparently, of the lower course of united streams which flow down from Ardabīl and Ahar described in Chapter 3. The river Kur (L. 215*y*) also rose in the Ḳālīḳalā mountains, and passing through Gurjistān came to the city of Tiflīs. Below this town it formed the northern frontier of Arrān, and Ḥamd-Allah states that here a branch went off to the Lake of Shamkūr, though what sheet of water is thus indicated is not very clear. Thence the main stream of the Kur passed on down to its junction with the Aras, the combined streams flowing out to the Caspian after passing through the Gushtāsfī country.

The capital of Arrān was Baylaḳān, at the close of the fourteenth century A.D. frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd in his account of the conquests of Timur. During his siege the city was partially destroyed, but was rebuilt in 1403 A.D. by command of Timur, and a canal dug, six farsakhs long, bringing to it the waters of the Aras river (*Ẓafar Nāmah*, ii, 543, 545). Though apparently all traces of the town have disappeared, its approximate position is fixed by the Arab Itineraries of Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 122), Ḳudāmah (p. 213), and Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 251). According to these Baylaḳān lay fourteen leagues south of Bardhā'ah, and seven or nine leagues north of the Aras bank, on the road coming up from Barzand. In Armenian it was known as Phaidagaran (Saint Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*,

i, 154). Bardhā'ah [4], a town that still exists, the name being more often written Barda', stood on the river Tartur, a right bank affluent of the Kur; and Ganjah to the north-west is now more generally known as Elizabetpol, its Russian name. Sīrak, or Hīrak, was the name of the summer pastures above Barda', but it is not now found marked on our maps, and in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 392) the name is printed Tark.

Chapter 5. *Shīrvān.*

Contents: Bākūyah, 159*s* and 161*a*; Shamākhī, 161*a*; Ḳabalah, 161*c*; Fīrūzābād or Fīrūzḳubād, 161*d*; the Gushtāsfī District, 161*e*.

The province of Shīrvān lay to the north of the Kur river, and extended to the foot of that part of the Caucasus range known to Moslem geographers as Darband-i-Bāb-al-Abwāb—'the Barrier of the Gate of Gates.' Bākūyah, or Bāḳū, was its port on the Caspian, and Shamākhī inland —now called Shemākhā—was the capital city, famous, as Mustawfī relates, from the legendary Rock of Moses and the Fountain of Life, both of which were said to have existed here. Ḳabalah stood near the mountains; its position is unknown, but from its mention by 'Alī of Yazd (i, 406) when describing the campaigns of Timur in Georgia, it must have stood very near the river Kur, and the Ḳabalah mountain is also mentioned by Mustawfī (L. 206*d*). Fīrūzābād, or Fīrūz-ḳūbād, both names being given by Yāḳūt (iii, 928, 929), was a town standing in the neighbourhood of the Caspian, though its position cannot be more exactly fixed. The Gushtāsfī province, said to have been so named after Gushtāsf, one of the ancient Persian kings, formed part of Shīrvān, and lay along the shore of the Caspian above the mouth of the Aras river.

Chapter 6. *Gurjistān and Abkhās.*

Contents: Alān, 161*k*; Ānī, 161*m*; Tiflīs, 161*n*; Khunān, 161*p*; Ḳarṣ, 161*p*.

In the district of Abkhasia Alān is given by Mustawfi as the name of a town lying under the Alburz Mountains on an affluent of the Kur. Ānī was the ancient capital of Georgia, the ruins of which still remain; but Tiflīs had become the chief city of the province already in the time of Ḥamd-Allah. Khunān (reading uncertain, Janān, Khabān, and Ḥabān, all being given in the MSS.) was the name of a castle on the Arrān frontier. According to Muḳaddasī (p. 382) and other Arab geographers this town lay half-way between Shamkūr and Tiflīs, being three marches from either place. Ḳarṣ, to the south-west of Tiflīs, was already a town with a strong fortress when Ḥamd-Allah wrote.

Chapter 7. *Rūm.*

Contents: Sīvās, 161*y*; Abulustān and Anḳurah, 162*a*; Arzanjān, 162*b*; Arzan-ar-Rūm, 162*e*; Arāk, 162*j*; Aḳsīk, 162*l*; Āḳ Sarāy, 162*l*; Āḳ Shahr, 162*n*; Amāsiyah, 162*o*; Anṭākiyah and Awnīk, 162*q*; Bāburt, 162*s*; Zūfarlū and Zūbarkī, 162*t*; Dhūlū, 162*u*; Kharbirt, 162*v*; Shahrah, 162*w*; Samsūn, 162*w*; Shimshāṭ, 162*x*; 'Amūrīyah, 162*z*; Ḳālīḳalā, 163*b*; Ḳarā Ḥiṣār, 163*e*; Ḳasṭamūniyah, 163*g*; Ḳūmanāt, 163*h*; Ḳūniyah, 163*j*; Ḳayṣarīyah, 163*s*; Kāt, 163*v*; Kamākh, 163*w*; Gūl, Kīr, and Baḳīj, 163*x*; Lūlūah, 163*y*; Malaṭiyah, 163*z*; Nigdah and Niksār, 164*c*; Hūshyār, 164*d*; Yalḳān Bāzār, 164*f*; Zamandū, 164*g*; Ḳīrshahr, 164*h*; Kadūk and Tamaraghāch, 164*j*; Ziyārāt Bāzār, 164*k*; Agrīdūr and Ḳawāḳ, 164*l*; Ḳūsh Ḥiṣār and Sivrī Ḥiṣār, 164*m*; Ḳulūniyah, Gustaḳī, and Malanḳūbiyah, 164*n*.

The kingdom of Rūm, Asia Minor, was at the time when Mustawfi wrote divided among the dynasties of the Ten Amīrs, who had succeeded to the inheritance of the Saljūḳs

in these parts, and their history has been fully discussed by Professor Lane-Poole in the pages of this Journal (1882, p. 773). Unfortunately, the Arab geographers afford us but little information about Asia Minor, which, during the earlier centuries of the Abbasids, had of course formed part of the Byzantine empire, and which only came within the boundaries of Islām when occupied (470 A.H.) by the Saljūḳs of Rūm in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D. The next two centuries (the sixth and seventh of the Hijrah) were the period of magnificence for these Saljūḳs in Asia Minor, after which their power rapidly waned before the rising glory of the Ottoman Turks, whose Sultan, 'Orkhān, in the early part of the fourteenth century A.D. had established his capital at Brusa, had organized the famous corps of the Janisaries, and, after taking Nicomedia in 1327 and Nicæa in 1330, was threatening the Hellespont.

This was the state of affairs when Mustawfi wrote, and which is described by his contemporary Ibn Baṭūṭah, who travelled over the length and the breadth of Asia Minor during the year 733 (1333 A.D.). The description of Asia Minor given by Mustawfi, however, evidently dates from an earlier period, and gives an account of the country as it was under the Saljūḳs; he knows nothing of the later conquests of the Turks, and the most western town, apparently, that he mentions is Gūl Ḥiṣār, 120 miles south-west of Anṭākīyah. More than one-half of the places mentioned in this chapter of the *Nuzhat* can easily be identified on the modern map; but unfortunately, among some fifty place-names, I am unable to fix either the position or the true reading for nearly a score of towns, and neither Ibn Baṭūṭah nor Ḥājji Khalfah are of much aid in the matter.

The *Jihān Numā* of the latter author quotes little of the *Nuzhat* in the chapters devoted to Asia Minor, and the *Jihān Numā* describes the country as it existed in the days when Ḥājji Khalfah wrote, namely, at the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D., when all Asia Minor had for nearly three centuries formed an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. Further, the information which Mustawfi gives

about the towns that he names is very meagre, and the alphabetical order, in which for the most part these names are arranged, unfortunately fails to give the clue which we should have were the towns mentioned according to the various districts, or province by province.

The chief city of the Kingdom of Rūm was Sīvās (Sebasteia), which had been rebuilt by 'Alā-ad-Dīn Kay-Ḳubād the Saljūḳ. Its wool was famous and was largely exported. Abulustān is now known as Al-Bustān, and is the mediæval Arabissus. Anḳurah (written with the dotted *ḳ* and short vowel) is Angora; but the name, as Yāḳūt (i, 390) states, is more generally written Angūrīyah (with *g* or *k*, and long vowels), under which form it frequently occurs in the *Ẓafar Nāmah* of 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 417 and elsewhere). Arzanjān on the upper Euphrates and Arzan-ar-Rūm (Erzerum) need no comment, being well known. Arāk also lay near the Euphrates, but it is not apparently marked on the map; neither is Aḳsīk to be found, but the readings in both cases are doubtful. Āḳ Sarāy—'White Palace'—is some distance to the south-west of the Tatta Lake; it was built by 'Izz-ad-Dīn Ḳilij-Arslān the Saljūḳ in 566 (1171 A.D.).

There were two places called Āḳ Shahr—'White Town'—one lying seven leagues north-west of Arzanjān; the other a town three marches to the north-west of Ḳūniyah, and both are marked on our maps. Amāsiyah (Amaseia on the Halys) and Anṭākīyah (Antiocheia) still exist. Awnīk or Avanīk is given by Yāḳūt (i, 408), and 'Alī of Yazd (i, 691) mentions it as having been stormed and captured by Timur; it being a castle in the mountains eight leagues distant from Arzan-ar-Rūm. Mustawfi adds that the town at the foot of the castle was called Abaskhūr; and according to Saint Martin (*Mémoire*, i, 109) Avanīk is the place now called in Turkish Javān Ḳal'ah, which lies to the north of the Aras between Ḥasan Ḳal'ah on the west and Majankird on the east. Bābirt lies to the north of Arzanjān, but I am unable to identify Zūfarlū, Zūbarkī, Dhūlū (or Zūlū), and Shahrah, which last is reported to have

stood on the coast of the Black Sea; the spelling, however, of the first three names is very doubtful, and apparently none of them occur in the pages of the *Jihān Numā*, or in any of the earlier geographers. Kharbirt, or Kharput, is near the junction of the eastern Euphrates or river Arsanās, on which stream, but higher up, lay Shimshāṭ (see I.S. 57). Samsūn was already a celebrated port for shipping on the Black Sea; 'Amūriyah (Amorium) still exists (Mustawfi, apparently by some error, states that the name was then pronounced Ankūrīyah, which, as already noted, is Angora). Ḳālīḳalā was a city in the country of this name, near the Armenian frontier (see I.S. 64), which has generally been identified with the Byzantine city of Theodosiopolis on the upper Euphrates, otherwise called Karin.

Ḳarā Ḥiṣār—'Black Fort'—was the name of diverse castles, four of which were especially celebrated. One (apparently not marked in our maps) was on the mountains near Ḳayṣarīyah; another was of the district of Ḳūniyah (probably the Ḳarā Ḥiṣār lying south-west of 'Amūriyah); a third castle of this name stood near Nikdah, while the fourth Ḳarā Ḥiṣār is that lying a short distance north-east of Āḳ Shahr and belonging to the Arzanjān district. Ḳasṭamūniyah lies some distance west from Samsūn; and Kūmanāt is one of the many towns called Comana by the Greeks. Ḳūniyah is the older Iconium; here the castle had been built by Sulṭān Ḳilij Arslān of cut stone, and in like material great city walls were erected by 'Alā-ad-Dīn Kay-Ḳubād the Saljūḳ; Ḳūniyah further was celebrated for the tomb of the Ṣūfī saint and poet Jalāl-ad-Dīn Rūmī.

Ḳayṣariyah (Caesareia Mazaka) still exists, but Kāt (or Kāb) is apparently not to be found on our maps. Kamākh (or Kamkh) on the Euphrates is well known (I.S. 48), and Gūl is probably Gūl Ḥiṣār to the south-west of Anṭākiyah, which was visited by Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 269), but the double town called Kīr and Bakīj I am unable to identify. Lūlūah is in the Cilician passes north-west of Tarsus, and Nikdah (or Nigdah) lies to the north of it. Malaṭīyah is Melitene near

the Euphrates (I.S. 48), and Niksār stands a short distance south-east of Samsūn and Amāsiyah.

Hūshyār (which is not mentioned in the *Jihān Numā*) is said to have been the Castle of Karamān, better known as Larandah, the capital of the Karamān province on the borders of Little Armenia. Yalḳān Bāzār (not marked on our maps) was a town between Ḳūniyah and Āḳ Shahr, celebrated for its hot springs; and Ḳīr-Shahr, frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 418 and elsewhere), stands half-way between Ankūrah and Ḳayṣariyah. Zamandū, Kadūk (or Kadūl), and Ṭamar Aghāch (or Ṭūr Aghach) I am unable to identify, and the names do not occur in the *Jihān Numā*. Ziyārat Bāzār is possibly the town of Ziyārat to the south of Kharpūt. Agrīdūr is the town at the southern end of the lake of this name; it is mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 266), also by 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 485). Ḳavāḳ probably is the place of this name lying a short distance to the west of Sīvās. Sivrī Ḥiṣār is the well-known city, north of 'Amūriyah, to which, according to 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 448), Timur marched in six stages from Angora. Neither Ḳulūniyah (Colonia) nor Kastaḳī occurs in the *Jihān Numā*, nor is either apparently to be found on the map, for both are said by Mustawfi to lie on the shore of the Black Sea.[1] Ḳūsh Ḥiṣār, however, exists, standing to the south of Ḳasṭamūniyah, and Malanḳūbiyah, which is referred to by Yāḳūt (iv, 635), lies east of Ḳūniyah, and is the ancient Malacopeia.

[1] Ḳulūniyah of the Arab geographers is generally identified with Colonia, founded by Pompey as described by Procopius, which the Armenians call Aghovendzor, or Goghonia, and which lies about 60 miles north-west of Kamḳḥ. See Saint Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, i, 189.

Chapter 8. *Armenia.*

Contents: Akhlāṭ, 164*t*; Abṭūṭ (or Abtūk) and Arjīsh, 164*v*; Armūk, 164*x*; Alāṭāḳ, 164*y*; Bārkīrī, 164*z*; Bayān, 165*b*; Kharādīn, 165*c*; Khūshāb, Jaramrast, and Lūḳiyāmāt, 165*d*; Hangāmābād, 165*e*; Salam and 'Ayn, 165*f*; Kabūd and Malāzgird, 165*g*; Vān and Vasṭān, 165*j*; Valāshgird, 165*m*.

The Arab geographers unfortunately afford us but meagre accounts of Armenia, and though 'Alī of Yazd in his description of the campaigns of Timur enables us to identify some of the outstanding names, Ḥājji Khalfah in the *Jihān Numā* proves of little service. Hence, out of the list, as given above, it has been only possible to identify a third of the places named.

Ḥamd-Allah remarks that this country is divided into Greater and Lesser Armenia; but that with Lesser Armenia (otherwise Cilicia), of which the capital was Sīs, he does not deal in detail, for this formed no part of Īrān. The great lake which is the central feature of the country, now called Lake Vān, Ḥamd-Allah describes (L. 226*j*) under the name of the Arjīsh or Akhlāṭ Lake, from what were then the two chief towns on its borders. It was celebrated for the fish called *Ṭirrikh*, with which its waters, that were salt, abounded. Our author also speaks of the modern Gūkchah Lake under the name of Buḥayrah Gūkchah Tangīz, meaning in Turkish 'the Blue Lake' (L. 226*k*). It lay on the Adharbayjān frontier of Armenia, and its waters were sweet and good for drinking; the Gūkchah Tangīz is also frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd (*Ẓafar Nāmah*, i, 414, 415; ii, 378).

The town of Akhlāṭ, at the north-west corner of the Vān Lake, was then the capital of Armenia and produced revenue to the amount of 50,500 dīnārs (about £12,500), and above Akhlāṭ to the eastward rose the great mountain of Kūh Sībān, now called Sīpān Dāgh (L. 205*l*). Neither Abṭūṭ, 'a fine town,' nor Armūk is apparently marked on the map; but Arjīsh is still found at the north-west end of the lake. Alāṭāḳ

is described as a good pasture-ground, where Arghūn Khān had built himself a Saray or palace for his summer quarters; it is the mountainous region now known as Ala Dāgh to the north and north-east of the lake, and is frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd (I.S. 417, 421, 685); further, Timur kept his standing camp here during the Georgian campaigns. In the neighbourhood is the town of Band-Māhī (Fish Dam), one stage to the eastward of Arjīsh (see Route xxv) on the Arjīsh bay of Lake Vān. Khūshāb lies at some distance to the south-east of the Vān Lake.

The places named Bayān (or Nabār), Kharādīn (Kharāvīn or Jazāvīn), Jarmarast (Jarvarīb or Harsarbat), Lūḳiyāmāt (Tūmānāt), Hangāmābād, Salam (Shalam), 'Ayn, and Kabūd, are none of them to be found in Yāḳūt, though many of these names are copied into the *Jihān Numā* (p. 418) without comment; they have apparently also disappeared from the map, and the readings are in most cases uncertain. Malāzjird lies on the upper course of the western Euphrates, due north of Lake Vān: the city of Vān itself is near the eastern end of the lake, and Vasṭān lies on its southern shore. The exact position of Valāshgird is doubtful; but Yāḳūt (iv, 939) mentions a town of this name as situated near Akhlāṭ, though none is now shown on the map.

Chapter 9. *Jazīrah or Upper Mesopotamia.*

Contents: Mosul, 165*p*; Irbil, 165*s*; Arzan and Āmid, 165*t*; Bāṣaydah and Bāṭarnūḥ, 165*v*; Barṭallā, 165*w*; Jasār, 165*x*; Bawāzīj and Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar, 165*y*; Ḥānī and Sīwān, 165*z*; Ḥarrān, 166*a*; Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Khābūr, 166*e*; Rās-al-'Ayn, 166*f*; Raḳḳah, 166*g*; Ruhā and Sa'īrd, 166*o*; Sanjar, 166*p*; Sūḳ-ath-Thamānīn, 166*t*; 'Aḳar, 166*u*; 'Imādīyah, 166*w*; Ḳarḳīsīyā, 166*x*; Karmalīs and Mardīn, 166*y*; Mūsh, 167*e*; Mayāfārīḳayn, 167*e*; Naṣībīn, 167*f*; Nīnavī, 167*l*.

The upper part of Mesopotamia is known either as Jazīrah, 'the Island,' or else as Diyār-Bakr and Diyār-Rabī'ah,

meaning the Lands of Bakr and Rabī'ah, the two Arab tribes which had settled in these parts before the Moslem conquest. Diyār-Rabī'ah is the south-eastern half of the province, with Mosul for capital; Diyār-Bakr being the north-western part, with Āmid for its chief town. Mosul on the Tigris was the largest city of the Jazīrah province; but Irbil (Arbela), to the eastward, standing half-way between the banks of the two Zābs, was a place of great importance. The Upper or Greater Zāb rose in the mountains of Armenia and flowed down to join the Tigris at Ḥadīthah[1]; while the Lower or Lesser Zāb, called also Majnūn, 'the mad river,' because of its swift current, rising also in Armenia joined the Tigris at the hill of Sinn (L. 214*j*). In many of the MSS.[2] Arzan or Arzanah is next described, an important town standing on a left bank affluent of the Tigris, and its ruins still exist.

Āmid is the chief place of Diyār-Bakr (and the town is often called by the name of the province); it stands on the Tigris to the westward and higher up than the inflow of the Arzan river. The towns of Bāṣaydah and Bāṭarnūḥ I am unable to identify[3] (the latter name being variously given in the MSS. as Bāẓarnūkh, Bāṭahbūj, etc.), but from its position in the alphabetical order, the first syllable is apparently Bā—the Syriac form of *Bayt* or *Beth*—so common in the place-names of this region. Barṭallā is mentioned by Yāḳūt (i, 567), and still exists about sixteen miles to the eastward of Mosul, but it is difficult to identify the town called Jār or Jasār, and the reading is probably corrupt. Bawāzīj, though it has disappeared from the map, is mentioned by Yāḳūt (i, 750), and from his account we learn that it stood near the mouth of the Lower

[1] Not to be confounded with Ḥadīthah on the Euphrates, mentioned in Chapter 1.

[2] British Museum MSS., Add. 7,708, 16,737, and 23,543. Not to be confounded with Arzan-ar-Rūm, otherwise Erzerum. In the *Ẓafar Nāmah* (i, 665) the name is spelt Arzīn.

[3] Unless for Bāṣaydah we read Bāṣabdah, which might be merely another way of spelling Bāzabdā (as the name is given by Yāḳūt, i, 466), the well-known town on the eastern bank of the Tigris opposite Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar, which had been the Roman fortress of Bezabda.

Zāb, and not far from the hill of Sinn. Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar is a town on an island in the Tigris above Mosul (see I.S. 34), and Ḥānī, to the north of Āmid, according to Yāḳūt (ii, 188), was celebrated for its iron-mine. What place Sitwān or Sīwān represents is not clear, but the reading is not improbably corrupt.

Ḥarrān, with its castle of cut stone, founded, it was said, by Arphaxad, son of Shem, lay near the sources of the river Balīkh, which joined the Euphrates at Raḳḳah (L. 219*j*). Ḥiṣn Kayfā is an important fortress on the Tigris, lying due south of Arzan (I.S. 264). Khābūr is the name of some town on the Khābūr river, on which stood Rās-al-'Ayn, and the Khābūr river, after taking up the Hirmās, joined the Euphrates at Ḳarḳīsīyā, or Circesium. Raḳḳah, the ancient Callinicus, stands on the Euphrates, above the junction of the Balīkh river (I.S. 50), near the famous battlefield of Siffīn. Ruhā, or Edessa, is described in many of the MSS.,[1] and some details are given of its wonderful churches. Sā'ird (south of Bitlis) was famous for its manufacture of copper pots and cups. Sinjar stood on the mountain side overlooking the Tharthār river, this last being a branch stream from the Hirmās river, which, flowing eastward, joined the Tigris at Takrīt (L. 219*o*).

Sūḳ Thamānīn—'Market of the Eighty'—records the settlement of that number of the companions of Noah when, according to Moslem tradition, the Ark came to rest on Jabal Jūdī. This Sūḳ Thamānīn is not found on the maps, but Mount Jūdī is known, and in his Itinerary Muḳaddasī (p. 149) reports that this town lay one march distant (west) of Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar, and Abu-l-Fidā (p. 275) says that Thamānīn lay to the north of 'Imādīyah. 'Aḳr, signifying 'a castle,' constantly recurs in place-names; the castle here intended is doubtless 'Aḳr-al-Ḥumaydīyah, mentioned also by Yāḳūt (iii, 696), which is marked on the map some thirty miles to the south-east of 'Imādīyah. This last, a town of considerable size, is said by Mustawfi to have

[1] Those cited above, and others.

taken its name from 'Imād-ad-Dawlah the Buyid (brother of Mu'izz-ad-Dawlah), who died in 338 (A.D. 949). According to Ibn-al-Athīr (xi, 60), however, 'Imādīyah had its name from 'Imād-ad-Dīn Zangi, Lord of Mosul, who had founded the town in 537 (A.D. 1142). Not far from 'Imādīyah is Karmalīs, of the Mosul district, also mentioned by Yāḳūt (iv, 267), which will be found to the south of Barṭallā. Ḳarḳīsīyā stands on the Euphrates at the junction of the Khābūr (I.S. 51). Mardīn was famous for its castle, and the Sūr river which irrigated its gardens flowed thence northward to join the Tigris (L. 219*p*). Mūsh stands near the upper waters of the Arsanas or eastern Euphrates, Mayāfarīḳayn lying south-west of it, and on a left bank affluent of the Tigris. Naṣībin or Nisibis, celebrated for its roses and venomous scorpions, is on the Hirmās river, which forms the chief affluent of the Khābūr (L. 219*m*); lastly, Nineveh (Nīnavī), opposite Mosul on the Tigris, was famous for the shrine shown here of the prophet Yūnus or Jonah.

(*To be continued.*)

Art. X.—*Vaiśāli.* By Vincent A. Smith, M.R.A.S., late of the Indian Civil Service.

When discussing the position of Kuśinagara I was compelled by the necessity of avoiding undue prolixity to assume without proof the correctness of the current belief that the ancient and famous city of Vaiśāli (Vesāli) is now represented by the ruins at Basāṛ and the neighbouring villages in the Muzaffarpur District of North Bihār.[1]

The evidence in favour of the current belief was presented by Cunningham in such an unconvincing fashion that it was impossible for his readers to feel assured of the identity of Vaiśāli and Basāṛ.[2] At one time I felt doubts on the subject myself. Professor Rhys Davids has recently intimated his opinion that the site of Vaiśāli is quite uncertain, while Dr. Hoey has felt at liberty to reject Cunningham's decision, and to propose the identification of Vaiśāli with a place named Cheraṇḍ in the Chaprā or Sāran District.[3] Inasmuch as Dr. Hoey's ingenious arguments move on a plane different from that of mine, and seem to me wholly opposed to the evidence, I trust that I may be excused from criticizing them in detail. But the fact that doubts concerning the identification of Basāṛ with Vaiśāli have been freely expressed is good reason for examining afresh the evidence which satisfied Cunningham, as well as any other available, and for forming a definite and well-considered judgment on the question at issue. In the following pages I propose to

[1] *Ante*, p. 143.

[2] Cunningham: Arch. S. Reports, i, 55, 56; xvi, 6.

[3] "On the Identification of Kusinara, Vaisāli, and other places mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims," by W. Hoey, Litt.D., I.C.S.: *J.A.S.B.*, 1900, vol. lxix, pt. 1, pp. 78, 83. Cheraṇḍ stands on the northern bank of the Ganges, in approximately N. lat. 25° 41′ and E. long. 84° 55′, about seven miles south-east from Chaprā.

submit to impartial criticism and discussion all the known facts, and I venture to think that any reader who examines the case without prepossession will agree with me that Cunningham was right in his conclusion, although, as often happened, he failed to record the reasons for his opinion with sufficient detail and lucidity to compel the assent of his readers. I have no doubt whatever that Basāṛ and the adjoining villages occupy the site of the city of Vaisāli, and am further convinced that, while the limits of the city can even now be determined with a near approach to accuracy, a very moderate amount of local exploration, conducted under competent guidance, should result in the determination of the exact sites of many renowned monuments.

The village of Basāṛ (बसाढ़) stands in about N. lat. 25° 58′ 20″ and E. long. 85° 11′ 30″, twenty-six or twenty-seven miles in a direct line a little to the west of north from Patna, the ancient Pāṭaliputra, and about twenty miles from Hājīpur on the northern bank of the Ganges opposite Patna. It is due north of the Dīgha Ghāṭ railway station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway.

The great mound or 'fort' at the village is known as the Fort of Rāja Bisāl (Visāl). The close correspondence of the name of this eponymous local chieftain with the city name of Vaisāli or Vesāli is obvious, and, although not by itself conclusive evidence of identity, is of great weight as corroboration of other evidence.[1]

Well-known Buddhist legends, which it seems unnecessary to repeat in detail, clearly imply that Vaisāli lay beyond the Ganges at a moderate distance in a northerly direction from Pāṭaliputra, and on the road from that city to Kusinārā (Kuśinagara).

[1] The correct spelling is said to be Basāṛ (बसाड़), but I believe that the spelling Basāṛh (बसाढ़) is also permissible. The first syllable is certainly not *Be-*, बे, as it is written by Cunningham and Hoernle. The Indian Atlas (Sheet 102) spells the name as 'Busadh Puttee.' Basāṛh represents Vaisāli or Vesāli more accurately than does the form Basāṛ. Cunningham (*Reports*, i, 55) erroneously places Basāṛ "a little to the *east* of north from Patna." The mistake is probably due to a misprint.

The traditional account of Gautama Buddha's last journey relates that he travelled leisurely from Pāṭaliputra to Vaisāli in three stages, halting twice on the way, first at Koṭigrāma and next at Nadiyāgrāma. Travellers in India whose journey begins with the crossing of a great river are always glad to make their first halt as near as possible to the further bank of the river. The ancient town of Hājīpur (N. lat. 25° 40′, E. long. 85° 18′ 30″), which stands on the eastern bank of the Gandak river and the northern bank of the Ganges at a distance in a direct line of six or seven miles from Patna, is still the first halting-place for the traveller proceeding north from Patna. We may be quite certain that Koṭigrāma, the first camping-ground of Buddha, was at or close to Hājīpur.[1]

Lālganj, situated twelve miles from Hājīpur and eight from Basāṛ, is now the principal village intermediate between those two places, and Nadiyāgrāma should be looked for in the vicinity of Lālganj. Careful local enquiry would probably find the names Koṭigrāma and Nadiyāgrāma surviving in slightly modified forms, such as Koṭgāoñ and Nadiyāoñ, but no such names are entered in the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 103.

The position of Basāṛ at a distance of three easy marches north of Patna exactly agrees with the position of Vaisāli in relation to Pāṭaliputra as described by Buddhist tradition.

Hiuen Tsiang places the *stūpa* marking the locality of the orthodox Council or Convocation of Vaisāli at a spot two and a half miles (15 or 16 *li*) south-east from the city. At a distance of 15 or 16 miles (80 or 90 *li*) to the south of this *stūpa* stood the splendid monastery of Śvetapura, which marked the place where the *sūtra* called "Bodhisattva-piṭaka" was supposed to have been revealed. A *stūpa*, ascribed to Aśoka, stood beside the monastery, and preserved the memory of the spot where Buddha, when going south to Magadha,

[1] Hājīpur possesses an ancient fort dating from Hindū times, and the principal mosque stands on the site of earlier buildings. The ruins of a Hindū temple known as Maṛhai exist two miles to the north of the town. (Cunningham, *Reports*, xvi, 5.) A hoard of gold Gupta coins, ranging in date from about A.D. 320 to 400, was found in the bazaar in 1893. (*Proc. A.S.B.*, March, 1894, p. 57.)

stopped to look back upon Vaisāli. The Śvetapura monastery, therefore, stood on the road from Vaisāli to Pāṭaliputra, at a distance of about 20 miles from the former city, and close to the river. Five or six miles (30 *li*) to the south-east of Śvetapura a *stūpa* on the northern bank of the Ganges marked the position of the ferry where, according to the legend, Ānanda divided his body, and gave half to the king of Magadha on the southern and half to the king of Vaisāli on the northern side of the river. A corresponding *stūpa* stood on the southern bank. The ferry connected by legend with Ānanda was therefore 23 or 24 miles ($2\frac{1}{2}$+ 15 or 16+5 or 6) distant from Vaisāli in a direction slightly east of south, and, inasmuch as the Ganges then flowed a good deal farther to the north than it does now, the *stūpa* marking the northern end of the ferry should be looked for near Dāūdnagar, about six miles south-east from Hājīpur. The *stūpa* at the southern end of the ferry must have been carried away by the river. The Śvetapura monastery must have been near Hājīpur. Its "massive towers," of which Hiuen Tsiang speaks, were probably wooden, but it is quite possible that careful search would succeed in tracing the substantial brick foundations on which those towers rested.

The position of Vaisāli in relation to Śvetapura on the bank of the Ganges agrees accurately with the position of Basāṛ in relation to the river.[1]

Hiuen Tsiang expressly states that Vaisāli lay on the road from Pāṭaliputra to Nepāl.[2] Basāṛ lies on the ancient royal road from the capital to Nepāl, marked by three of Aśoka's pillars, which passed Kesariyā, Lauṛiyā-Ararāj, Betiyā,

[1] Beal: Records, ii, 74–77. The statement that the Bodhisattva-piṭaka *sūtra* was revealed at Śvetapura is taken from the "Life of Hiuen Tsiang" (p. 101), which defines the position of Śvetapura by the rather obscure words: "Leaving the southern borders of Vaisāli and following the Ganges river for 100 *li* or so [27 or 28 miles], we came to the town of Śvetapura." The *Life*, as M. Sylvain Lévi has pointed out, was written for edification, and is not to be depended on for geographical or topographical details. Many statements in the book are manifestly erroneous. The *Records*, on the other hand, the more they are tested, the more accurate they are proved to be.

[2] Beal, ii, 81.

Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh, Chānkīgaṛh, and Rāmpurwā, entering the hills by the Bhiknā Thorī Pass. The jealousy of the existing Nepalese government compels the modern traveller to take a more easterly route and pass through Sigaulī (Segowlee) in lat. 26° 44′, long. 84° 47′.[1]

Two geographical tests of the identity of Basāṛ and Vaisāli having been proved satisfactory, I now proceed to apply a third test of the same kind.

The *stūpa* near Kesariyā, known by the name of Rāja Ben Cakravartī, is, as was explained in my discussion of the site of Kuśinagara, the spot erroneously described by Fā-hien as the scene of the Licchavi leave-taking, and correctly described by Hiuen Tsiang as the memorial of a Cakravartin Rāja. Both pilgrims substantially agree in their estimate of the distance of this locality from Vaisāli, Fā-hien giving the round figure "5 *yojanas*," equivalent to 38 miles,[2] while the more accurate Hiuen Tsiang states the distance as being "a little less than 200 *li*." Five *yojanas* being the exact equivalent of 200 *li*, the term "a little less than 200 *li*" may be fairly interpreted as equivalent to 4½ *yojanas*, or 33 miles, which is the approximate marching distance between Basāṛ and Kesariyā. Measured on the map (Sheets 102 and 103 of the Indian Atlas), the direct distance between Busadh Puttee (Basāṛ) and the "hillock with temple" south-west of Kesariyā village is about 30 miles. Consequently in relation to Kesariyā the correspondence in position between Basāṛ and Vaisāli is again proved to be perfect.

Fā-hien states that "the confluence of the five rivers," that is to say, of the Ganges, Son, Ghāgrā, Gandak, and some smaller stream not identified, was distant four *yojanas*, or about 30 miles, eastward from the *stūpa* to the north of Vaisāli, which, according to his guides, marked the scene

[1] The ancient and modern routes can be traced on Sheets 102 and 103 of the Indian Atlas. No doubt in ancient times several passes into the valley of Nepāl were open to the traveller. The royal route led to the Goramasān Pass, as well as to the Bhiknā Thorī Pass, but the latter was probably that generally used.

[2] "Five *yojanas*" (Beal and Giles). The distance of "ten *yojanas*" stated in Legge's translation is out of the question.

of the Buddhist Council or Convocation of Vaisāli. The river Ganges below the present junction with the Gandak opposite Patna has made a considerable move in a southerly direction, having in ancient times flowed much farther to the north. In those days the Son followed the present course of the Punpun and Murhār rivers, and joined the Ganges to the north of Phatuhā (Fatuhā), about 10 miles east from Patna and about 25 miles east from the present point of junction. As long as the vast mass of water from the Son was thrown into the Ganges below Patna, the latter river was necessarily forced towards the north. When the mouth of the Son moved to the west, and the pressure from its waters was withdrawn, the Ganges naturally took a more southerly course. In Fā-hien's time Pāṭaliputra stood in the tongue of land between the Ganges and the Son, but nearer to the latter river, and might be accurately described as situated on the bank of the Son. The old *ghāṭs*, or river-side stairs of the city, can still be traced along the bank of the ancient bed of the Son. The critic who merely glances at the modern map would suppose Fā-hien to be mistaken in describing Aśoka's city of Pāṭaliputra as being distant a *yojana*, or some seven miles, from the Ganges where he crossed at the confluence. But a knowledge of the changes in the courses of the rivers as explained above fully justifies the pilgrim's description, and explains his meaning without violence to his text. The confluence of the five rivers must have been situated near the villages named Bāzār and Gopālpur (I. A., sheet 103), which stand north of Fatuhā, and about nine miles south-east from Hājīpur. The distance from those villages to the ruins of Aśoka's city on the old course of the Son is about eight miles. Fā-hien when defining direction commonly uses the four cardinal points only. He therefore describes the confluence of the five rivers as being "to the east" from Vaisāli, and Pāṭaliputra as being "south" from the confluence. The true bearings are approximately south-east and south-west respectively.

The direct distance measured on the map from Baniyā (Buneean), situated north-west of Basār, which approximately

marks the position of Fā-hien's "convocation *stūpa*," to Bāzār is 29½ miles, or four *yojanas* as required. The distance from Bāzār to Aśoka's city of Pāṭaliputra being about eight miles, the city would have been in the dry season about a *yojana* from the southern bank of the river, as stated by the pilgrim. Thus, a fourth geographical test rigorously applied establishes the identity of Vaisāli with Basāṛ.[1]

If my readers have had the patience to follow me so far, I trust that they will be satisfied that the remains at Basāṛ and the neighbouring villages beyond doubt occupy the site of the famous city Vaisāli. The identity of the site is established by the continuance of the name of Vaisāli in the forms Basāṛ (or Basāṛh) and Bisāl, as well as by the exact agreement in the positions of Basāṛ and Vaisāli on the old royal road from Pāṭaliputra (Patna) to Nepāl with reference to Pāṭaliputra itself, to the course of the Ganges, to the Kesariyā *stūpa*, and to "the confluence of the five rivers."

The discussion of the topography of Vaisāli, on which I now propose to enter, will be found to strongly corroborate the geographical arguments set forth above.

The exact date of Hiuen Tsiang's visit to Vaisāli is not known, but the year 635 A.D. may be assumed as approximately the correct date. His description of the city is unusually detailed and precise, and enables the modern reader not only to form an accurate conception of the state of the ruins in the seventh century A.D., but also to mark on the map with a close approach to exactness the position of each monument described.

[1] Fā-hien, ch. xxvi, xxvii, in Legge's version. For the changes in the courses of the rivers see the discussion by Cunningham and Beglar in *Reports*, vol. viii, pp. v, vi, xi, 23, and plate i. Cunningham (pp. vi and xi, with a misprint at p. vi) cites Patanjali as mentioning "Pāṭaliputra on the Son," *anu Sonam Pāṭaliputram*. Patanjali is supposed to have lived about B.C. 150. I have myself seen the remains of the riverside stairs on the old bank of the Son near Bankipore. They were traced by Bābū P. C. Mukherjī for a distance of about 1,000 feet to the north of Nayātola, midway between Patna and Bankipore railway stations, and adjoining Kumrāhār (also called Nema or Nima), the site of the Maurya palace.

At the time of the pilgrim's visit the city was to a great extent in ruins. The buildings were in a state of advanced decay, the forests had been uprooted, and the numerous lakes and ponds had shrunk into offensive swamps. The ruins covered a space about twelve miles (60 or 70 *li*) in circuit, and included the remains of hundreds of Buddhist monasteries, out of which only three or four were occupied by a few monks. The Jains (Nirgranthas) were numerous, as might naturally be expected, Vaisāli having been the birthplace of their religion; and Brahmanical Hindus of various sects worshipped at more than a score ('several tens') of temples. The citadel, or palace precinct, was less than a mile (4 or 5 *li*) in circuit, and was inhabited by a small population. This citadel is obviously represented by the mound now known as Rāja Bisāl's Fort (Bisālgaṛh), which retains the ancient name almost unaltered, and in dimensions exactly agrees with Hiuen Tsiang's description.[1]

A monastery tenanted by a few friars of the Saṁmatīya school of the Hīnayāna stood about a mile (5 or 6 *li*) north-west of the citadel, and apparently within the city walls. Hiuen Tsiang specifies the position of most of the monuments mentioned by him with reference to this monastery, which was evidently his residence during his sojourn.

Close to the monastery three *stūpas* attracted the pilgrim's special attention. One of these commemorated the delivery of the Vimalakīrttī Sūtra and the presentation of precious parasols to Buddha. The second marked the spot where Sāriputra and others attained the rank of saint (*arḥat*). The third, which stood at a short distance to the south-east, was the most interesting monument at Vaisāli, being the *stūpa* which enshrined the share of the relics obtained by the

[1] The fort is 1,580 feet in length from north to south, by 750 feet in width from east to west, and the circuit round the crest of the mound measures 4,660 feet (Cunningham, *Reports*, i, 55; xvi, 6), equivalent to about 5 *li* at the rate of 5⅓ *li* to the mile. The extensive forest to the north of the city was still standing in Fā-hien's time, about A.D. 405, in the reign of Candra Gupta II. The final ruin of the city was probably due to the destructive wars with the White Huns half a century later.

unnamed king of Vaisāli at the time of the cremation of the body of Gautama Buddha. This *stūpa*, dating from about B.C. 500, will probably, when identified, prove to be similar to the monument at Piprāvā, which enshrined the share of the relics obtained by the Śākyas of Kapilavastu.[1]

Reference to the accompanying map[2] will show that the Sammatīya monastery, the *stūpa* containing the cremation relics, as well as the *stūpas* of Sāriputra and the Vimalakīrttī Sūtra, must all lie in a compact group (No. 1 on map) between the Kharonā tank and the village of Pharāwal, where a large mound exists. Bābū P. C. Mukherjī, when visiting Vaisāli, discerned that the cremation-relics *stūpa* must be near Pharāwal. It is astonishing that Sir Alexander Cunningham made no attempt to ascertain the position of this most interesting monument of the earliest period of Buddhism, which probably still contains the relics of Gautama. According to a legend told by Hiuen Tsiang, Aśoka removed nine-tenths of the original deposit, leaving one-tenth behind. I have no doubt that careful survey, supplemented by intelligent excavation, will bring to light this *stūpa*, which is almost certain to contain a valuable inscription.

Having visited and described the more conspicuous and interesting monuments close to the monastery where he lodged, which must all have been situated within the walls,

[1] The exact date of the death of Gautama Buddha Śākyamuni is not known, and is probably unascertainable. The Ceylonese date, B.C. 543, which has been treated with undue respect, appears to be a little too early. If the figures 256 in Aśoka's Minor Rock Edicts express a date, they indicate that Aśoka believed Gautama to have died *in* or about B.C. 508. As an approximate round figure, B.C. 500 may be considered correct. As to the authenticity of the Piprāvā relics, see Professor Rhys Davids' paper "Aśoka and the Buddha-relics" in *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1901, p. 398.

[2] My map is based on a tracing of plate ii in vol. xvi of Cunningham's *Reports*. The scale of Cunningham's map is really the same as that of mine, but is misprinted. Some details are taken from his earlier, and apparently less correct, plate xxi in vol. i of the same series. The additions made by me are supported by my interpretation of the Chinese pilgrims' texts, and by some notes supplied by Bābū P. C. Mukherjī, who visited the locality in November, 1897, on behalf of the Government of Bengal. His notes, although too crude for publication as a whole, contain valuable matter. The position of Chak Rāmdās is misrepresented in the map in *Reports*, xvi. This hamlet is really contiguous to Baniyā, from which it is divided by a narrow passage. (Ibid., 91.)

Hiuen Tsiang turned towards the north-west, where he found a distinct group of holy places (No. 7 of map). He observed a *stūpa* built by Aśoka, beside which stood a stone pillar 50 or 60 feet high, surmounted by the figure of a lion. To the south of the pillar was a tank, which, according to the legend, was dug by monkeys for the use of Buddha, and two *stūpas* to the south of the tank marked the spots where the monkeys gathered honey and offered it. The pilgrim notes that a figure of a monkey still stood at the north-western corner of the tank.

His description of these monuments is strictly applicable to the remains situated on a low mound one mile south-east of Bakhirā village and about two miles north-north-west of Bisālgaṛh, the fort of Basāṛ. Aśoka's pillar with its lion-capital complete is still standing. Its height from the water-level is known to be 44 feet 2 inches, and several feet are submerged. The total height, therefore, closely agrees with Hiuen Tsiang's estimate. A ruined *stūpa* of solid brick due north of the pillar is evidently that erected by Aśoka. The tank to the south of the pillar, measuring about 200 feet in length from east to west and 150 feet in width from north to south, agrees exactly in position with that connected by Hiuen Tsiang with the legend of the pious monkeys who offered honey to Buddha. Small mounds to the south of the tank seem to represent the *stūpas* which commemorated the monkeys' piety. A life-size statue of Buddha, with an inscription, considered by Cunningham to date from the tenth century, was found in the ruins of a temple about 720 feet north of the *stūpa*, and Lieut.-Colonel Waddell observed on the pedestal of a similar statue, or perhaps the same one, a representation of the monkey legend. No hesitation, I think, need be felt in accepting Cunningham's identification of the remains south-east of Bakhirā with the group of ruins described by Hiuen Tsiang as lying to the north-west of the Saṁmatīya monastery.

I may observe in passing that the legend of the presentation of a pot of honey to Buddha by a monkey,

or company of monkeys, is often represented in sculpture, and was localized at Mathurā as well as at Vaisāli.[1]

I am unable to agree with Cunningham (i, 56) that the city of Vaisāli, strictly so called, included the Monkey Tank group of ruins and Bakhirā village. Attentive consideration of the testimony of Fā-hien and Hiuen Tsiang permits no doubt that both Bakhirā and the Monkey Tank group of ruins fall outside the line of the ancient walls. The Kuṭāgāra, or 'upper-storied,' hall, where Buddha dwelt during the fifth year of his ministry, was situated in the precincts of the Mahāvana Vihāra, or monastery of the great forest, and on the bank of, or close to, the Monkey Tank. Fā-hien informs us that the great forest, or Mahāvana, lay to the north of the city, and that the "double-galleried *vihāra*" where Buddha dwelt (i.e. the Kuṭāgāra) was in that forest. But inasmuch as the "double-galleried *vihāra*" adjoined the Monkey Tank, that tank also must have been within the forest and without the city. The "*stūpa* of the last look," which will be mentioned presently, stood outside the western gate, and it is impossible to locate this *stūpa* if Bakhirā be considered part of the city. The village of Kolluā, or Kolhuā, which is unfortunately not marked on the maps accessible to me, is close to the Monkey Tank, and probably represents the ancient suburb Kollāga. The Monkey Tank group of remains may properly be regarded as forming part of that suburb. The site of Bakhirā village lay, I should think, quite clear of the city.[2] It is, however,

[1] Cunningham: *Reports*, i, 56, 58–63; xvi, 12–16. The distance of the temple from the *stūpa* is given in the text as stated in *Reports*, xvi, 16; in ibid., i, 61, the distance is stated to be 500 feet. The existence of the mediæval statue may be explained by the well-known devotion of the Pāla kings to Buddhism. Lieutenant-Colonel Waddell's observation was communicated to me by letter. For the Mathurā variant of the monkey legend, see Beal, i, 182. Hiuen Tsiang was not disturbed by the duplication of the story.

[2] Fā-hien, ch. xxv (Legge); Turnour in *J.A.S.B.* for 1838, pp. 790 and 1,200; Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 74. The last two references are given by Cunningham, and I have not verified them. As to Kolhuā, Cunningham (xvi, 12) writes: "Near the village of Kolhua, 2 miles to the north-west of Besârh, and 1 mile to the south-east of the village of Bakhra, stands the massive stone pillar known as the Bakhra *lât*, or monolith." In my map I have, therefore, inserted Kollua as north of the Monkey Tank. Bābū P. C. Mukherjī spells the name of the village as Kolluā, and states that there is a large mound on the eastern side.

quite possible that when Hiuen Tsiang estimated the circuit of the "old foundations" of the ruined city as measuring some twelve miles (60 or 70 *li*), he meant to include the Monkey Tank group of monuments. Excluding that group, the periphery of the walled city, as will presently be explained, seems to have amounted to about ten miles only.

The third group of monuments (No. 2 on map), described in detail by Hiuen Tsiang, consisted of four buildings distant more than half a mile (3 or 4 *li*) in a north-easterly direction from his temporary residence at the Sammatīya monastery. A *stūpa* marked the reputed site of the house where the convert Vimalakīrttī had lived, and close by a so-called "spirit-dwelling in shape like a pile of bricks" preserved the memory of the spot where he had preached. A second *stūpa* commemorated the residence of Ratnākara (? Ratnakūta), and a third monument of the same kind occupied the site of the residence of the celebrated courtesan Āmrapālī, whose hospitality Buddha had not disdained to accept. The aunt of Buddha and other nuns were believed to have attained Nirvāṇa at this spot. The monuments included in this group must have been situated at or close to the site of the hamlet, now called Chak Aborā. It seems to be possible that this name may preserve that of Āmba- or Āmrapālī. Āmbapura might easily pass into Abaura or Abora.[1] This group of monuments was evidently inside the city walls.

The fourth group of buildings selected by Hiuen Tsiang for special notice is described by him with reference to a *stūpa* (No. 3 on map) situated to the north of the monastery where he lodged at a distance of about three-quarters of a mile (3 or 4 *li*). This *stūpa*, which evidently was inside the walls, marked the spot where Buddha, attended by a crowd of men and angels, was believed to have halted for a moment before he passed out by the western gate on his long journey to Kusinārā and to death. At a short distance to the north-west of this *stūpa*, a similar

[1] The name is given as Abora in *Reports*, xvi, pl. ii, and as Aboha in ibid., i, pl. xxi. The latter form is probably a misprint.

monument, outside the walls (No. 4 on map), recalled the memory of the long, last look which the Master took at the city where he had dwelt so long.

A little way to the south of this *stūpa* of the last look, Hiuen Tsiang was shown a *vihāra* and a *stūpa* said to mark the site of the garden presented to Buddha by Āmrapālī. The two last-named monuments may possibly have been inside the walls, because Fā-hien explicitly records that "inside the city the woman Āmbapālī built a *vihāra* in honour of Buddha, which is now standing as it was at first." As to the position of the garden, Hiuen Tsiang seems to have been misinformed. Fā-hien correctly places it to the south of the city on the west side of the road from Pāṭaliputra.

Another *stūpa*, near the site shown as that of the garden to Hiuen Tsiang, commemorated, according to his guides, the spot where Buddha announced his approaching dissolution to his attendant Ānanda.

Yet another *stūpa*, not far off, marked the spot where, according to a wild legend, "the thousand sons beheld their father and their mother." Fā-hien relates a variant of this fantastic legend, which belongs to the Jātaka cycle, and gives the *stūpa* the quaint name of "bows and weapons laid down." He fixes its position as being three *li*, say a thousand yards, to the north-west of the city. Close by a *stūpa* had been erected on the spot where Buddha had expounded the meaning of the Jātaka legend of the thousand sons.

Further to the east were the ruins of the "turretted preaching hall, where Buddha uttered the *Samantamukha dhāraṇi* and other *sūtras*." This hall is the "double-galleried *vihāra* where Buddha dwelt" in the great forest north of the city as described by Fā-hien, near which stood the *stūpa* built by the Licchavis over their half of the body of Ānanda. This *stūpa*, according to Hiuen Tsiang, was "by the side of the preaching hall, and not far from it." The same hall is described in other books as the Kuṭāgāra on the bank of the Monkey Tank, and we are thus able to check and combine the topographical indications given by the two

pilgrims, and to fix the approximate position of each building described.

Fā-hien supplies another and important datum by the statement that the *stūpa* which commemorated the site of the Council of Vaisāli stood three or four *li*, say 1,000 to 1,200 yards, eastward from the *stūpa* of "bows and weapons laid down." He also tells us that the *stūpa* standing on the spot where Buddha foretold his approaching dissolution was "by the side" of the "bows and weapons laid down" monument. In this detail he differs from Hiuen Tsiang.

Bābū P. C. Mukherjī is very probably right in locating the site of the Kuṭāgāra to the north-east of the Aśoka pillar, "where the field is comparatively high, and where some years ago the local zemīndār excavated hundreds of cartloads of bricks, which he carried to Bakhirā to build his house" (No. 6 on map). The scene of the Council of Vaisāli, according to Fā-hien's guides, must have been close to the Kuṭāgāra, and the *stūpa* over the half body of Ānanda should be looked for in the same group of ruins.

The *stūpa* of the "thousand sons," or "bows and weapons laid down," and the adjoining *stūpa* marking the spot where Buddha, according to Fā-hien, foretold his death, which were about 1,000 yards west of the Kuṭāgāra, must be represented by the "two high conical mounds half a mile to the west of the pillar" known locally either as "Bhīm Sen's baskets" (*pallā*), or as "Rāja Bisāl's battery" (*morca*, No. 5 on map). These two *stūpas*, according to the testimony both of Cunningham and Bābū P. C. Mukherjī, are constructed of earth without bricks, and are used as a quarry by the Lūniyas, or saltpetre-makers. They are, no doubt, of very early date.

It is interesting to observe that in two cases the distinct statements of the two Chinese pilgrims differ so irreconcilably that they can be explained only by the assumption that their guides showed them different sites under the same names. Fā-hien places the garden of Āmrapālī where we should expect to find it, a little to the south of the city, and he adds that it was situated to the west of the road from Pāṭaliputra.

He does not mention any *stūpa* or monument as marking the site. Hiuen Tsiang was shown a *stūpa* on the alleged site of the garden, which he places a short distance to the south of the "*stūpa* of the last look" (No. 4 of map), and consequently to the west of the city.

A more important discrepancy concerns the locality of the famous Council of Vaisāli, which Hiuen Tsiang places about 2⅔ miles to the south-east of the city. He says that the site was marked by a "great *stūpa*," of which careful exploration will probably disclose remains, although Cunningham's hasty researches failed to find them. I have not the slightest doubt that Hiuen Tsiang saw the "great *stūpa*," and that his guides told him that it marked the locality where the Council was held.

Fā-hien, with much greater probability, locates the Council *stūpa* close to the Kuṭāgāra, or "double-galleried *vihāra* where Buddha dwelt," and 3 or 4 *li* east from the *stūpa* of "bows and weapons laid down," or the "*stūpa* of the 1,000 sons," as it is called by Hiuen Tsiang. The site of the Council hall was therefore, according to the information given to the earlier pilgrim, close to the Aśoka pillar, which was probably erected there for that reason. A council or synod of some sort was doubtless really held at Vaisāli, although the accounts which profess to give its date and the details of the proceedings are hopelessly contradictory and incredible.[1]

The fact that the two pilgrims were shown totally irreconcilable sites for the garden of Āmrapālī and the Council of Vaisāli is of importance, and should be borne in mind during discussions of the authenticity of the sites described by them. Pious visitors to the Holy Land of Buddhism, like Christian pilgrims in Palestine, were, of course, completely at the mercy of their guides, and were obliged to accept what they were told, and they were not always told the same thing. I have proved, or believe myself to have proved, that a similar discrepancy exists

[1] See my paper on "The Identity of Piyadasi (Priyadarśin) with Aśoka Maurya, and some connected problems," in this Journal for October, 1901.

between the statements of Fā-hien and Hiuen Tsiang concerning the site of Kapilavastu. The Kapilavastu of Fā-hien is represented by the ruins at Piprāvā, 9 miles from the Lumbini Garden, whereas the Kapilavastu shown to Hiuen Tsiang is represented by the walled enclosure of Tilaurā Koṭ and the surrounding ruins, distant about 15 miles from the Lumbini Garden.[1]

In all the three observed cases of clear discrepancy I believe that the earlier pilgrim, Fā-hien, is right; that is to say, that the genuine sites were shown to him, whereas when Hiuen Tsiang made his pilgrimage some 230 years later, the legends had been shifted to fictitious sites. I cannot add to the length of this already long essay by discussing the possible or probable causes of the shifting, and content myself with noting that Dr. Stein has recently pointed out that sacred sites can be, and often are, completely forgotten.[2] Sites, the true position of which has been forgotten, can be easily changed. Dr. Burgess also has shown how freely the Burmese priests, in their anxiety to localize sacred legends, have invented a system of fictitious geography.[3]

A few words are necessary to explain the principles on which I have endeavoured to determine the approximate limits of the ancient city.

According to Jain tradition, Vaisāli consisted of three distinct portions, Vaisāli proper, Kuṇḍagāma, and Vāṇiyagāma, besides the Kollāga suburb. Vaisāli proper has been sufficiently identified as being represented by Bisārgarh and an indeterminate portion of the other extensive ruins. The village of Baniyā (with the adjacent Chak Rāmdās) is almost certainly the representative of Vāṇiyagāma. The lands of the village contain "extensive mounds," and some ten years ago two statues of Jain Tīrthaṁkaras, one seated,

[1] "A Report on a Tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepāl, the Region of Kapilavastu, during February and March, 1899," by Bābū P. C. Mukherjī, with a Prefatory Note by Vincent A. Smith; being No. xxvi, pt. 1, of the Imperial Series of Reports of the Archæological Survey of India; Calcutta, 1901. I refer especially to pp. 10 and 21 of my Prefatory Note.

[2] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxx (1901), p. 95.

[3] Ibid., p. 387.

the other standing, were discovered about eight feet below the surface, and 500 yards west of the village. Vāṇiyagāma was the residence of Mahāvīra, the great prophet of the Jains, and this discovery of Jain images strongly confirms the identification suggested by the name. The hamlet of Bodhā also possesses a mound of ruins. The western boundary must run to the west of Baṇiyā, nearly as I have drawn it. Bābū P. C. Mukherjī was told by a resident Brahman that the principal angles of the ancient walls were marked by images of the four-faced (*chaumukhī*) Mahādēo, and was shown one of these images buried under the embankment of a large tank, about half a mile south-east of Basāṛ. This image probably marks the eastern extremity of the line of the southern wall. The Bābū says that he found distinct traces of a rampart both to the west and north of it. I have, therefore, drawn the eastern wall as extending in a straight line to another similar image which exists some four feet below the surface, near Bēnīpur. A third Mahādēo of the same kind is enshrined in a modern temple north-east of Baniyā, and is probably near its original position. A fourth Mahādēo is said to have formerly stood at Dharārā at the south-west corner of the fort, but that one, of course, cannot have been on the city wall in that position. The northern portion of the city must have included the mounds of Pharāwal village, Chak Abora, where the house of Āmrapālī is located, and Chak Biṣanpur. The suburb of Kollāga is probably represented by the village of Kolluā and the group of Aśoka ruins, which must have been without the walls. The boundary at the north-western corner of the city is uncertain; it has been contracted in my map in order to agree with the traditional accounts of Buddha's last journey.

The result is a city ten miles in circuit, which agrees with the popular local estimate of five *kos*, but is somewhat smaller than Hiuen Tsiang's estimate of twelve miles, which may have included the Kollāga suburb.

The foregoing discussion will, I hope, have convinced my readers that Professor Rhys Davids carries scepticism rather

far when he suggests that nobody knows the site of Vaisāli. "It must," he writes, "have been a great and flourishing place. But, though different guesses have been made as to its site, no one of them has yet been proved to be true by excavation. It was somewhere in Tirhut; and just three leagues, or say 23 miles, north of the Ganges, at a spot five leagues, say 38 miles, from Rājagaha."[1]

The distance of the city from the river, as stated by the Pāli writer, is sufficiently correct; but, if the words "at a spot" refer to the position of Vaisāli, and not to a point on the bank of the Ganges, the alleged distance from Rājagaha is little more than half of the true distance. Rājgīr, the site of Rājagaha, is 40 miles distant in a straight line from Patna (Pāṭaliputra) on the south side of the river, and the marching distance from Rājgīr to Basāṛ (Vaisāli), through Patna and across the river, must slightly exceed 70 miles. The distance from Rājagaha to Vaisāli was therefore approximately ten, not five, *yojanas* or leagues of more than seven miles each. If the words "at a spot" refer to a point on the bank of the Ganges, the statement of the Pāli author is approximately correct. The statements in the Pāli books of distances expressed in *yojanas* are often so discrepant, and so far invalidated by doubts as to the value of the *yojana* used, that they are generally of little practical use.[2]

[1] Journal of the Pāli Text Society for 1897–1901, p. 79. For the distances stated Professor Rhys Davids refers to "Dhammapāla on S.N. 2. 1."

[2] The best published discussion of the value of the *yojana* is that given by Professor Rhys Davids in "Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon," pp. 15–17. He finds that the *yojana* used by Fā-hien was approximately equal to $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and with this finding I agree. Both the Chinese pilgrims reckoned 40 *li* to the *yojana*, and their *li*, therefore, is equivalent to about $\frac{2}{15}$ of a mile, or, in other words, $5\frac{1}{3}$ *li* go to the mile. Cunningham reckoned 6 *li* to the mile. The modern Chinese *li* is about one-third of a mile. Gibbon, with his usual accuracy, did not fail to perceive the lower value of the ancient *li*. "According to the present standard," he observes, "200 *li* (or, more accurately, 193) are equal to one degree of latitude; and one English mile consequently exceeds three miles of China. But there are strong reasons to believe that the ancient *li* scarcely equalled one half of the modern." (*Note to ch.* xxvi.)

Hiuen Tsiang records the fact that the *yojana* had three values, namely:—

(1) According to the old accounts, 40 *li*;
(2) According to the common reckoning in India, 30 *li*; and
(3) In the sacred books, 16 *li* (Beal, i, 70).

Hiuen Tsiang's measurements in *li*, when compared with Fā-hien's in *yojanas*,

The vague and contradictory estimates of distance given in the Buddhist sacred books cannot, so far as I can see, be made by any amount of cross-questioning to disclose the site of Vaisāli, which, however, is now established, as I venture to think, without any room for reasonable doubt, even in the absence of the test by systematic excavation and survey.

No site in India calls more loudly for such excavation and survey. It is far more promising than the site of Pāṭaliputra. Most of the remains of that famous capital lie, as I have seen, buried fifteen or twenty feet below the present surface, and it is practically impossible to explore them. The city of Patna, the civil station of Bankipore, the East Indian Railway, and sundry villages and high roads, all lie over Pāṭaliputra, and cannot be dug up by archæologists.

The site of Vaisāli, on the contrary, is in open country,

always give a value of 40 *li* for the *yojana*. I have not noticed in any book a clear example of the *yojana* containing only 30 *li*, equivalent to $5\frac{5}{8}$ miles. But examples of the *yojana* of the value of three miles, containing only 16 *li*, or an equivalent Indian measure, seem to occur in 'the sacred books.' The following quotations are from Spence Hardy's "Manual of Buddhism," 2nd ed. Hardy drew his information from Pāli authorities.

The distance from Kapilavastu to Anoma river, according to him, was 480 'miles,' and from the same river to Rājagṛha the distance was equal. Hardy's 'mile' seems to be the sixteenth of a *yojana*, and the two distances stated would be 30 *yojanas* each (pp. 164, 165). This interpretation is fully justified by the statement (p. 204) that when Buddha commenced his journey he proceeded each day sixteen 'miles,' and accomplished the distance of 60 *yojanas* between Rājagṛha and Kapilavastu in two months, that is to say, in sixty days he travelled sixty *yojanas* of 16 'miles,' or *li*, each. He is, therefore, alleged to have moved at the very leisurely rate of 3 English miles a day. But, even if the *yojana* be taken at this minimum value of 3 miles, the total distance as stated of 180 miles (60 × 3) between Rājagṛha and Kapilavastu is not nearly correct. The position of Rājagṛha is certain, and Kapilavastu stood a few miles westward from Rummindeī, the certain site of the Lumbini Garden. The direct distance from Rājagṛha to Kapilavastu is about 225, and the marching distance about 250 miles. The estimate of 60 *yojanas* cannot be reconciled with any of the known values of the *yojana*.

The distance between Rājagṛha and Śrāvastī is stated to be 45 *yojanas*, or 45 days' journey for Buddha (ibid., pp. 224, 225). But the site of Śrāvastī is nearly 100 miles further from Rājagṛha than is Kapilavastu, the distance from which place to Rājagṛha is stated as 60 *yojanas*.

From Śrāvastī to Vaisāli the distance is said (p. 291) to be 54 *yojanas*, and the distance from Kapilavastu to Vaisāli (p. 354) is given as 49 *yojanas*; whereas the distance from Śrāvastī to Kapilavastu is known to have been $12\frac{1}{2}$ long *yojanas*, equivalent to 500 *li*. From such figures it is difficult to deduce any valuable result.

at a considerable distance from the great rivers or any town, and has not been extensively built upon. The slight exploration which has been effected has been concerned only with a few of the Buddhist holy places. The pre-Buddhist and Jain associations of the place, which give it such a special interest, have been almost ignored.

At the very dawn of Indian history we catch glimpses of Vaisāli as a splendid city, the capital of the proud and lordly Licchavi clan. The religious ferment which so deeply moved the hearts of the dwellers in the Gangetic valley during the sixth century B.C. seems to have centred in Vaisāli.

Vardhamāna, surnamed Mahāvīra, who erected the fabric of the Jain system upon the foundation laid by Pārśvanātha, was a noble of Vaisāli, a member of the Nāta or Nāya clan of Kṣatriyas who dwelt in the suburb Kollāga,[1] which is probably now represented by the village situated close to the Monkey Tank called Kolluā or Kolhuā, on the eastern side of which a large mound exists. In Cunningham's time Jain history and antiquities had not attracted the general attention of scholars, and the great opportunities offered by a study of the remains at Vaisāli for the elucidation of the story of the rise and progress of Jainism were not utilized. The position of Kolluā is not even marked on either of Cunningham's maps, and its identifications with Kollāga cannot yet be treated as an absolute certainty. I understand that the village lies to the north-east of Baniyā, between Vaisāli (Basāṛ) and Bakhirā.

Vāṇiyagāma, the mercantile quarter of the city, may be confidently, for reasons already stated, identified with Baniyā village. Exploration of the Baniyā and Kolluā sites should yield materials for the study of Jain history little inferior in interest to the discoveries in Buddhist lore which may

[1] A convenient summary of the Jain traditions, with references to the original authorities, will be found in Dr. Hoernle's masterly address delivered to the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the 2nd February, 1898. As an indication of the early pre-eminence of Vaisāli, see the curious story about "the water of the tank in Vesāli City where the families of the kings get water for the ceremonial sprinkling," in Jātaka No. 465, the Bhadda-Sāla (Rouse, transl. iv, 94).

confidently be expected from the same localities or others immediately adjoining. I expect that Jain and Buddhist monuments will be found intermingled, and that considerable difficulty may be experienced in distinguishing them, because the Jains and Buddhists alike built *stūpas*, *stūpa* railings, and *toraṇa* gateways, and to a large extent used the same symbolism.[1]

Kuṇḍagāma, the Brahman section of Vaisāli, may be represented by the hamlet called Basukuṇḍ, but the identification must at present remain doubtful.

At one time there was reason to suppose that I might be in a position to attempt a solution of the many problems in the ancient history of India on which light would probably be thrown by the systematic survey and exploration of the Vaisāli site; but, as that cannot be, I have written this paper in order that it may serve as a rough guide to other enquirers; and I trust that the official advisers in archæological matters to the Governments of India and Bengal may be induced by the perusal of these imperfect and tentative notes of mine to undertake the adequate exploration of the rich field which lies ready before them.

I understand that the Government of India, as at present constituted, is disposed to rely largely on private effort for the work of archæological research as distinguished from that of conservation. If that opinion should be acted on, the results are likely to be disastrous. Private enterprise cannot deal with the gigantic task of Indian archæological exploration. Even the resources of the Government can effect but little compared with the vast amount of work remaining to be done, but intelligent official direction by competent persons can secure at least that wanton destruction be not wrought in the name of science, whereas unsystematic

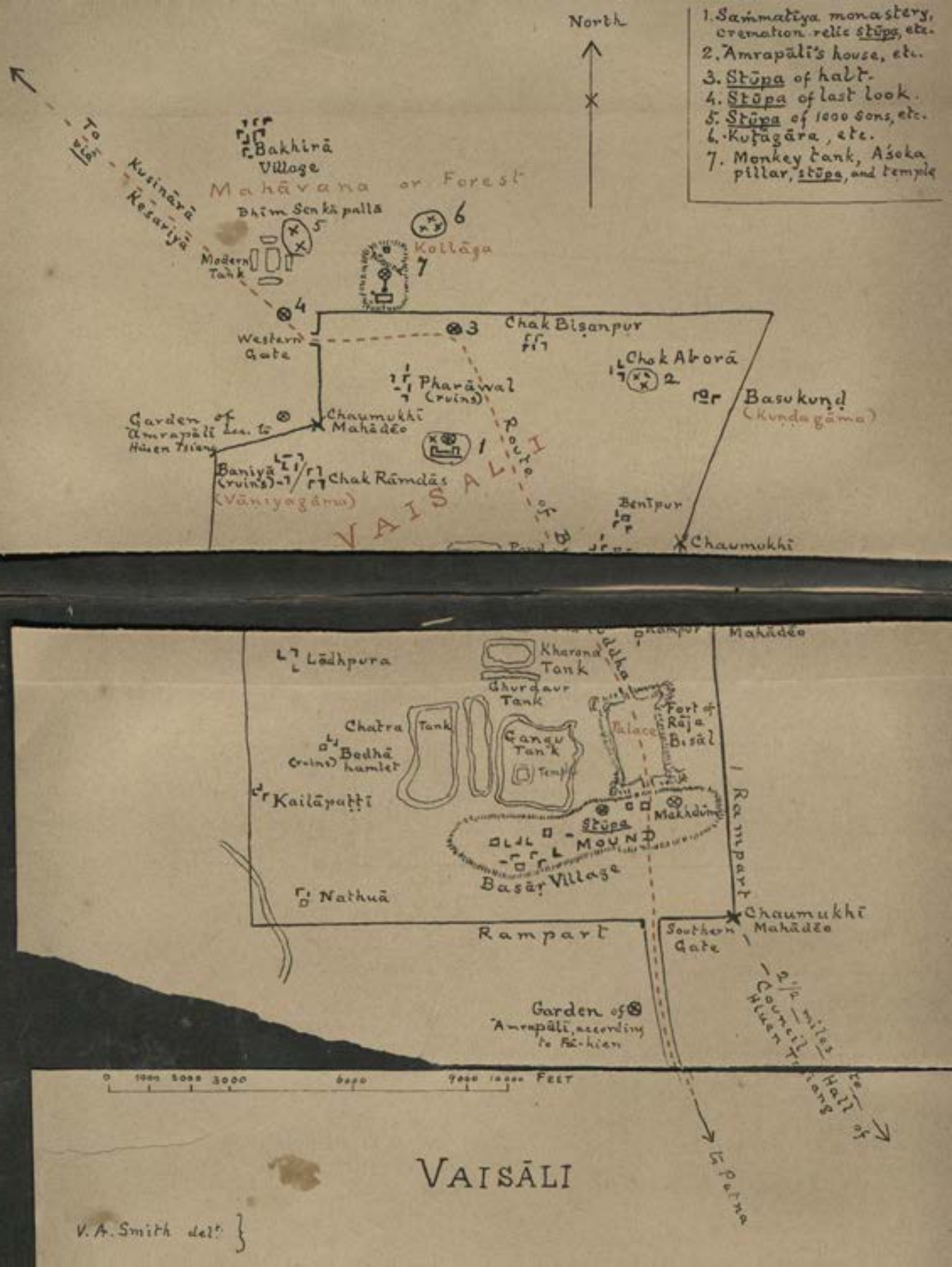
[1] The full proof of this proposition will be found in my work entitled "The Jain Stûpa and other Antiquities of Mathurâ," now in the press, which will be published as volume xx of the Imperial Series of Reports of the Archæological Survey of India. Dr. Führer left behind him a series of valuable plates depicting the Jain remains at Mathurā, to which I have added a brief descriptive commentary.

private enterprises will ordinarily in the future, as in the past, destroy more than they discover.[1]

Professor Rhys Davids is not far wrong when he writes that "the archæology of India is, at present, almost an unworked field."[2] I need hardly add that the enunciation of this dictum does not imply either on his part or on mine any failure to appreciate the high value of many of the researches conducted by a long line of learned scholars and enthusiastic explorers. It means, I apprehend, that earnest students of Indian archæology are the persons most sensible of the very small proportion borne by the work properly done to that which remains undone.

[1] The prospectus of the India Exploration Fund fully recognizes the special interest attaching to the Vaisāli site. If that Fund should ever come into being it will, so far as I understand, simply result in a small cash contribution to the Archæological Department of the Government of India for expenditure on works selected by the managers of the Fund.

[2] Journal of the Pāli Text Society, 1901, p. 79.


North
1. Saṁmatīya monastery, cremation relic stūpa, etc.
2. Āmrapālī's house, etc.
3. Stūpa of halt.
4. Stūpa of last look.
5. Stūpa of 1000 sons, etc.
6. Kuṭāgāra, etc.
7. Monkey tank, Aśoka pillar, stūpa, and temple
To Vaiśālī
Kusinārā
Kēsariyā
Bakhirā Village
Mahāvana or Forest
Bhīm Senkā pallā
Modern Tank
Kollāga
Western Gate
Chak Biṣanpur
Chak Aborā
Pharāwal (ruins)
Basukuṇḍ (Kuṇḍagāma)
Garden of Āmrapālī acc. to Hüen Tsiang
Chaumukhī Mahādēo
Baniyā (ruins)
Chak Rāmdās (Vāṇiyagāma)
VAISALI
Benīpur
Chaumukhī
Mahādēo
Lādhpura
Kharona Tank
Ghurdaur Tank
Chatra Tank
Bodhā (ruins) hamlet
Gangu Tank
Temple
Palace
Fort of Rāja Bisāl
Kailāpaṭṭī
Stūpa
Makhdūm
MOUND
Basāṛ Village
Rampart
Nathuā
Rampart
Chaumukhī Mahādēo
Southern Gate
Garden of Āmrapālī, according to Fā-hien
2½ miles to Council Hall of Hüen Tsiang
0 1000 2000 3000 6000 9000 10000 FEET
VAISĀLI
V. A. Smith delt.

ART. XI. — *Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī's Correspondence on Vegetarianism.* By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

IT has already been mentioned[1] that, according to Ṣafadi, a correspondence on Vegetarianism between Abu'l-'Alā and a certain Hibat Allah Ibn Mūsā, due to a line in the former's *Luzūmiyyāt*, was excerpted by Yāḳūt. The first volume of Yāḳūt's precious *Dictionary of Littérateurs* is in the Bodleian Library,[2] soon, I hope, to be published with such other volumes of it as can be found. Yāḳūt, whose acquaintance with literary history was unique, tells us that a passage in the *Falak al-Ma'ānī* of Ibn al-Habbāriyyah[3] had roused in him the desire to get at this correspondence, which he reproduces in an abridged form. Abu'l-'Alā's correspondent was a man of some importance, whose grave was still shown in Maḳrizi's time in Cairo,[4] where he held the post of Chief Missionary. The fact that Abu'l-'Alā addresses him with the titles *ra'īs* and *ajall* shows that he held this or some similar post at the time of the

[1] *Letters of Abu'l-'Alā*, ed. D. S. M., p. xxxix.

[2] Bodl. Or. 753.

[3] Ibn al-Habbāriyyah appears to have been much interested in Abu'l-'Alā. Ṣafadi (Comm. on *Lāmiyyat al-'Ajam*, Cairo, 1305, ii, 189–191) gives a long quotation from a Risālah written by him to Al-Ustādh al-Ḳhaṭīrī Abu Manṣūr, in which an allusion is made (p. 190, med.) to Abu'l-'Alā's *kufr* and *ilḥād*. Ṣafadi was acquainted with the published collection of Abu'l-'Alā's Letters: he quotes them, ii, 102 and i, 112. In ii, 198, there is an epigram containing an allusion to the غفران, of which Mr. Nicholson has given such an interesting account in this Journal:

قد زرت قبر ابى العلاء المرتضى * لـمـا اتيت معرة النعمان
وسالت مـن غـفـر الخطايا انـه * يهدى الـيـه رسالة الغفران

The author was 'Alā al-dīn al-Wadā'ī: he visited Abu'l-'Alā's grave in 679.

[4] *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 460.

correspondence. This must be fixed for 438 A.H., since Abu'l-'Alā (who was born in 363) says that he began vegetarianism at the age of 30, and had continued it for forty-five years. The "Crown of Princes," to whom Hibat Allah offers to write to obtain an increase of the poet's salary, appears to have been Ṣadaḳah Ibn Yūsuf al-Fallāḥī, who bore the title *Fakhr al-Mulk* (here given him by Abu'l-'Alā), and, according to Ibn al-Athir,[1] died in 440. Suyuṭi[2] says he was Vizier to the Fatimide Al-Mustanṣir from 436 to 439. When Abu'l-'Alā says that "after what has passed" he could not appear before this person in the light of a place-hunter, he refers to Letter xxiii of the published collection, in which he refused Ṣadaḳah's[3] offer to help him at the court of a former governor of Ḥaleb.

The amount of information which these letters convey seems to be very considerable, at least for the history of the "leading ideas of Islam." The "Chief Missionary" at the Academy of Cairo was by profession pledged to Shi'ism; it was his business to instruct and admit converts. Yet if orthodoxy was a qualification for the post, Hibat Allah seems to have possessed it in a very slight degree. He thinks it "bad form" to quote either the Koran or the Tradition on such a question as Vegetarianism; he only does so as a rejoinder to Abu'l-'Alā, otherwise he would have kept clear of this line of reasoning. He found that mankind were of two classes — one of them so stupidly fanatical that they would accept *any* statement; what the other class were like he does not say. But he tells us that he had defended Abu'l-'Alā at debates in which the latter's orthodoxy was questioned, and yet appears quite prepared

[1] ix, 377.

[2] *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah*, ii, 153.

[3] I cannot find the title *tāj al-umarā* given him elsewhere. However, his successor in the office of Vizier had similar titles to those which Abu'l-'Alā lavishes on him: الناصر للدين غياث المسلمين الوزير الاجل المكين سيد الروساء تاج الاصفياء (Suyuṭi, l.c.). The *nisbah* is wrongly written علاجى in Ibn Iyās. Cf. Wüstenfeld in *Abh. Gött. Akad.*, xxvii, No. 8, p. 5.

to hear the other assert the human origin of all professedly sacred codes. To him the poet of Ma'arrah is known, not as a freethinker, but as the great scholar of the age. He supposes that his conduct will be the result of profound speculation, and tests him in an easy matter in order to be able to approach him on difficult ones.

And what sort of figure does Abu'l-'Alā cut in this correspondence? One that justifies the statement of the Prophet that "poets say what they do not do."[1] The poet had offered his services to those "whose religion and understanding were ailing": some one who acknowledges to that condition asks his aid, and the poet does his utmost to explain away his offer, to make learned quotations serve instead of arguments, and to substitute special and personal motives for reasons based on universal laws. He does not appear capable of distinguishing between *may* and *must*, important though that distinction be. He also, under the pretence of being horrified, cites with evident gusto some of the most blasphemous lines preserved in Arabic.

Ibn al-Habbāriyyah supposed the correspondence had had fatal results for Abu'l-'Alā. It is pleasing to know that the correspondents parted friends. Hibat Allah probably had too great experience of mankind to be greatly disappointed when he found the poet's promise could not be kept. In the sources at present open to me I can find no further mention of Hibat Allah besides the notice in Maḳrizi. What the purport of the title "the aided in religion" (given him by both Abu'l-'Alā and Maḳrizi) may be is not clear.

If it were true, as Von Kremer and others supposed, that Abu'l-'Alā was imitating the practice of the Jainas in his ascetic régime, we might expect some reference in these letters to the Indian doctrine, which, however, is not to be found. Moreover, it is noticeable that he tells us his asceticism began in his 30th year — not after his return from Baghdad, as had seemed probable. Syria does not seem a likely place for Jaina doctrines to have been reached,

[1] Sura xxvi, 225.

and yet before the journey to Baghdad Abu'l-'Alā would seem not to have gone outside its limits.

We learn incidentally the source of Dhahabi's account of the poet's income, and the way in which it was disposed. If his journey to Baghdad was really undertaken with the object of securing it, this object was realized.

The Bodleian copy of Yāḳūt is very modern, and contains many errors.[1] Of these only the most obvious have been corrected. Yāḳūt's abridgment was not very skilfully made, since the correspondents not infrequently quote passages of each other's letters which do not appear in the compendium. Probably, however, little of importance has been omitted. In the translation the *compliments* have been abridged.

[1] The *angular* brackets ⟨ ⟩ signify additions by the editor, the *square* brackets [ ] signify *omittenda*.

مكاتبة فى ترك اكل اللحوم

قرأتُ فى كتاب فلك المعاني ان كثيراً من الجهّال يعدّ الموت ظلمًا من البارئ عز وجل ويستقبحه بما فيه من النعمة والحكمة والراحة والمصلحة وقد قال ابو العلاء احمد بن عبد الله بن سليمان المغربي مع تحذلقه ودعواه الطويلة العريضة وشهرة نفسه بالحكمة ومظاهرته

وَنَهَيْتَ عَنْ قَتْلِ ٱلنُّفُوسِ تَعَمُّدًا * وَبَعَثْتَ أَنْتَ لِقَتْلِهَا مَلَكَيْنِ
وَزَعَمْتَ أَنَّ لَنَا مَعَادًا ثَانِيًا * مَا كَانَ أَغْنَاهَا عَنِ ٱلْحَالَيْنِ

وهذا كلام مجنونٍ معتوه يعتقد انّ القتل كالموت والموت كالقتل فليت هذا الجاهل لما حُرم الشرع وبَرْدَه والحقّ وحلاوته والهُدى ونوره واليقين وراحته لمّا[1] يدّعِ ما هو برئ منه بعيد عنه ولم يقل

غَدَوْتَ مَرِيضَ ٱلْعَقْلِ وَٱلرَّأْيِ فَٱلْقَنِي * لِتُخْبِرَ أَنْبَاءَ ٱلْعُقُولِ ٱلصَّحَائِحِ

حتّى سلّط الله عليه ابا نصر بن ابى عمران داعى الدعاة بمصر فقال له انا ذلك المريض رأيًا وعقلاً وقد اتيتك مستشفياً فاشفنى وجرت بينهما مكاتباتٌ كثيرة امر في اخرها احضاره[2] حلب ووعده على الاسلام خيراً من بيت المال فلما علم ابو العلاء انه يحمل للقتل او الاسلام سمّ نفسه ومات وليته لما ادّعى العقل خرس ولم يقل مثل هذه الترهات التى يُخْلِد اليها من لا حاجةَ لله تعالى فيه * قال المؤلّف لما وقعت على هذه القصّة اشتهيت ان اقف على صورة ما دار بينهما على وجهه حتى ظفِرت بمجلّد لطيف وفيه عدّة

[1] لم would be better.

[2] Read باحضاره.

رسائل من ابى نصرهبة الله بن موسى بن ابى عمران الى المعرّيّ
فى هذا المعنى انقطع الخطاب بينهما على المساكتة ولم يذكر فيها
ما يدل على ما ذهب اليه ابن الهبّاريّة من سمّ المعرّيّ نفسه
ونقلها على الوجه يطول فلخصت منها الغرض دون تفاصيح المعرّيّ
وتشدّقه *

كتب ابن (ابى) عمران اليه

الشيخ احسن الله توفيقه الناطق بلسان الفضل والادب الذى ترك
من عداه صامتا مشهوٌ له بهذه الفضيلة من كل من هو فوق
البسيطة غير ان الادب الذى هو جالينوس طبّه وعنده مفاتيح غيبه
ليس مما يفيده كبير فائدة فى معاشه او معاده سوى الذكر السائر به
الركبان مثا هو اذا تسامع المذكور به علم انه له بمكانة الجمال
والزينة ما دام حيًّا فاذا رمت به يد المنون من ظهر الارض الى
بطنها فلا بحسن ذكره ينتفع ولا بقبحه يستضرّ واذا كانت الصورة
هذه كان مستحيلًا منه ايّده الله مع وفور عقله ان جعل موادّه كلها
منصبّة الى احكام اللغة العربيّة والتفقّد فيها واستيفاء اقسام الفاظها
ومعانيها ووقّر عمره على ما لا تنتيخةَ له منها وترك نفسه المتوقّدة نارُ
دكائها خلوًا من النظر فى شأن معاده وان يمتاز من عمله ما لا ينفع
فيمكث اذا ذهب الزبد جفًّا من غيره فاذا هو حرسه الله بمقتضى
هذا الحكم مرتوٍ من عذب مشرب هذا العلم وانما ليس ينوح [1] به
لضرب من ضروب السيابة والدليل على كونه ناظرًا لمعاده سلوكُه
سبيل العيش والتزهّد وعدوله عن الملاذّ من المأكول والمشروب

[1] Read يبوح .

والملبوس وتعفّفه عن ان يجعل جوفه للحيوان مدفناً ' او ان يذوق من درّها لبناً " او يستطعم من استلذّت عليه [1] فى حرثه وانشائه وهذه طريقة من يعتقد انّه اذا الّمها جوزى بألمها وهذا غاية فى الزهد ولمّا رأيت ذلك وسمعت داعية البيت الذى يعزى اليه وهو

غَدَوْتَ مَرِيضَ ٱلدِّينَ وَٱلْعَقْلِ فَٱلْتَقِنِى * لِتَعْلَمَ أَنْبَاءَ ٱلْأُمُورِ ٱلصَّحَائِحِ

فشدّدت اليه راحلة العليل فى دينه وعقله الى الصحيح الذى ينبئنى انباء الامور الصحائح وانا اول ملبٍّ لدعوته معترفٍ بحيرته وهو حقيق ان لا يوطئنى العشواء [2] فيسلك بى فى المحامل ' ولا يعتمد فيما يورده تلبيس الحق بالباطل " واوّل سوالى عن امر خفيف فان استنشقت نسيم الصبا سقت السؤال الى المهمّ اسأله عن العلة فى تحريمه على نفسه اللحم واللبن وكلما يصدر الى الجود من منافع الحيوان فاقول اليس النبات موضوع [3] للحيوان بمشار منه وبوجوده وجوده وبقوة فى الحيوان حسّاسة متا استولى على الانتفاع بالنبات ولو لم يكن الحيوان لكان موضوع النبات باطلاً لا معنى له وعلى هذه القضيّة [4] فان القوّة الانسانيّة مستولية على الحيوان استيلاء الحيوان على النبات لرجحانها عليه بالنطق والعقل فهى مسخّرة لهُ على انواع من التسخير ولولا ذلك لكان موضوع الحيوان باطلاً فتجافى الشيخ وفّقه الله عن الانتفاع بما هو موضوعٌ له مخلوق لاجله ابطالٌ لتركيب الخلقة ثم امتناعُه من اكل الحيوان ليس يخلوا القصد به من احد امرين اما انه تاخذه رافة بها فلا يرى [رأى] تناولها بالمكروه وما

[1] Perhaps عِلَّتُه.

[2] According to *Lisan al-Arab*, xix, 289, this should be العشوة.

[3] Should be موضوعاً.

[4] MS. القصة.

ينبغى لـه ان يكون ارأف بها مـن خالقها فاذا ادّعـى ان تحليلها وتحريمها انما كان من بعض البشر يعني به اصحاب الشرائع وان الله لـم يبح اراقة دم حيوان واكله كان الـدليل على بطلان قولـه وقوعُ المشاهدة لجنس السباع وجوارح الطير التى خلقها الله سبحانه على صيغة لا تصلح الا لنتش اللحوم وفسخها وتمزيق الحيوانات واكلها واذا كان هذا الشكل قائم العين فى الفطرة كان جنس البشر وسيع العذر فى اكل اللحوم وكان من احلّ لهم ذلك محقّا والثانى انه يرى سفك دماء الحيوان خارجًا عـن اوضاع الحكمة وذلـك اعتراضٌ منه على خالقه الذى اوجده واذا انعم الشيخ وساق الىّ حجة اعتمدها رجوت كشف المرض الذى وقع اعترافى به *

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الجواب من ابى العلاء المعرّي اليه

قال العبد الضعيف العاجز احمد بن عبد الله بن سليمان اوّل ما بدأ به انى اعدّ سيّدنا الرئيس الاجلّ المؤيّد فى الديـن اطـال الله بقاءه ممن ورث حكمة الانبياء ' واعدّ نفسى النخاطئة من الاغبياء " وهو بكتابه الىّ متواضع ومن انـا حتى يكتب مثلهُ الـى (مثلي) مَثَلُه فى ذلك مثل الثريّا كتب[1] الى الثرى وقد علم الله ان سمعى ثقيل ' وبصرى عن الابصار نقيل " قُضِيَ علىّ وانا ابن اربع ' لا افرق بيـن النازل والربـع[2] " ثـم توالـت سِحَني ' فـاشبه شخصى العود الناحني " ومنيت فى اخر عمري بالقعاد ' وعدانى عـن النهضة

[1] Read تكب.

[2] Read المربع.

عاد " واما ما ذكره سيدنا الرئيس الاجلّ المؤيّد فى الدين فالعبد الضعيف العاجز يذكر له مما عاياه طرفا فاقول ان الله جلت عظمته حكم علىّ بالازهاد ' فطفقت من العدم فى جهاد " واما قول العبد الضعيف العاجز

غَدَوْتَ مَرِيضَ ٱلْعَقْلِ وَٱلدِّينِ فَٱلْقَنِي

فانما خاطب به من (هو فى) غمرة الجهل [1] ' لا من هو للرياسة عَلَمٌ واصل " وقد علم ان الحيوان كله حساس يقع به الالم وقد سمع العبد الضعيف من اختلاف القدماء واول ما يُبْدأ به لو ان قايلًا من البشر قال اذا بنينا القضيّة النبوة [2] المركّبة من المسند والمسند اليه ولها واسطتان احداهما نافية والاخرى استثنايية فقلنا الله لا يفعل الا الخير فهذه القضية كاذبة ام صادقة فان قيل انها صادقة فقد راينا الشرور غالبة فعلمنا ان ذلك (ا)مر خفى ولم يزل من ينسب الى الدين يرغب فى هجران اللحوم لانها لم يوصل اليها الا بايلام حيوان ' يفر منه فى كل اوان " وان الضائنة تكون فى محلّ القوم وهى حامل فاذا وضعت وبلغ ولدها شهرا او نحوه اعتبطوه فاكلوه ورغبوا فى اللبن وباتت امّه ثاغية ' لو تقدر سعت له باغية " وقد تردّد فى كلام العرب ما يلحق الوحشية من الوجد والناقة اذا فقدت الفصيل فقال قائلهم

فَمَا وَجَدَتْ كَوَجْدِى [3] أُمُّ سَقْبٍ * أَضَلَّتْهُ فَرَجَّعَتِ ٱلْحَنِينَا

وللسائل ان يقول ان كان الخير لا يريد ربّنا سواه فالشرّ لا يخلوا من احد امرين اما ان يكون قد علم به او لا فان كان عالما به فلا يخلوا

[1] MS. الجهال.

[2] Probably corrupt.

[3] MS. لوجدى.

من احد امرين امـا ان يكون مريدًا له او لا فان كان مريدًا له فكأنّه الفاعل كما ان القائل يقول قطع الامير السارق وان لم يباشر ذلـك بنفسه وان كان غير مريد فقد جاز عليه ما لا يجوز على امير مثله فى الارض انه اذا فُعل فى ولايته شئ لا يرضاه انكره وامر بزواله وهذه عقدة قد اجتهد المتكلمون فى انحلالها[1] فـاعوزهم وقد ذكـرت الانبياء ان البارئ جلت عظمته رؤوف رحيم ولو رأف ببنى آدم وجـب ان يرأف بغيرهم مـن اصناف الحيوان الذى يجد الالم بادني شئ وقد علم ان الوحش الراتعة يبكر اليها الفارس فيطعن العير او الانسان[2] * وهزما اسديين اليهم ذيبا[3] ولأيّ حال استوجب مـن يفعَل بها هذا الرقة وهى لـم تشرب مـن الماء بذنوب ' ولم تجز ما يكتب مـن الذنوب " وقـد رايت الجيشين المنتسب كـل واحد منهما الى الشرع[4] المنفرد ' يلتقيان وكلاهما فى مـدد " ويُقتل بينهما آلاف عددا "' فهذا محسوب من ايّ الوجهين فليس عند النظر بمبين فلما بلغ العبد الضعيف العاجز اختلاف الاقوال وبلغ ثلاثين عامًا ' سأل ربه انعاما " ورزقه صوم الـدهر ' فلم يفطر فى السنة ولا الشهر " الا فى العيدين ' وصبر على توالى الجديدين " وظنّ اقتناعه بالنبات يثبت له جميل العافية وقـد علم سيدنـا الرئيس الاجـلّ المؤيّد فى الديـن ولا ريب انه قد نظر فى الكتب المتقدمة ومـا حكى عـن جالينوس وغيره ' من اعتقاد يدل على الخيرة " واذا قيل ان البارئ رؤوف رحيم فلم سلـط الاسـد على افتراس نسمة انسية ' ليست

[1] احلالها would be better.

[2] Read الاتان.

[3] These words are corrupt.

[4] MS. الشروع.

بالمفسدة ولا القسية " وكم مات بلدغ الحيات جماعة مشهورة وسلط على الطير الراضية بلقط الحبة البازي والصقروان القطاة لتدع فراخها ظماء وتبتكر لترد ماء تحمله اليها فى حوصلتها فيصادفها دونهن اجدل فياكلها فيهلك فراخها عطشا وذكر اشياء من هذا الباب ثم قال واعوذ بالله واتبرأ من قول الكافر

أَلَمَّتْ بِٱلْحَيَّةِ أُمُّ بَكْرٍ * فَحَيُّوا أُمَّ بَكْرٍ بِٱلسَّلَامِ
وَكَايِنْ بِٱلطَّوِيِّ طَوِيِّ بَدْرٍ * مِنَ ٱلْأَحْسَابِ وَٱلْقَوْمِ ٱلْكِرَامِ
وَكَايِنْ بِٱلطَّوِيِّ طَوِيِّ بَدْرٍ * مِنَ الشِيزَى يُكَلَّلُ بِٱلسِّنَامِ
أَلَا (يَا) أُمَّ بَكْرٍ لَا تُكِرِّي * عَلَيَّ ٱلْكَأْسَ بَعْدَ أَخِي هِشَامِ
وَبَعْدَ أَخِي أَبِيهِ وَكَانَ قَرْمًا * مِنَ ٱلْأَقْرَامِ شَرَّابَ ٱلْمُدَامِ
أَلَا مِنْ مُبْلِغِ ٱلرَّحْمٰنِ (عَنِّي) * (بِ)أَنِّي تَارِكٌ شَهْرَ ٱلصِّيَامِ
إِذَا مَا ٱلرَّأْسُ زَايَلَ مَنْكِبَيْهِ * فَقَدْ شَبِعَ ٱلْأَنِيسُ مِنَ ٱلطَّعَامِ
أَيُوعِدُنَا ٱبْنُ كَبْشَةَ أَنْ سَنَحْيَى * وَكَيْفَ (بِ)إِحْيَا أَصْدَاءٍ وَهَامِ
أَيَنْزِلُ أَنْ يَرُدَّ ٱلْمَوْتُ عَيْنِي * وَيُحْيِيني إِذَا بَلِيَتْ عِظَامِي

ولعن الله القائل ويقال انه الوليد بن يزيد بن عبد الملك

ادننا[1] منى خليلى عنه لَا دُونَ ٱلْإِزَارِ
فَلَقَدْ أَيْقَنْتُ أَنِّي غَيْرُ مَبْعُوثٍ لِنَارِ
سَأَرُوضُ ٱلنَّاسَ حَتَّى يَرْكَبُوا دِينَ ٱلْحِمَارِ
وابركا[2] مَنْ يَطْلُبُ ٱلْجَنَّةَ يَسْعَى فِي خَسَارِ

[1] Read ادنها.
[2] Read وَأُرِي.

وويل لابن رعيان ان كان قال

هِيَ ٱلْأُولَى وَقَدْ نَعِمُوا[1] بِأُخْرَى * وَتَسْوِيفُ ٱلظُّنُونِ مِنَ ٱلسَّوَافِ
فَإِنْ يَكُ بَعْدُ[2] ما قَالُوهُ حَقًّا * فَإِنَّ ٱلْمُبْتَلِيكَ هُوَ ٱلْمُعَافِي

ومما حشنى على ترك اكل الحيوان ان الذى لى فى السنة نيف وعشرون دينارا فاذا اخذ خادمى بعض ما يجب ' بقي لى ما لا يعجب " فاقتصرت على فول وبلسن ' وما لا يعذب على الالسن " فاما الان فاذا صار الى من يخدمنى كثير عندى وعنده هين ' فما حظى الا اليسير المتعين " ولست ازيد فى رزقى زيادة ' ولا اوثر لسقمى عيادة " والسلام

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الجواب من ابن ابى عمران

حوشى الشيخ ادام الله سلامته من ان يكون ممن قطف فى مرض[3] دينه وعقله بعلته واجاب دعوة الداعى منه بالبيت الشائع عنه ليذ(ا)ل شفاء علته (جواباً) يزيده الى غلته غلةً اذاً يكون كما قال المتنبى

أَظْمَأَنِي[4] ٱلدُّنْيَا فَلَمَّا جِئْتُهَا * مُسْتَسْقِيًا مَطَرَتْ عَلَيَّ مَصَائِبَا

كان سوالى له حرسه الله فى شيء يختص بنفسه فى هجره ما يشد الجسم من اللحم الذى ينبت اللحم فاجاب بما اقول فى جوابه

[1] Perhaps زعموا.
[2] Read بعض.
Read عرض.
[4] Mutanabbi, ed. Dieterici, p. 173.

اهذه انباء (الخ) وهل زاد السقيم بدوائه هذا الا سقيما[1] والاعمى الاصم فى دينه وعقله بما قال الا عمًى وصمما على ان جميع ما ذكره ينحوه[2] عن سوالى الاول ومعزل عنه ولا مناسبة بينها وبينه واما القول بان اللحوم لا يصل اليها الا بايلام الحيوان فقد سبق الجواب لا يكونن الشيخ اراف بها من خالقها فليس يخلوا من كونه عادلًا او جائراً فان كان عادلاً فانه سبحانه يقبض ارواح الآكل والماكول جميعا وذلك مسلم له وان كان جائراً لم ينبغ ان نرجح[3] على خالقنا بعدلنا وجوره واما قوله وللسائل ان يقول ان كان الخير هو الذى لا يريد ربنا سواه فالشر لا يخلوا من احد امرين اما ان يكون قد علم به او لا الى آخره فاقول قيل ان انسانا ضاع له مصحف فقيل له اقرا وَٱلشَّمْسِ[4] وَضُحَاهَا فانك تجده فقال وهذه السورة ايضا فيه فاقول ايضا ان هذا ايضا من ذلك وجميعه ظلمات فاين النور وانما قصدنا ان نعرف أَنبَاءَ ٱلأُمُورِ ٱلصَّحَائِحِ كما قاله واما قوله لما رأى اختلاف الاقوال ' وايقن بنفاد وزوال " سأل ربه ان يرزقه صوم الدهر واقتنع بالنبات فما صحّ لى ان الرب الذى سأله هو الذى يريد الخير وحده او الذى يريد الشر وحده او الذى يريدهما جميعاً والصوم فرع على اصل من شرع يأتى به رسول والرسول يتعلق بمرسل وقصتنا فى المرسل مشتبهة يبعث رسولا يريد ان يطاع ام لا يطاع فان كان يريد ان يطاع فهو مغلوب على ارادته لان من لا يطيعه اكثر وان كان يريد ان لا يطاع فارساله اياه محالٌ وطلبة حجة على الضعفاء ليعذبهم فان كان موضوع صومه على هذا فلم يفعل

[1] Read سقماً.

[2] Read بنحية.

[3] MS. يرجح.

[4] Sura xci, 1.

شيًا وان كان على غيره مما هو اجلى واوضح فهو الذى اطلبه واما حكاية قول بعض الملحدين واستعاذته بالله ان يكون من المعترضين فى قوله تعالى وَإِنَّهُ[1] أَهْلَكَ عَادًا ٱلْأُولَىٰ وَثَمُودًا فَمَا أَبْقَىٰ الآيات ان كان البارئ سبحانه خلقهم وهو يعلم انهم مجرمون ' وللتوبة والانابة يحرمون '' فكان الاولى به وهو الرؤوف الرحيم ان لا يخلقهم ليلا يعذبهم وان كان لا يعلم * فهو كامثالنا[2] ولا يدرى ما يكون منه وقول الشيخ بعده معاذ الله ان نقول ذلك بل نسلم ونتلوا الآية مَنْ[3] يَهْدِي ٱللَّهُ فَهُوَ ٱلْمُهْتَدِي وَمَنْ يُضْلِلْ فَلَنْ تَجِدَ لَهُ وَلِيًّا مُرْشِدًا فليس الملحد اذا قال ان السكر حلو والخل حامض لا يقبل منه لكونه ملحدًا وقوله يقتضي جوابا فان كان عند الشيخ جواب فهو الذى يبغى والا فما التسليم فى هذا الموضع الا التسليم للملحد لا شئ غيره واما انشاده

أَلَمَّتْ بِٱلتَّحِيَّةِ أُمُّ عَمْرٍو

وما بعده من الاشعار وذمه من قال ولعنه من الذى اتهمه بشئ من ذلك حاشاه وما الذي اوجب الاذكار بكفريات شعرهم واما ختمه الرسالة بقوله ان الذى حثه على ترك اكل الحيوان ان الذي لي في السنة نيف وعشرون دينارًا يصير الى خادمه معظمها ويبقى له ايسرها ويحمل مؤونة القدر الذى يطعمه لو كان ثقيلا لوجب تحمله فكيف وهو الخفيف محمله وقد[4] كاتبت مولاى تاج الامراء حرس الله عزه ان يتقدم بازاحة العلة فيما هو بلغة مثله من الذ الطعام ' ومراعاته به على الادرار والدوام '' ليتكشف عنه غاشية هذه

[1] Sura liii, 52.

[2] Transpose these words after. منه .

[3] Sura xviii, 16.

[4] Read فقد .

الضرورة ' ويجرى امره فى معيشته على احسن ما يكون من الصورة "
ثم ان قام من الشيخ نشطة لجواب اعفانى فيه عن قصد الاسجاع ولزوم
ما لا يلزم فان ملتمسى فيه المعانى لا الالفاظ *

ع

الجواب من ابى العلاء

سيدنا الرئيس الاجلّ المؤيّد فى الدين عصمة المؤمن هدى الله
الامم بهدايته وسلك بهم طريق الخير على يده قد بدأ المعترف
بجهله المقرّ بحيرته والداعى الى الله سبحانه ان رزقه[1] ما قلّ من
رحمته فى اول ما خاطبه به ان[2] ذكر اعتقاده فى سيدنا الرئيس
الاجلّ المؤيّد فى الدين ضوّأ الله الظلم ببصيرته واذهب شكوك
الافئدة برأيه وحكمته وما نفسه عليه من الذلة والحقرية عنده وانه
يحسبها ساكتة فى بعض السوام وعجب ان مثله يطلب الرشد ممن
لا رشد عنده فيكون كالقمر الذي هو دائب فى خدمة ربه ليلًا ونهارًا
يطلب الحقيقة من اقمر بفلاة يرد الماء على الصائد ويصيب قلبه
بسهم وقد ذكر ايّد الله الحق بحياته بيتا من ابيات على الحاء ذكر
وليه ليعلم غيره منه هو عليه من الاجتهاد فى التدين وما حيلته فى
الآية المنزلة التى هى قوله مَنْ[3] يَهْدِي ٱللَّهُ فَهُوَ ٱلْمُهْتَدِي واولها

غَذَوْتَ مَرِيضَ ٱلْعَقْلِ وَٱلدِّينِ فَٱلْقَنِى * لِتَعْلَمَ أَنْبَاءَ ٱلْأُمُورِ ٱلصَّحَائِحِ
فَلَا تَأْكُلَنْ مَا أَخْرَجَ ٱلْمَاءُ ظَالِمًا * وَلَا تَبْغِ قُوتًا مِنْ غَرِيضِ ٱلذَّبَائِحِ

[1] Perhaps يرزقه.

[2] Read اذ.

[3] Sura xviii, 16.

ولا يقدر احد يدفع ان الحيوان البحري لا يخرج من الماء الا وهو كاره واذا سيل المعقول عن ذلك لم يقبح ترك اكله وان كان حلالاً لأن المتديّنين لم يزالوا يتركون ما هو لهم حلال مطلق

وَأَبْيَضَ أُمّاتٍ[1] أَرَادَتْ صَرِيحَهُ * لِأَطْفَالِهَا دُونَ ٱلْغَوَانِي ٱلصَّرَائِحِ

والمراد بالابيض اللبن ومشهور ان الام اذا ذبح ولدها وجدت عليه وجدا عظيما وسهرت لذلك ليالي وقد اخذ لحمه وتوفر على اصحاب امه ما كان يرضع من لبنها فاتى ذنب لمن تحرج عن ذبح السليل ولم يرغب فى استعمال اللبن ولا يزعم انه محرّم وانما تركه اجتهادًا فى التعبد ورحمة للمذبوح رغبة ان يجازي عن ذلك بغفران خالق السموات والارض واذا قيل ان الله سبحانه يساوى بين عباده فى الاقسام فاي شيء اسلفته الذبائح من الخطا حتى يمنع حظها من الرأفة والرفق

فَلَا تَفْجَعَنَّ ٱلطَّيْرَ وَهْيَ غَوَافِلٌ * بِمَا وَضَعَتْ فَٱلظُّلْمُ شَرُّ ٱلْقَبَائِحِ

وقد نهي النبى صلعم عن صيد الليل وذلك احد القولين فى قوله عم اقروا الطير فى وكناتها وفى الكتاب العزيز يَا[2] أَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَقْتُلُوا ٱلصَّيْدَ وَأَنْتُمْ حُرُمٌ وَمَنْ قَتَلَهُ مِنْكُمْ مُتَعَمِّدًا فَجَزَاءٌ مِثْلُ مَا قَتَلَ مِنَ ٱلنَّعَمِ الى غيرها من الآى فى المعنى فاذا سمع من له ادنى حس هذا القول فلا لوم عليه اذا طلب التقرب الى رب السموات والارضين بان يجعل صيد المحل كصيد المحرم وان كان ذلك ليس بمحظور

وَدَعْ ضَرَبَ ٱلنَّحْلِ ٱلَّذِي بَكَرَتْ لَهُ * كَوَاسِبُ مِنْ أَزْهَارِ نَبْتٍ فَوَائِحِ

[1] MS. امارات.

[2] Sura v, 96.

لما كانت النحل تحارب الشارب[1] عن العسل بما تقدر عليه وتجتهد ان ترده من (ذلك) فلا غرو ان اعرض عن استعماله رغبة فى ان تجعل النحل كغيرها مما يكره ذبح الاكيل واخذ ما كان يعيش به لتشربه النساء كى تبدّن وغيرها من بنى آدم وقد وصفت الشعراء ذلك فقال ابو ذئب يصف مشتار العسل

إِذَا لَسَعَتْهُ ٱلنَّحْلُ لَمْ يَرْجُ لَسْعَهَا * وَخَالَفَهَا فِى بَيْتِ لُوبٍ عَوَاسِلِ

وروي عن على عم حكاية معناها انه كان له دقيق شعير فى وعاء يختم عليه فاذا كان صائما (لم) يختم على شىء من ذلك الدقيق وقد كان عليه السلام يصل الى غلة كثيرة ولكنه كان يتصدق بها ويقتنع اشد اقتناع وروي عن بعض اهل العلم انه قال فى بعض خطبه ان غلته تبلغ فى السنة خمسين الف دينار * * * وهذا يدل على ان الانبياء والمجتهدين من الأئمة يقصرون نفوسهم ويؤثرون بما يفضل منهم اهل الحاجة وقد عدل سيدنا الرئيس الى الايماء بان من ترك اكل اللحم ذميم ولو أُخِذ بهذا المذهب لوجب على الانسان ان لا يصلى صلاة الا ما افترض عليه لان ما زاد على ذلك اداه الى كلفة والله تبارك وتعالى لا يريد ذلك ولوجب الذى له مَال[2] كثير اذا اخرج عن الذهب ربع العشر لا يحسن به ان يزيد على ذلك وقد حث الناس على النفقات فى غير موضع من الكتاب الاشرف والعبد الضعيف العاجز قد افتقر الى مثل ذلك ولو مثل بحضرته السامية لعلم انه لم يبق فيه بقية لان يسال ولا ان يجيب لان اعضاءه متخاذلة وقد عجز عن القيام فى الصلاة فانما يصلى قاعدًا والله المستعان وكيف له ان يكون يصل الى ان يدب

[1] Read الشابر.

[2] MS. ما.

على عكاز ثم استشهد على عجره باشعار العرب واني لاعجز اذا اضطجعت عن القعود فربما استعنت بانسان فاذا همّ باعانتي وبسط يديه لنهضتي ضربت عظامي لانهن عاريات من كسوة كانت عليهن واما استشهاده ببيت ابى الطيب فمن استرشد بمثل العبد الضعيف العاجز مَثَلُه مثل من طلب فى القتادة ثمر النخلة وانما حمل سائله على ذلك حسن الظن الذي هو دليل على كرم الطبع وشرف النفس وطهارة المولد وخالص الخيم واما ما ذكره من المكاتبة فى توسيع الرزق علىّ فيدل على افضال ورثه عن اب فاب وجدّ فى اثر جد حتى يصل النسب الى التراب فالعبد الضعيف العاجز ما له رغبة فى التوسع ومعاودة الاطعمة وتركها صار له طبعًا ثانيًا وانه[1] ما اكل شيًا من حيوان خمسًا واربعين سنة والشيخ لا يترك اخلاقه حتى يتوارى فى ثرى رمسه وقد علم ان السيد الاجلّ تاج الامراء فخر الملك عمدة الامامة وعدّة الدولة ومجدها ذا الفخرين نصيف اولاد سام وحام ويافث وود العبد الضعيف العاجز لو ان قلعة حلب وجميع جبال الشام جعلها الله ذهبا لينفقه تاج الامراء نصير الدولة النبوية على امامها السلام وكذلك على الائمة الطاهرين من آبائه من غير ان يصير الى العبد الضعيف من ذلك قيراط وهو يستحى من حضرة تاج الامراء ان ينظر اليه بعين من رغب فى العاجلة بعد ما ذهب وهو رضى ان يلقى الله جلت قدرته وهو لا يطالبُ الا بما فعل من اجتناب اللحوم فان وصل الى هذه الرتبة فقد سعد ثم اعتذر عن السجع باخبار اوردها

[1] MS. وله.

واحتجاجات ذكرها وسيدنا الرئيس الاجل [الاجل] المويّد فى الدين لا زالت حجته باهرة ودولته عالية كما قال ثعلبة بن صعير

وَلَرُبَّ قَوْمٍ ظَالِمِينَ ذَوِى شَذًى * تَغْلى صُدُورُهُمُ بِهِنْرٍ هَاتِرِ
لاكارتهم[1] عَلَى مَا سَاءَهُمْ * وخَسَأْتُ بَاطِلَهُمْ بِحَقٍّ ظَاهِرِ

ولو ناظر ارسطاليس لجاز ان يفحمه او افلاطون لنبذ حجته خلفه والله يجمل بحياته الشريعة وينصر بحجته الملة وحسبي الله ونعم الوكيل *

٥

الجواب من (ابن) ابى عمران

ما فاتحت الشيخ احسن الله توفيقه بالقول الا مفاتحة متناكر عليه فيه موثر لان يخفى من اين جاء السؤال فيكون الجواب عنه باستدلال ورفض حشمة وحذف تكلف للخطاب بسيدنا والرئيس وما يجري هذا المجري اذ كان حكم ما يتجارى فيه موجباً ان لا يتخلله شيء من زخارف الدنيا ولانّى اعتقد ان سيدى بالحقيقة من يستقل دون يده يداي جذا[2] منه للدنيا او تمتار[3] نفسى من نفسه استفادة من معالم الاخرى فما (ادري) كيف انكشفت الحال حتى صار الشيخ ادام الله تاييده يخاطبنى بسيدنا والرئيس ولست مفضلا عليه فى دنيا ولا دين بل شاد راحلتى اليه لاستفادة ان وردت مورد ماء او صادفت نهراً او علامتها قابلتها بالشكر لنعمته والاسجال على نفسى باستاذيته وبعد فانى اعلمه ادام الله سلامته انى شققت جيب الارض من اقصى ديارى الى مصر وشاهدت الناس بين رجلين اما

[1] Perhaps قد كنت طارقهم.
[2] MS. حدا.
[3] MS. تمتاز.

متنحل لشريعة صبا اليها ولهج بها الى الحدّ الذى ان قيل له من اخبار شرعه ان فيلا طار او جملا باض لما قابله الا بالقبول والتصديق ولكان يكفر من يري غير رأيه فيه ويسفهه ويلغيه والعقل عند من هذه سبيله فى مهواة وفى مضيعة فليس يكاد ينبعث ان هذه الشريعة التى هو منتحلها لم يطوق طوقها ولم يسور سوارها الا بعد لموع نور العقل منه فكيف يصح توليه[1] اوّلا وعزله اخراً فلما رمت بى المرامي الى الشام وسمعت ان الشيخ وفقه الله يفضل فى الادب والعلم قد اتفقت عليه الاقاويل ' ووضح به البرهان والدليل " ورايت الناس فى ما يتعلق بدينه مختلفين ' وفى امره مبتلين " فكل يذهب فيه مذهبًا وحضرت مجلسًا جليلاً اجرى فيه ذكره فقال الحاضرون فيه غثًا وسمينًا فحفظته فى الغيب ' وقلت ان المعلوم من صلابته فى زهده يحميه من الظنّة والريب " وقام فى نفسى ان عنده من حقائق دين الله سرًّا ' قد اسبل عليه من البقية سترًا " وامرًا يميز به عن قوم يكفر بعضهم بعضًا ولما سمعت البيت غَدَوْتَ مَرِيضَ ٱلْعَقْلِ توثّقتُ من خلدى فيما حدّثتُ عقوده ' وتاكّدت عهوده " وقلت ان لسانًا يستطيع بمثل هذه الدعوى نطقا ' ويفتق[2] من هذا الفخر العظيم رتقا[3] " لَلسانٌ صامت عنده كل ناطق ' من ذروة من جبل العلم شاهق " فقصدته قصد موسى للطور اقتبس منه نارًا ' واحاول ان ارفع بالفخر منارًا " لمعرفة ما يخلف عن معرفته المتخلفون ' واختلف فى حقيقته المختلفون " فادليت دلوي بالمسئلة الخفيفة التى سَئَلْتُ

[1] Read توليته.
[2] MS. يفيق.
[3] MS. ريقا.

عنها ترقّيا من دونى [1] الى فوق وتدرّجا من صغري (الى) كبير فكان جوابه انه يصغر عن ان يكون للاسترشاد محلًّا فقلت هذه زيادة فى فضله وما يجوز صدر [2] مثله عن مثله ثم انتهي الى الاحالة على كون الناس ممن تقدّم او تاخّر فى وادى الحيرة تائهين ' وفى اذياله متعثرين " من قائل يقول ان الخير والشر من الله ومجيب يجيبه هل (كان) ما كان يستعيذ منه رسول الله صلعم من وعث السفر وكل مستعاذ منه خيرًا او شرًّا فان كان خيرًا فالاستعاذة منه باطلة وان كان شرًّا والله مريده فالاستعاذة منه كذلك فضول وزيادة فى المعنى وسوال من يسال هل كان سمّ الحسن وقتل الحسين عليهما السلام خيرًا او شرًّا فان كان خيرًا فاللعنة على القاتل من اى جهة وان كان شرًّا والله مريده زال اللوم عن القاتل وقائل يقول ان الخير من الله والشر من غيره ومجيب يجيب بالجواب الذي يقطع به الاسباب وغير ذلك مما اطال به الخطاب من اشعار الملحدة واقوالهم فكان جوابى ادام الله سلامته انني من هؤلاء [3] الذين تبريت اليك ' وتطايحت عليك " وان كلامهم قل ان عللته عليل " وهو على مسامع القبول منى ثقيل " فافتح لى الى ما عندك بابا ' وافتح لى من لدنك جنابا " فلم يفعل ثم خاطبته على امتناعه من اكل اللحوم فاحتج بكونه متحرجا من قصدها اعنى البهائم بالمضرّة والايلام متعقفا عنها لهذه الجهة فقطعت لسان حجته بعد تناهيها وقلت اذا كان الله تعالى سلط بعضها لتاكل بعضا وهو اعرف بوجوه الحكمة وارأف بالخليقة فلا يكن ارأف بها من ربها ولا اعدل فيها من

[1] Read دون .

[2] Should be صدور .

[3] Add perhaps ذكرتهم .

خالقها ثم عدله[1] الى قصوريد الاستطاعة دون ذلك اذ كان القدر الذى هو له فى السنة منصرفا الى من يتولى خدمته اكثره وخالصًا له اقله فقطعت الحجة فى هذا الباب ايضا وعيّنت له على جهة كريمة من الذين لا يتبعون ما انفقوا منا ولا اذى يقوم بقدر كفايته من اطيب ما ياكلون ' وازكى ما فى البيوت يذخرون " فتجافت نفسه وقاها الله السوء عن هذا الباب ايضا وكتب فى الجواب الثانى بانه لا يؤثر ذلك ولا يرغب فيه ولا يخرق عادته المستمرة فى الترك وابتدأ يقول انى طلبت الرشد ممن لا يرشد[2] عنده وان البيت الذي قاله مما تعلقت به وجعلته محجة الى استقراء طريقته ومذهبه انما اراد الاعلام باجتهاده فى التديّن وما حيلته فى الآية المنزلة مَنْ يَهْدِي ٱللَّهُ فَهُوَ ٱلْمُهْتَدِي وَمَنْ يُضْلِلْ فَلَنْ تَجِدَ لَهُ وَلِيًّا مُرْشِدًا فجمع بين المتضادّين فى كلمة واحدة انه ان كانت الآية حقًا كان الاجتهاد باطلًا وقال ان لله سبحانه اسرارًا لا يقف عليها الا الاولياء فنحن على ذلك السرّ ندور وعلى باب من هو عنده نطوف فان قلنا انه حرسه الله من اصحابه بدعوى صحته فى دينه وعقله ومرض الناس على موجب قوله قال لا رشد عندى فنظمه فى هذا المعنى يناقض نثره ونثره يخالف نظمه فكيف الحيلة ثم قال ان البيت المقول

غدوت مريض العقل والدين فالقنى * لتعلم انباء العقول الصحائح

يودّى معناه البيت الثانى

فلا تاكلن ما اخرج الماء ظالما * ولا تبغ قوتا من غريض الذبائح

فكان مرض الدين والعقل من جهة اكل اللحوم وشرب الالبان وتناول العسل فمن ترك هذه المطاعم كان صحيحا دينه وعقله وهو

[1] Read عدل.

[2] Read رشد.

يعلم ان مصحة الاديان والعقول لا تقوم بذلك ولا يجوز ان يكون هذا البيت الثانى ناسخا لحكم الاوّل فيكون محصول دعواه فى فقر الناس الى ان يصح دينهم وعقلهم هو ان يقول لهم لا تاكلوا اللحم واللبن واما قوله ان الحيوان البحري كاره ان يخرج الى البر وانه ليس يقبح فى العقول ترك اكله وان كان حلالاً لان المتديّنين لم يزالوا يتركون ما لهم طلق فما من حيوان بحريّ ولا بريّ هو اجلّ من هذا الانسان الحيّ العاقل وهو كاره للموت فيموت وكاره لان ياكله شيء والدود تاكله فى قبره فان كان ذلك صادر(١) عن موضع حكمة كان ما ذكره من الحيوان البريّ والبحريّ جاريًا فى مضمار هذا مثلا بمثل وان كان معدولا به عن وجه الحكمة كان محالا ان يكون صانعى سفيها واكون وانا مصنوعه حكيما واما قوله ان النبى صلعم صلى الى ان تقرحت قدماه فقيل له فيه فقال افلا احب ان اكون عبدًا شكورًا فما هذا مما نحن عليه فى شيء والانسان له ان يصلى ما شاء من الصلوات فى الاوقات التى تجوز فيها الصلوة على ان لا يزيد فى الفرائض ولا ينقص منها وهذا الكلام شرعيّ وكانت النصبة للتكلم على العقليات واما قوله انه عم حرم صيد المحرم وان لغيره ان يحرم صيد المحل تقربا الى الله سبحانه فليس لاحد ان يحلل او يحرم غيره واما قوله ان عليًا عم لما قدم الحبيص سأل هل اكل النبى صلعم منه فلما قالوا لا رفعه ولم ياكله فهذه الحجة عليه لا له فان الناس مجمعون على ان النبى صلعم لم يفارق اكل اللحم وهو يهجره دهره وذلك بالضد سواء ولو انه حرسه الله لم يستظهر علىّ بالشريعة ولم يتجاوز نصبة العقل لصنته عن هذا الجواب الذي عسى ان يستغلّ سرّه ويعزّ عليّ ذلك واما ما شكاه من ضعفه وتضوّر حركته وانه لم يبق فيه بقية لان يسال ولا ان يجيب فما هو حرسه

الله على علاتـه من الضعف والقوة الا من محاسن الـزمان ' وممن سارت بذكر فضلـه الركبان " الا انـه على عدوان الدهر عليهم [1] عدا على نـفسه بحرمانها مـلاذّ دنياها فـان وثقت نفسه بملاذ يعتاض عنها مما هو خير وابقى منها فما خسرت صفقته وقام مصداق قوله بالبيت المقدم ذكره وان كان يوسم بميسم الشح بمنع المنتجعين وردّ السائلين وان كان شق على نفسه من غير بصيرة كما يدعيه الان خوضا مَعَ ٱلْخَآئِضِينَ" [2] وتحيرا مع امثالنا من المتحيّرين" فقد اضاعها وجنى عليها وادعى فى البيت المقدم ذكره ما لا برهان لـه والغرض فى السوال والجواب الفائدة واذا عدمت فقد خفف الله عنه ان يتكلف جوابا واما الاسجاع ومسالتى التجلى عنها فما كانت الاسجا(ع) بالمعانى ان نضل بتتبعها ولاننى اذا تتبعت فضله بصنعاتـه فى الادب والشعر وجدت فى ارضه مراغماً كثيرًا وسعة ومن اين لى ان اظهر على مكنون جواهر علوم دينـه كظهوري علي مصنفات ادبه وشعره وقبل وبعد فانا اغذر عن سرّ له ادام الله حراسته آذيته [3] وزمان منه بالقراءة والاجابة شغلته لاننى من حيث ما نفعته ضررته والله تعالى يعلم انـى ما قصدت بـه غير الاستفادة من علمه والاغتراف من بحره والسلام

[1] Read عليه.

[2] Sura lxxiv, 46.

[3] MS. آديبه.

TRANSLATION.

I read in the work called the *Firmament of Ideas*[1] that many ignorant persons regard death as an injustice done by the Creator, and think it a shame, notwithstanding the kindness and wisdom which it displays, and the comfort and benefit which it brings. And, indeed, Abu'l-'Alā Aḥmad Ibn Abdallah Ibn Sulaymān Al-Maghribī,[2] the author who is so vain of his attainments, who makes professions so long and broad, who extols and vaunts his wisdom so much, says—

> "Thou[3] didst forbid murder, and dost Thyself send two angels to take the soul: Thou declarest that we shall return again. Could not it have dispensed with both states?"

Now this is the talk of a raving maniac who supposes death and murder to be identical. When this idiot forfeited the pleasure of religion, and the sweetness of the truth, and the light of scripture, and the comfort of the verity, he would have done better not to pretend to powers of which he was utterly destitute, in the verse—

> "Are[4] thy understanding and thy counsel ailing? Come to me that thou mayest learn the utterances of sound wits!"

For God put him in the power of Abu Naṣr Ibn Abī

[1] An account of Ibn al-Habbāriyyah, the author of this work, is given by Ibn Khallikan, ii, 19–21 (Cairo, 1299). He died about 504 A.H., and is likely to have been born about the time of Abu'l-'Alā's death. The narrative quoted by Yāḳūt teems with inaccuracies.

[2] Probably the author's mistake for Al-Ma'arrī.

[3] Often quoted as an example of Abu'l-'Alā's impiety.

[4] *Luzūmiyyāt*, Cairo, 1891, i, 232. In both this and the Bombay edition the first word is wrongly vocalized غَدَوْتُ.

'Imrān,[1] Chief Missionary[2] in Egypt, who said to him, "I am the person of ailing understanding and counsel, and have come to thee for medicine, so heal me." A long correspondence went on between them, and at last Abu Naṣr ordered the poet to be brought to Ḥaleb,[3] where he was promised a large sum from the treasury[4] if he accepted Islam.[5] Abu'l-'Alā, knowing that the alternatives before him were Islam or death, took poison, and died of it.[6] He had better, then, have been quiet instead of boasting of his understanding and uttering absurdities of the sort, such as could only suit the case of one who cared not for God. When I read this story, I was anxious to know exactly what passed between them, and at last I got hold of a thin volume, containing a number of letters from Abu Naṣr Hibat Allah Ibn Abī 'Imrān to Al-Ma'arrī on the subject. Their correspondence, however, ended in both parties acquiescing, and there was no suggestion of Abu'l-'Alā having poisoned himself, as Ibn al-Habbāriyyah says. To transcribe the letters in full would take too long, so I have extracted the main points, omitting the verbiage in which Al-Ma'arrī indulges.

[1] He is called by Maḳrizi (i, 460) Hibat Allah Ibn Mūsā al-A'jami, i.e. of the tribe Al-A'jam.

[2] The office of داعي الدعاة is thus defined by Ḳalḳashandī, ii, 236 (Arch. A. Seld. 18):—"He came next after the chief Ḳāḍī in rank, and wore the same attire. The religious doctrines (مذاهب) of the people of the Prophet's house were studied with him in a house called the Academy (دار العلم), and he gave the oath to those who wished to join their sect." The passage is translated by Wüstenfeld, l.c., xxv, 1, p. 185. It is also to be found in Maḳrizi, i, 391, whose account of the conduct of the mission is of extraordinary interest. See De Sacy, *Religion des Druzes*, i, lxxiii sqq. Of this "Academy" an interesting history is given by Maḳrizi (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 458–460); it was founded by Ḥākim in 395, and closed by Al-Afḍal Ibn Amir al-Juyūsh in the sixth century. From Maḳrizi's account it appears to have been a hotbed of heresy, with which the character which Hibat Allah gives of himself corresponds.

[3] Since Hibat Allah was in Cairo, he could not well do this. Ibn al-Habbāriyyah was thinking of an apocryphal story of Abu'l-'Alā being summoned by the Vizier of Ḥaleb, and killing fifty men by his imprecations.

[4] This is an allusion to another story of Abu'l-'Alā being offered the contents of the treasury of Ma'arrah.

[5] In this correspondence Abu'l-'Alā appears as a model of orthodoxy.

[6] As a matter of fact he lived eleven years longer.

I. *Letter of Ibn Abī 'Imrān.*

That you, dear sir, God guide you well, have a tongue so excellently learned that it reduces all besides to silence, is generally acknowledged by all who are on the surface of this earth; only that learning, to which you are what Galen was to medicine, and the keys of whose mysteries you control, seems to furnish no great boon for either your present or your future life, unless it be winged fame—fame which, so long as a man lives, he may hear ringing, and of which he may be conscious as an ornament and personal charm, whereas when fate has once driven him from the outside of the earth to the inside, neither can fair fame help him nor ill fame hurt him. This being so, it is extraordinary that you, God help you, with your powerful intellect, should devote the whole of it to studying the rules of the Arabic language, and collecting its words and their meanings, thus lavishing your life on what cannot profit you, while leaving your brilliantly talented mind destitute of reflections on your future; choosing the labour that profiteth not, to be left, when the froth is gone, dry, with nothing else. Hence it follows with certainty that you, God guard you, must have drunk deep of this sweet draught, but must, for reasons of policy, have concealed it. And the proof that you have reflected on the future life is to be found in your ascetic practice, your abstention from all luxurious food, drink, and clothing, your refusing to suffer your body to be the grave of animals, to taste their milk, or to turn into food any of the creatures whose generation and breeding give pleasure to the sources of them. Your practice implies the belief that pain inflicted on them will be avenged, and represents the extreme of asceticism. Observing this, and hearing the invitation conveyed in a verse ascribed to you—

> "Are thy faith and thy understanding ailing? Come to me that thou mayest learn the true account of the matter,"

I hastened towards you, as one whose faith and understanding are both unsound, unto one who, being sound himself, can tell me "the truth of the matter." I then am the first to answer your summons, and to acknowledge my own bewilderment. And you must not take me into dark places, nor obscure tracks, nor try in what you say to obscure the truth with error. My first question will be about a simple matter, and if your treatment of it be successful I will go on to something serious. What is your ground for abstaining from meat, milk, and all other animal products, as though they were unlawful? Are not, I ask you, plants set by nature where the animals will come upon them, so that by their existence, their goodness, and by a sensitive force which the animals possess the latter have power to utilize the plants? Were it not for the animals, the plants would be a meaningless and purposeless creation. On the same principle the human force controls the animals just as the animals control the plants, owing to the superiority which man possesses in the reason and the power of speech. Hence man utilizes the animals for a variety of purposes, and were it not for that, the creation of the animals would be purposeless. Hence your refusing to use what is created for you, and ordained on your account, destroys the harmony of Nature.

Your purpose in abstaining from meat must be either compassion for the animals, which makes you disapprove of doing them violence, in which case you have no right to be kinder to them than their Creator; but if you hold that certain men (and not God) are responsible for the notions lawful and unlawful, these persons being the law-givers, whereas God has given no permission for the shedding of the blood of animals and for eating their flesh, your doctrine is disproved by the fact that we see before us various beasts and birds of prey, created by God in forms which are only compatible with carnivorous habits, involving the tearing of animals and devouring of them. This fact being well established in creation, mankind may well be excused for eating meat, and those who allow it to be eaten

are evidently in the right. Or, secondly, you may regard the shedding of the blood of animals as an unwise ordinance, in which case your objection will fall on your Creator who called you into existence.

If, then, you would be so kind as to produce a ground which I can regard as satisfactory, I shall hope for a cure of the malady which I have acknowledged.

II. *Answer from Abu'l-'Alā of Ma'arrah.*

Says God's weak and humble slave Aḥmad, son of Abdallah, son of Sulaymān. I will commence by observing that I regard the most noble prince (my correspondent), whom God has guided in religion, and whose life may He prolong, as one of those who have inherited wisdom from the Prophets, while I regard my erring self as one of the unlearned. *You* to condescend to write to me! Who am I that one like you should write to one like me! The Pleiades might as well come down to the Earth. God knows that I am hard of hearing and of sight, this fate having befallen me when I was four years old, so that I cannot distinguish between the house and its inhabitant. Then to this was added a whole train of disasters, so that my figure got to resemble a curved branch, and finally I have in my latter years become crippled, and unable to rise. As for your questions, I will say a little about the problems which vex you. God Almighty condemned me personally to privation, and hence I commenced the holy war of poverty. The verse that you quote—

> "Are thy understanding and thy faith ailing? Come to me," etc.,

was only addressed to those who are in the slough of ignorance, not to one who is the beacon and source of knowledge. The animals are, as you know, sensitive, and feel pain, and I have heard something of the discussion of the ancients, and the first point with which they start is

this—Supposing any human being were to say: If we were to frame a proposition made up of a subject, predicate, and two intermediate terms, one negative and the other exceptional, viz. "God does nothing but good," this proposition must be either false or true. If it be true, still we see that evil prevails, and we know that this is a mystery. Hence professedly religious persons have at all times been anxious to abstain from meat, because it cannot be obtained without causing pain to animals, which at all times shun pain. Think of the ewe, domesticated, and with young; when she has born the lamb, and it has lived a month or thereabout, they kill it and eat it, and want her milk. And the ewe spends the night bleating, and would run in quest of it if she could. A commonplace among the Arabs is the suffering of the wild beasts, and the pining of the wild cow for her calf. One of them says—

> "Ne'er was sorrow like mine felt by a camel-calf's mother, though when she loses him she whines oft and oft."

Now an opponent may urge: If God wills nothing but good, then of evil one of two things must be true. Either God must know of it or not. If He knows of it, then one of two things must be true. Either He wills it or not. If He wills it then He is practically the doer of it, just as one might say, "The governor cut off the robber's hand," even though he did not do it with his own hands. But if God did not will it, then He has suffered what such a Governor should not suffer upon earth. If there be done in his province what he dislikes, he reproves the doer and commands that the practice stop. This is a knot which the metaphysicians have tried hard to solve, and found insoluble. Then the Prophets tell us that Almighty God is merciful and loving. If, then, He be loving towards mankind, assuredly He will be tender to other classes of living beings which are sensitive to the least pain. And He must know that the animals as they pasture are ofttimes attacked by the horseman, who transfixes the male ass or

the female . . . . How, then, can one who treats them thus deserve compassion, they who drink not out of buckets nor transgress any written code? Ofttimes, too, have I seen a couple of armies, each of them professing a distinct cult, meeting in battle, and thousands falling on each side. For which theory does this make? Even study does not make it clear.

I therefore, having heard of these different opinions, and having reached my 30th year, begged God of His mercy to grant me a perpetual fast, which I never break[1] during month or year save at the two Feasts; for the rest I let the days and nights roll by and break it not. I believed, too, that restricting myself to a vegetable diet would secure my health; and doubtless you have looked into the ancient works and the sayings ascribed to Galen and others, which show that the authors believed in the soundness of this régime. And if it be said that the Creator is loving and merciful, then why does He suffer the lion to despatch a human being who is neither mischievous nor cruel? How many multitudes have perished of serpents' bites! Why has He given the hawk and the falcon control over birds that are satisfied with pecking grain? Often does the sand-grouse start off of a morning, leaving its chicks athirst, to find water to bring them in its crop; when ere she can reach them she meets with a kite, that devours her, so that the chicks perish of thirst. (He goes on in this style for some time, and then says) I pray God I may be saved from the utterance of the unbeliever—[2]

> "Umm Bakr has come greeting, and bid her welcome.
> And how many a noble pedigree and generous
> frame lies in the Well, the Well of Badr! How
> many a bowl once crowned with camel's hump

[1] This is surely not to be taken literally. The phrase 'a perpetual fast' used by Ibn al-Athir in the story of Ḥallāj (viii, 92) would seem, however, to have some technical sense.

[2] These verses are given by Ibn Hishām (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 530) as said by Shaddād Ibn al-Aswad after Badr. The texts are very different. See also Mr. Nicholson's note, p. 93 *supra*.

lies in the Well, the Well of Badr! Mother of Bakr, bring me no more cups since Hishām's brother is dead! No more since his father's brother, who was a hero of heroes, a drinker of wine. Tell God Almighty from me, please, that I give up the fasting month. What, when the head has parted from its shoulders, and the companion has had his fill of food, does Ibn Kabshah[1] promise that he shall live? And how is he going to give life to ghosts and spectres? Is there truly a revelation to the effect that death will give back my frame, and restore me after my bones are dust?"

God's curse, too, be on him who says (said to be Al-Walid Ibn Yazid Ibn Abd al-Malik)—

"Bring it[2] near me, my friend." . . . .

"I am quite sure that I shall not be raised up for Hell. I shall teach my people till they embrace the religion of the Ass.[3] For I find that he who seeks Paradise is playing a losing game."

A plague, too, on Ibn Ru'yan, if it be he who said—

"'Tis the first; they do indeed promise a second, but deferred hope makes the heart sick. And if part of what they say be true, then He who afflicts us also makes us well."

Another ground that induced me to abstain from animal food is the fact that my income is a little over twenty dinars a year, and when my servant takes out of that as much as he wants, no magnificent sum is left. So I restrict myself to beans and lentils, and such food as I would rather not mention. So now, if my attendant gets what I think

[1] A name given by the Pagans of Mecca to the Prophet.

[2] Probably the wine. The verses are also given in Aghani, vi, 123, with many differences.

[3] The text of the Aghani, which is obscene, may have been altered intentionally.

much and he thinks little, my portion is a small fixed charge. And I have no intention of increasing my rations, or getting fresh visits from ailments. Farewell.

III. *Answer from Ibn Abi 'Imrān.*

God preserve you from being of the number of those whose religious and intellectual honour is stained by illness, and from having answered one who appealed to you, in virtue of your verse, in order to obtain relief from sickness, with an answer that only makes his thirst worse! Truly you would in that case be an illustration of Mutanabbi's line—

> "The world stirred my thirst, but when I came to her to slake it, she rained troubles on me."

I asked you a personal question about your reason for abstaining from the meat which strengthens the body and produces flesh; and you give me an answer of which I can only say, "Are these the utterances of sound wits?" This medicine of yours only makes the sick man yet worse, and your words only increase the blindness and deafness of him who is religiously and intellectually suffering from those ailments. Moreover, all you say is off the point of my first question, and has nothing to do with it. With regard to your assertion that meat cannot be procured without infliction of pain on animals, that has already been answered. You need not be kinder to them than their Creator. Either He is just or unjust: if He is just, then He takes the lives of eater and eaten alike, and His right is unquestioned therein; if He be unjust, then we need not outdo our Creator and be just where He is unjust. When you say "Now an opponent may urge, etc.," this reminds me of a story how a man lost his Koran, and some told him to read "By the sun and its noon," since that would enable him to find it; but the man observed that this Sura was in his lost Koran too. Similarly I may say that

this difficulty of yours is one of the whole number, all is dark, and where is the light? My purpose was to learn "the utterances of sound wits," as you express it. When you observe, "Seeing the diversity of opinions, and conscious of decline, I besought God to grant me a perpetual fast, and that I might be satisfied with vegetables," I am not clear whether the God of whom you besought this is the one who wishes good only, or the one who wishes evil only, or the one who wishes both together. And Fasting is an ordinance based on a code brought by an Apostle, and an Apostle is connected with a Sender. And about this Sender we are in doubt. Does He send His Apostle meaning him to be obeyed or not to be obeyed? If He wills the former, then His will is overruled; for more disobey than obey. If He means him to be disobeyed, then His sending the Apostle is an absurdity, a mere search after an excuse for torturing poor men. If, therefore, your fasting be based on this, it is useless; but if it have some more valid and clearer ground, I should like to know it. When you repeat the words of certain heretics, and ask God to protect you from finding fault with His word, "Now He destroyed the old Ad and Thamud, and spared not," etc., if God created them knowing that they would sin, without hope of repentance, surely the "Merciful and Loving" had better not have created them to torture them; but if He does not know, nor can tell what a man will do, then He is like ourselves. When you go on to say, "God forbid that we should say this, rather let us assent and repeat the text, 'Whom God guides, he is in the right way; whom He misleads, for him thou shalt find no guiding friend,'" well, if a heretic observes that sugar is sweet he is not to be disbelieved because he is a heretic, and the argument of our heretic requires an answer. If you have an answer, that is what we request; if not, your assent in such a case is assent to the heretic, nothing else. When you repeat the verses, "Umm 'Amr has come greeting," etc., and rebuke and curse their author, who ever suspected you of holding these sentiments? God

forbid! And why need you reproduce such blasphemous verses?

As for your last remark, that all you have in the year is twenty dinars and odd, of which the larger half goes to your servant and the smaller remains to you, and that you must put up with the provision of the fortune that feeds you, which it would be necessary to bear if it were heavy, and still more when it is light, I have written to my lord Taj al-Umara, requesting him to offer to remove this cause by presenting you with what to him is a trifling amount of the richest food, and to see that this is regularly given you, that the veil of this necessity may be removed, and that your mode of living may be thoroughly comfortable. If you are energetic enough to reply, I beg that you will excuse me from recherché rhymes and forced figures, as what I want is not sound but sense.

IV. *Abu'l-'Alā's Answer.*

(After compliments) I, who confess my ignorance and acknowledge my bewilderment, and pray God that He may grant me a little of His mercy. [I can only say] what I said when I first addressed you, when I mentioned my confidence in your ability and my own feebleness and wretchedness compared therewith, and how I reckon myself a dumb brute and wonder that one like you should seek guidance from who has it not—it is as though the moon that travails night and day in the service of its Lord should seek guidance from a horned beast in a desert, that goes down to the water to meet the huntsman who sends an arrow into its heart.

You quote one of my verses in Ḥ—a verse written to tell others how keenly I strive to be religious, and what is my expedient with regard to the text "whom God guides he is in the right way." The first of them runs—

"Are thy understanding and thy faith ailing? Come then to me that thou mayest learn the true account of the matter.

Eat not wrongfully what the water produces, nor eat the meat of beasts newly slain."

Now no one can deny that the creatures that live in the sea come out of the water against their will. And if the reason be consulted about it, it will find no fault with the refusal to eat fish; for religious men have at all times abstained from things which in themselves are lawful for them.

"Nor the whites of mothers who meant the cream thereof for their babes and not for proud high-born maids."

The 'white' means the milk. Now it is well known that when the calf is killed the cow pines for it, and keeps awake whole nights on its account. Its flesh is eaten, and the milk that it should have sucked is lavished on its mother's owners. What harm, then, can there be in abstaining from killing the calf, and declining to use the milk? Such a man need not suppose it to be unlawful; he only abstains out of religious fervour and mercy towards the victim, and in the hope that he may be compensated for his abstinence by the Creator's forgiveness. And if it be said that the Almighty distributes His gifts equally between His servants, then what sins have the victims committed that they should be excluded from His mercy?

"Neither fall upon the birds when they are busy with their eggs, for robbery is the worst of crimes."

The Prophet forbade hunting at night. And this is one of two interpretations of his dictum "leave the birds in their nests." In the Koran, too, is the text "O ye that believe, slay not the quarry while ye are on pilgrimage; and if any of you kill any on purpose, then he is to pay in cattle the value of what he killed," etc. Anyone with the

smallest amount of sense who hears this tradition cannot be blamed if he tries to win the favour of the Lord of heaven and earth by treating lawful quarry like unlawful quarry, though the former be not forbidden.

> "And leave alone the honey for which the busy bees went out so early to gather it from the fragrant flowers."

Since the bees fight their hardest to keep the gatherer off their honey, there is no harm in a man abstaining from it, and desiring to place the bee in the same category as other creatures that dislike being killed to be eaten and having their means of living taken to feed and fatten women and other human beings. The poets have described that to which I refer; Abu Dhi'b thus speaks of the honey-gatherer—

> "When the bees sting him little recks he of their sting, but fights on for the house of the honey-bees."

A story to the following effect is told of 'Ali. He had a sack of barley-flour, ordinarily sealed up; only when he fasted he would have none of it sealed. And although he had great quantities of corn, he used to give the whole of it away in alms, and content himself with a minimum. A certain ascetic also said in a sermon that he gathered in 50,000 dinars' worth of corn in the year (but gave it all away). Hence we learn that the Prophets and the original authorities stint themselves, in order to bestow of their superfluity on the needy.

You have even suggested that a vegetarian is to be blamed. If this principle were to be applied, a man ought not to pray except the appointed prayers, for any additional prayers lead to unnecessary trouble, which God (forsooth) does not approve. Also when a wealthy man has set apart the fortieth of his gold for alms, he ought not to give any more; whereas there are many places in the Koran in which expenditure is commended.

This is a sufficient answer for your feeble, humble servant.

Were I to appear before your exalted presence, you would know that there is nothing left of me to ask or answer. For my limbs refuse to act in concert; I cannot stand up to pray, but have to pray sitting, God help me. Gladly would I reach the stage of being able to crawl about with a staff. (Some verses are here quoted in illustration of his feebleness.) When I lie down I cannot sit up, and have to get assistance. When my helper stretches out his hand to raise me, my bones, which are bare of flesh, rattle.

As for the verse of Mutanabbi which you quote, one who seeks guidance from so feeble a creature as I am can only be compared to one who seeks dates from thistles. You can only have been brought to do it by that confidence which is the mark of a noble nature, of a lofty soul, of high breeding, and of a stainless character.

Your suggestion, too, that you would write to get my salary increased also is proof of generosity inherited from countless ancestors, beginning with the Earth. I have no desire for any increase; no desire to return to delicacies, abstinence from which has become a second nature to me. For forty-five years I have tasted no meat, and an old man does not quit his habits till he is covered by the grave-dust. The most excellent "Crown of Princes, Pride of the Kingdom, Mainstay of the sovereignty, Arms and Glory of the dynasty, doubly glorious," is, as I know, the equal of all the children of Shem, Ham, and Japhet, and gladly would I see the castle of Ḥaleb and all the mountains of Syria turned into gold, that they might be bestowed in charity by the Crown of Princes and Mainstay of the Prophetic dynasty, on whose head be peace, as also on his righteous ancestors, without a penny thereof coming to me. And, indeed, I should be ashamed if the Crown of Princes were to regard me as one who is hankering after this world, after what has passed. And I shall be glad if when I appear before God Almighty I am charged with nothing more than abstinence from meat. If I reach this condition I shall be right blest. (He then excuses himself for rhyming with the aid of various anecdotes and arguments.) And may your

cause always be the winning one, and your power be ever in the ascendant. Even as Tha'labah, son of Ṣu'air, says—

> "Many an evildoer and a man of mischief, whose breasts boiled with fallacious fictions, did I . . . . to their vexation, and silence their error with victorious truth."

And were you to argue with Aristotle, you would nonplus him, or with Plato, he would throw his arguments away. God glorify His Code by your life, and help His religion by your evidences. God is sufficient, etc.

V. *Answer from Ibn Abi 'Imrān.*

In addressing you at the first I endeavoured to conceal my personality, preferring that the source of the question should not be known, so that your answer might be one of argument, without respect of persons, and without the awkwardness of having to introduce the "my lord" and "your excellency," etc., since the matter on which we are engaged required that the vanities of this world should not be mixed therewith, and because I truly believed you to be one who, owing to your contempt of the world, had a reach so much wider than mine that I could not hope to *buy* any piece of religious knowledge from you; and I know not how the fact was divulged, so that you should address me as "lord" and "excellency." I am your superior neither materially nor morally; I merely direct my steed towards you to gain something. If I find a well of water, or come to a river or the sign thereof, I shall meet it with gratitude for your kindness, and do not pretend to dispute your claim to teach.

I would have you know that I traversed the earth from the furthest part of my country to Egypt, and everywhere found people divided into two classes. There are the fanatical believers who are so enchanted with their religion, that if their religious records contained the statement that an

elephant flew or a camel laid an egg they would believe it implicitly. They would regard one who thought otherwise as a heretic and a fool, who might be neglected. With such persons as these the reason is at a discount. It is difficult to awake such a man to the fact that the light of reason must have sparkled from the religion which he professes ere its collar could have been placed on the neck or its bracelet on the wrist. How, then, can it be right to give the reason control at the first and to proceed to dethrone it?

When my fortune brought me to Syria, and I heard of your eminence as a scholar and savant, I found that on that matter opinions were agreed and the evidence established irrefragably. But I found that men were divided about your religious position, and distraught about it, each speaker taking a view of his own. I attended a seance at which the subject was discussed, and all sorts of things were said about you. I defended you in your absence, saying that your well-known and confirmed asceticism cleared you of all suspicion. I was convinced that you must have some esoteric religious knowledge, which you kept concealed from the rest of mankind. There must be something which distinguishes you from people who charge each other with heresy. And so when I heard the verse "Are thy understanding and thy counsel ailing," etc., my conviction was so much the more strengthened. I thought that a tongue that could utter such a claim and give vent to such a boast must be a tongue meet to silence every speaker, though he were to stand on the highest pinnacle of the mount of knowledge. So I approached you as Moses approached the mountain, hoping to get a light, and endeavouring to raise a lighthouse of glory; to learn what others were too backward to know, or about which men differed. So I dropped in my bucket in the form of my question about a trifle, thus ascending from my own low level to one higher, and rising from my own littleness to one who was great. You answered that you were too humble a person to serve as a source of direction. This,

I thought, was an extra virtue on your part, and what might be expected of such a man. Finally, your answer resolved itself into the assertion that mankind were all at some stage or other of a wandering in the valley of bewilderment, stumbling over its edges. One says that good and evil are from God, and he is answered with the question whether the dangers of travel from which the Prophet used to ask deliverance, and all similar things from which deliverance is sought, are good or evil. If they are good, why should they be prayed against? If evil, but intended by God, then the prayer is as useless as before —nay, more so. And the similar question whether the poisoning of Hasan and the murder of Husain were good or bad; if they were good, then why should their author be cursed? If they were bad, but intended by God, then the slayer is not to blame. Another says that good is of God, and evil of another, and is answered in a manner that silences him. With this answer you combined other matter, including some blasphemous verses. My answer was that I disclaimed all connection with those whom you mentioned, and threw myself on you, that the discussions of these people had never slaked the thirst, and that in my ears they found no assent. I asked you, therefore, to open the gate for me to your own opinions, and to give me access to your private thoughts. This you did not do. Then I asked you why you abstain from meat, and you replied that you dislike hurting animals and causing them pain. I rebutted your plea, after you had dilated on it, by observing that if God empowers one animal to eat another, though He knows best what is wise and is most merciful to His creatures, you need not be more just and merciful to them than their Lord and Creator. You then changed your ground, and alleged your inability to procure animal food, because of the whole sum which came to you in the year the greater part went to your attendant, and only a little remained for yourself. This, too, I rebutted by pointing to a liberal source, one of those who never taunt those whom they benefit with their favours or insult them,

who would provide you with an ample supply of the daintiest food and the most luxurious stores. This, too, you declined, declaring in your second letter that you disliked it, and would not have it, and could not abandon the vegetarianism which you had so long maintained. You went on to say that I had been seeking counsel from one who had none to give, and that the verse of which I had taken hold and alleged as my ground for enquiring into your practice and principles, was only intended to exhibit your religious zeal and your expedient for dealing with the text "He whom God guides finds His way; He whom God misleads thou shalt not find for him a guiding friend." Therein you combined two contradictory statements in one proposition. If the verse is true, then study is useless.

Next you say that God has secrets that only the saints understand. It is just that secret about which we are hovering, and round the door of him who knows it that we are making circuit. And when we, arguing from your verse, suppose that you do possess it, seeing that you profess that your own religion and intellect are sound, whereas those of other men are ailing, you declare that you have no counsel to give! Assuredly in this matter your prose contradicts your verse and your verse your prose. So what is to be done?

Then you say that the sense of the verse "Are thy understanding and thy faith," etc., is given by the following line, "Then eat not," etc. Clearly, then, the sickness of faith and understanding must be due to eating meat and drinking milk and consuming honey, so that soundness of both is to be acquired by abandoning these practices. You must know that soundness of faith and understanding is not produced thereby. Hence the second verse cannot annul the first, so as to make the substance of your assertion that men require to be rendered sound in understanding and faith an exhortation to them not to eat meat or drink milk!

Next you observe that the creatures of the sea dislike being brought on dry land, and that the reason cannot find fault with abstention from their flesh, though it be lawful

for food, for religious men at all times abandon the use of certain things that are lawful for them. Now there is no animal on sea or land that is more honourable than man, the living, the intelligent. He dislikes death, yet he dies. He dislikes being eaten, yet the worms eat him in his grave. If this proceed from some wise principle, then what you say about the sea-animals and the land-animals belongs to precisely the same field; but if it be a case of deflexion from wisdom, it is absurd that my Maker should be a fool and I, His creature, be wise. When you quote the tradition that the Prophet prayed till his feet blistered, and being asked about it said "Ought I not to be a grateful servant?" this has nothing to do with the present issue. A man may say as many prayers as he likes in the times at which prayer is lawful, only to the appointed prayers he must not add nor may he diminish them. Now this matter belongs to the Code, whereas our theme was discussion of matters connected with the reason. When you say that the Prophet regarded game within the sacred territory as unlawful, so that others may treat lawful game as unlawful, in order to win God's favour thereby, I reply that God only may make things lawful or unlawful.

When you say that 'Ali, when the pressed dates were brought, asked whether the Prophet had eaten thereof, and being told that he had not, refused to eat, this is an argument against you, not for you. For it is agreed that the Prophet never became a vegetarian, whereas you are one all your life. This, therefore, is a plain contrast to the Prophet's practice. And had you not quoted the Law against me, and not exceeded the scope of the reason, I should have spared you this rejoinder, which may trouble your mind, for which I should be sorry.

When you complain of your weakness and difficulty of moving, and say you have no strength left to ask or answer questions, whether weak or strong you are still one of the glories of the age, and one whose praises travellers carry with them everywhere. However much fate may have wronged you, you have wronged yourself by depriving

yourself of the pleasures of the world. And if you hope for pleasures which will compensate for them, pleasures of a better and more lasting sort, then you will have made no bad bargain, and the verse of yours which has been discussed will have been justified, though you may incur the reproach of stinginess in rejecting requests for aid and refusing those who ask you. If, on the other hand, you are torturing yourself without any clear reason, as you now assert, being one of the many who "idly dispute" and founder in bewilderment, then you have wasted your life and wronged yourself. You will also in the verse that has been quoted have made an assertion which you cannot verify.

The purpose of my questions and answers was my own benefit. Since that is not to be had, God has relieved you of the trouble of answering me. As for the rhymes and my request that we might be relieved of them, it is because rhymes are not ideas worth going out of our way to follow, and because were I to study the excellence of your works in *belles lettres* and poetry I should find therein an ample field. Would that I could get at the hidden treasures of your religious lore as I can at your compositions in prose and verse! But before and after I ask pardon for troubling your mind, and wasting your time in reading my letters and answering them. For inasmuch as I have done you no good I have done you harm. God knows that I had no intention save to benefit by your wisdom and fill my bucket from your sea.

Art. XII.—*An Unknown Work by Albīrūnī.*

By H. Beveridge.

There is in the British Museum a Persian MS., Or. 5,849, which is a translation of an Arabic treatise by Albīrūnī. It is a small quarto containing 175 folios, and at one time belonged to one of the Oude royal libraries, and has several red impressions of seals. It was picked up by me in Lakhnau, in 1899. The MS. is a *materia medica*, and contains accounts of drugs, vegetable and mineral, in alphabetical order. Its title is *Kitāb-i-ṣaidanah*, and the translator discusses at some length the origin of this name. Albīrūnī was inclined to derive it from the Indian *chandan* and the Persian *chandal*, sandalwood, but this etymology is rejected by the translator. There is a long preface by the translator, and as it is in very high-flown language, and as the MS. is much worm-eaten, it is not very easy to understand his meaning. However, we learn from p. 2[b] [1] that the translator's name was Abū-bakr, son of 'Ali, son of Uṣmān Asfaru'l-kāsānī, and further on we find that he came to India in the beginning of Shamsu-d-dīn Īltatmish's [2] reign, or in the last year of his predecessor and father-in-law, Quṭbu-d-dīn Aibak, and consequently about 607 A.H. (1211 A.D.). He speaks of staying in Dihlī for eighteen months. Though he does not tell us the exact

[1] The translator mentions his own name again at p. 108[a], under the article *Shaikh*, and also at p. 114, under the article طلق, i.e. 'talc,' where he seems to speak of his having been in Kāshghar, and at 132[a], under the article قرنفل, i.e. 'cloves.'

[2] So spelt by Dr. Rieu; often spelt Altamsh and Altmish. See Thomas's "Pathan Kings," pp. 43, 44. Badāyunī's explanation that the name was derived from Shamsu-d-dīn's being born during an eclipse of the moon may be correct, for it is in some measure confirmed by Redhouse, and Badāyunī had means of hearing the story of the derivation, for Badāyun was Shamsu-d-dīn's fief, and the tradition may have lingered down to Badāyunī's time.

year in which he made his translation, it is certain that it was before 626 A.H. (1229 A.D.), for he refers to Shamsu-d-dīn's having a son born to him in the beginning of his reign, and expresses a hope that this will put an end to sedition by reducing the rebels to despair. He calls this son (p. 4[b]) Nāṣiru-d-daniyā wa ud-dīn, and he must mean thereby the elder prince of that name, who became governor of Bengal during his father's lifetime, and died in 626 A.H. After the translator's preface there follows Albīrūnī's own preface, or an abridgment thereof. In it Albīrūnī describes the books he used. One was a compilation giving the names of drugs in ten languages; another, which he got from Christian physicians, was in Syriac, and gave the names of drugs in Syriac, Greek (Rūmī), Arabic, and Persian; a third, which he also got from Christian physicians, bore the name of Lexicon. He also acknowledges his obligations to a distinguished physician named Abū Ḥāmid, son of Aḥmadu-l-bashafī (?).

The descriptions of the drugs give first their localities and characteristics, and then their remedial action. I have looked in vain for any interesting autobiographical details, though there are several references to Albīrūnī's travels Thus, under the account of the drug *goz gandam* (p. 148[b]) there is a reference to what he had seen in the country of Jurjān, and in the account of the orange (*nāranj*), p. 165, we are told what the old men of Bast (in Afghānistān) said about the seeds having been brought into their country by a strange bird, which they found lying dead in a river bed after there had been a long drought. Albīrūnī adds that the Indian name for the orange is كيرند *kīrand*. Apparently this is the Sanskrit *karūṇā* and Hindustani *karnā*, which is a name for the pummeloe. Opium is one of the drugs described, and its use by the people of Mecca is spoken of, but nothing is said about its use or cultivation in India. Albīrūnī generally gives the name of each drug in several languages, and under opium, *afyūn*, he quotes one Firāzī as stating that the Sindh name for the drug is *ras-i sīr shamy* (?). Firāzī is again quoted under *tūbāl* (vitriol?), p. 47[a].

The last article in the book is *zambūt* or the carob-tree, and the one immediately before it gives an interesting account of *jasht*, or *jashm*, i.e. 'jade.' Galen's description of it is quoted, and we are told that the Greek name for *jasht* is اسفاطوس *osphātōs*. Probably the copyist has written *ōs* by mistake for *om*, and the word اسفاطوس is apparently a corruption of *ομφατίτεως*, the genitive of *ομφατίτης*, which is Galen's name for green jasper. (See Kühn's ed., Leipsic, 1826, vol. xii, pp. 206, 207.) Albīrūnī says that the Greek word means snakestone, and it appears from this remark and from the rest of the description that he or his authority has mixed up two drugs described by Galen, one ophites or snakestone, and the other omphatites, which last I have not been able to find in any Greek dictionary.

Albīrūnī's work is mentioned by Ḥājī Khalfa, Fluegel's ed., V. 110, No. 10,263. It is there called *Kitab-aṣ-ṣaidalat*, which is translated by Fluegel as "liber botanicae theoreticae." In Dozy's *Supplément*, p. 856ᵇ, صيدلة *ṣaidalat* is given as meaning drugs. Possibly the translator of the work is the "Abū Bikr-eṣ Ṣaiddānī" of Ḥājī Khalfa, IV. 417 and V. 461. In the first of these references Abū-bikr is described as a lawyer, but in the second he is entered as a lexicographer and grammarian, and this tallies with the translator's predilection for verbal questions, as shown by the disquisition in the preface about the etymology of *ṣaidana*. Unfortunately Ḥājā Khalfa evidently knew very little about him, and does not even give the year of his death.

As pointed out by Dr. Sachau (Introduction to the Arabic text of the chronology of ancient nations, p. 48), the *Ṣaidalat* is not mentioned in Albīrūnī's own list. That list was made in 427 H. (1035), and Albīrūnī lived for thirteen years afterwards, dying on 2nd Rajab, 440 H. (11th December, 1048). He must therefore have written the *Ṣaidalat* between 1035 and 1048.

The MS. was copied in 1190 A.H. (1776) by Khwāja Muḥammad Samī' of Dihlī.

ART. XIII.—*The Risālatu'l-Ghufrān:* by Abū'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī. Part II, including Table of Contents with Text and Translation of the Section on *Zandaḳa* and of other passages. By REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

(*Continued from p.* 101.)

As for Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abdu'l-Ḳuddūs,[1] though his *zandaḳa* has become notorious, he did not avow it (and knowledge belongs to God alone) until he was convicted out of his own mouth. The following verses are ascribed to his father, 'Abdu'l-Ḳuddūs:

How many a visitor hath Mecca brought to perdition! May God raze Mecca and her houses!
May the Merciful refuse sustenance to her living inhabitants, P 149.
and may Mercy roast her dead [in hell-fire]!

Ṣāliḥ had a son who was charged with *zandaḳa* and imprisoned for a long time. These verses are said to be his:[2]

We went forth from the world, though we belong to it; and we are neither the living in it nor the dead.
Whenever a visitor comes to inquire for us, we rejoice and say, "Here is one from the world!"

His recanting, when he perceived that his execution was at hand, was a piece of trickery. And God bless Muḥammad, for it is related of him that he said, "*I was sent with the*

[1] A contemporary of Bashshār. They were put to death in the same year, 167 A.H. See Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii, 106 seq.
[2] Ibn Khallikān, *Translation*, ii, 465, attributes them first to Abū'l-'Atāhiya, and then to Ṣāliḥ himself.

sword, and weal is with the sword, and weal is in the sword, and weal is by the sword." And in another *ḥadīth*, "*My people shall not cease to flourish while they bear swords.*" 'T was the sword that impelled Ṣāliḥ to affirm the truth and caused him to renounce his pernicious belief. This is one of God's signs, which is only revealed to the miscreant soul when her time has indubitably passed by and her profession of faith will not be accepted at this juncture. *She believed not before.*[1] Folly has its light drizzle and its heavy rainfall.

With regard to al-Ḳaṣṣār,[2] he was a fool in the block and a fool in the chips.[3] Had he pursued an attainable truth, he would have been saved from the poison that he swallowed, but our natures are ranged against us[4] and none may avoid the appointed doom. He whose name is connected with chests[5] is held to be a *zindīḳ*. I suppose that he is the person, known as Manṣūr,[6] who appeared in 270 A.H. and made a long stay in Yemen. In his time the singing-girls used to play on the tambourine while he chanted :[7]

O thou, take the tambourine and play, and blazon abroad the virtues of this prophet !
The prophet of the Banū Hāshim has departed, and the prophet of the Banū Ya'rub has arisen.
No more is it behoving to run at Ṣafā or to visit the Tomb at Medīna.
When the people pray, do not thou stand up, and if they fast, do thou eat and drink.

[1] Ḳor. vi, 159.

[2] Ḥamdūn Ḳaṣṣār (ob. 271 A.H.) may possibly be meant. He was the chief of those Ṣūfīs who call themselves Malāmatīs, and gave his name to the sect of Ḳaṣṣārīs ('Aṭṭār, *Tadh. al-Auliyā*, Brit. Mus. MS., f. 195 sqq. ; *Nafaḥātu'l-Uns*, p. 67). But one would hardly expect to find him in this company or described in these terms, and I regard the proposed identification as doubtful.

[3] مجموعًا ومفصولاً = يُجْمَعُ ويُصَارُ.

[4] أَعادٍ, pl. of عَدُوٌّ.

[5] His name was النَّجَّار, the carpenter. See below.

[6] See Kay's *Yaman*, p. 191 sqq. and p. 323. Ibnu'l-Athīr, viii, 22, calls him Rustam b. al-Ḥusain b. Ḥaushab b. Dādhān al-Najjār.

[7] In Kay's *Yaman*, p. 199, these verses are ascribed to Manṣūr's colleague, 'Alī b. Faḍl.

And do not deny unto thyself any believer, whether he be near P. 150.
akin or remote.
For how, being lawful to that stranger, hast thou become for-
bidden to thy father?
Does not the tree belong to him who nourished it and watered it
in its year of drought?
And wine is free to use, like rain. O my mistress, what an
excellent creed! [1]

Now may the execration of all who join in execrating evildoers light upon the adherents of this gospel! This class of men (God curse them!) seek by various methods to enslave the vulgar. They are eager to claim divinity, without substantiating their pretensions; nor do they shrink from what is abominable, but when they know that a man is distinguished [2] [by intelligence] they invite him to that which, in the abstract, is worthy of praise. There was in Yemen a man who retired to the seclusion of his castle, employing as intermediary between himself and the people a black servant whom he had entitled Gabriel. One day this servant murdered his master and went off, whereupon some irreverent wit remarked: "Blessed is God in His height. Gabriel has fled from iniquity, and he whom ye assert to be a Lord lies murdered on his throne." It is said that he was urged to this deed by the shameful services imposed on him. When one of this sort aspires, he is not content with being an *imām* or a prophet. No! he mounts upward in falsehood, and his drink is the foul water beneath the film.

The Arabs of the Ignorance were not guilty of such criminal and disorderly practices. Rather did their minds lean to the opinion of the sages and to the wisdom of the

[1] Kay renders, "and its use is now hallowed by the law." But this is impossible for metrical and other reasons. فَحَسْبَكِ = فَقَدْ, cf. Ḥarīrī (ed. De Sacy), p. 539, l. 2.

[2] تميز and تحيز are distinctly written in the MS. In a passage below (p. 165) the forms تميز and تحيز occur, and perhaps they should be restored here.

ancient books. For most of the philosophers were without belief in prophecy and paid no heed to those who affirmed it. Rabī'a b. Umayya b. Khalaf al-Jumaḥī had an affair with Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ (may God have mercy on him!), in consequence of which he fled to Rūm, and it is related that he said:[1]

P. 151. *I fled to the land of Rūm, undisturbed by the abandonment of evening and midday prayer.*
But do not omit to bring me a morning-draught of wine; for the purest of wine is not forbidden by God.
If Taim b. Murra[2] *has been given the command among you, there is no good in the land of Ḥijāz or in Egypt.*
And if my 'islām' is[3] *the truth and the right way, lo, I renounce it in favour of Abū Bakr.*[4]

Men showed themselves so versatile in error that at last they considered the claim of divinity allowable. That was to push infidelity to its extreme point and to collect sin in the largest bottles. The people of the Ignorance only rejected prophecy: they went no further. When 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (God have mercy on him!) cleared out the 'Covenanters' from the Arabian peninsula, the emigrants were sorely distressed, and it is said that one of the Jews of Khaibar, known as Sadīd b. Adkan, spoke these verses thereupon:

Abū Ḥafṣ attacks us with a whip. Not too fast! A man now rises, now sinks.

[1] سبب هذه الابيات انّ عمر رضى الله عند ضرب ابا محجن الثقفىّ وربيعة ابن امية ابن خلف هذا وجماعة معهما على شراب شربوه وذلك فى سنة اربع عشر وفى هذه السنة ضرب ولده عبد الله على شراب شربه (Marginal note in MS.).

[2] From whom Abū Bakr was descended (Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, R.).

[3] هو is the ضمير التأكيد (Wright, *Grammar*, ii, 265).

[4] I.e. "he is welcome to it: much good may it do him!"

It would seem that you never followed the loaded camels of a hard driver,[1] *that you might get your fill. Verily, provision is a fugitive thing.*

Had Moses told the truth, ye would not have prevailed against us; but empire [has its day], then goes.

And we anticipated you in falsehood. Recognize, therefore, that to us belongs the dignity of the first liar, who is the worst.[2]

Ye walked over our tracks in the way that we went, and your desire is to domineer and to make yourselves dreaded.

And Yemen, ever since it existed, has been the home of those who cultivate religion as a means of livelihood and make a fair show in order to fill their pockets. I learn from travellers to those parts that certain sectaries are to be found there at the present day, every one of whom asserts that he is the expected Ḳā'im and receives a tithe of property to gratify his base ambitions. And I have been told that the Ḳarmaṭīs have a house at al-Aḥsā,[3] from which, as they pretend, their *imām* will come forth, and they keep a saddled and bridled horse standing at the door of that house, and say to the common and vulgar, "This horse is for the Mahdī's stirrup: he will mount it when he P. 152 appears with a marvellous truth." Their object in all this is to cajole and amuse with vain promises and manœuvre themselves into power and lead men astray. And one of the most wonderful stories that I have heard is this:—Long ago a chieftain of the Ḳarmaṭīs, when his time was come, gathered his followers round his deathbed and began to say to them: "I am now resolved to depart. I had already sent Moses and Jesus and Muḥammad, and I cannot but send another." Be he accursed! He committed the greatest infidelity at the moment when it behoves the infidel to believe and the traveller to return to his final bourne.

[1] The camels driven at full speed would be likely to spill a portion of their cargo. *Mākiṭ* is explained below (p. 166) as meaning 'one who runs from town to town.' But here it seems rather to be derived from the phrase مقطه بالسَّوْط.

[2] The proverb is هذه بتلك والبادى أظلم (Freytag, ii, 879).

[3] In Baḥrain.

As regards Walīd b. Yazīd, his mind was that of an infant, although he had reached a vigorous manhood. A haughty will availed him nothing, nor did his violets profit him,[1] and he was diverted from the wine-flagon by the sin of his erring soul.[2] He was thrust into Hell-fire, and does not draw water in cupfuls. Verses are attributed to him that brand him with disgrace, e.g.:

O my friends, bring me a youthful slave,[3] for I am assured that I shall not be raised from the dead for the sake of [being cast into] a fire.

Let those who seek Paradise lose their labour! Men are ill-trained indeed that they follow the religion of the ass!

Surely 't was an amazing time that made the like of him an *imām* and invested him with imperial power; and though it may be that other monarchs hold the same, or nearly the same creed, they keep it hidden and fear [to divulge it]. These verses are also ascribed to him:[4]

I boast myself to be Walīd, the Imām, trailing my striped robe and listening to words of love.

I drag my skirt to the chambers of my mistress, and I heed not those who blame and rebuke me.

There is no pleasure save in listening to a singing-girl and in wine that leaves a youth intoxicated.

I do not hope for the houris in the next world. Does any man of sense hope for the houris of Paradise?

When a lady gives thee her hand, requite her surrender like one who makes a liberal present.

P. 153. And it is said that when he was surrounded, he entered the pavilion and locked the door, and said:[5]

[1] The manuscript reading is almost certainly corrupt. I have no example of بنافجة as the plural of بنفسج, but analogous forms occur.

[2] I.e. his sins in this world deprived him of the joys of Paradise.

[3] For *izār* = down (ἴουλος) see De Slane's Introduction to Ibn Khallikān, p. 36. If the text is sound, خليلى stands for خليلىّ.

[4] The first two couplets are cited in *Aghānī*, vi, 122.

[5] *Agh.* vi, 139.

Leave me Hind and al-Rabāb and a few boys[1] *and a singing-girl: that is wealth enough for me!*
Take your kingdom (may God not stablish your kingdom!), for after that it is not worth a camel-rope.
And let me go ere the eye can wink,[2] *and do not grudge me a merry death!*

And from that high estate he fell[3]—oh, what a fall! and some chroniclers relate that his head was seen in the mouth of a dog. God exacts the wages of sin. Helpless is man in this world of sorrows, which disables citizen and wanderer alike. It was due to the Caliphate that it should come to a person of famed piety, whom no contingencies would turn from the right way; but affliction was created with the sun, and why should those be exempt who sleep in the grave?

As for Abū 'Īsā b. al-Rashīd,[4] he is not the praiser [of God] nor the praised [of men],[5] and if the reports concerning him are true, he has thereby separated himself from his ancestors and shown his enmity to the religious. The Lord cares not whether His servants keep the fast through fear or whether they break it, but men grow desperate, and often those who are, or feign to be, foolish utter a statement although their hearts are familiar with its contrary. I say this in the hope that Abū 'Īsā and his fellows did not accept the false teaching of their chiefs,[6] and that their real thoughts are not such as they outwardly profess. Verily

[1] This is the reading of *Agh.* For the name Fartanī, preserved in the marginal correction, see *Addenda et Emendanda* to Ṭabarī, i, ٧٥٧.

[2] See Lane under عَيْر, and Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, ii, 249.

[3] Literally, 'returned.'

[4] Son of Hārūn al-Rashīd by a foreign mother. He died in the reign of Ma'mūn. Save the fact that he was an excellent singer, I cannot find any corroboration of Abū'l-'Alā's remarks about him, but it will be remembered that similar charges were made against Ma'mūn himself.

[5] This rendering is conjectural.

[6] امراءُ = امراءُ الغَيّ, 'their erring chiefs.' See Wright, *Grammar*, ii, 202.

the dead have admonished them.[1] A certain one dreamed that he saw 'Abdu'l-Salām b. Raghbān, known as Dīku'l-Jinn.[2] Seeing him in good hap, he reminded him of the distichs rhymed in *f*, which include this:

They have this world, and they rejoice in [the prospect of] another, but when a person whom you cannot trust says "I will pay to-morrow," it is fatal.

Sawāf = *halāk*. The poet answered: "I said that merely in jest: it was not my belief." And perchance many who are notorious for these follies secretly fulfil the obligations
P. 154. of the Law and find abundant pasture in its fertile meadows, since the tongue is rebellious and does not submit to the reason. And the aforementioned Abū 'Īsā was accounted an excellent poet in the quatrain and sestet. Al-Ṣūlī quotes in his *Nawādir*:

My tongue concealeth its secrets, but my tears betray and publish what I would hide.
And but for my tears I should not have revealed my passion, and but for my passion I should not have shed tears.

And if he fled from a month's fast, peradventure he may fall into everlasting torment, though unbelievers alone despair of the divine mercy.

As regards al-Jannābī,[3] if a town were punished on account of its inhabitants, Jannāba might well be chastized on account of him, but the ordinance of the Ḳor'ān is more fit and proper, that *no burdened soul shall bear the burden of another*.[4] His treatment of the sacred corner-stone is variously related, those who pretend acquaintance with him asserting that he took it to worship and glorify, because he had learned that it was the hand of the idol which was made in the

[1] Cf. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, iii[1], 43:
ابلغُ العِظات النظر الى الاموات
[2] Brockelmann, i, 85.
[3] Ibn Ḫallikān, *Translation*, i, 426.
[4] Ḳor. vi, 164, etc.

likeness of Saturn,[1] but others say that he made it a footstool in a privy; and these versions cannot be reconciled. Be he accursed, in any case, while Thabīr[2] stands firm and clouds scatter rain!

The 'Alid of Baṣra,[3] according to one story, used to mention before his revolt that he belonged to 'Abd Ḳais and to the subdivision of Anmār.[4] His name was Aḥmad, but on declaring himself he took the name of 'Alī. Falsehood is abundant, inexhaustible. He was a lofty peak in sagacity,[5] yet the truth in his possession was like the pebble that is trodden by the feet of the disobedient. These verses ascribed to him are famous:

O profession of the crippled, may ruin light upon thee! Shall I not escape from thee when the [last] gathering brings [mankind] together?
Surely, if my soul is content with teaching boys for ever, I am content with indignity.
Can a gentleman take pleasure in teaching boys, when he has considered that the means of life abound in the world?

I do not gainsay that love of vanities may have instigated him so that he sank in a full sea, where he will swim as long as the heavens and the earth endure, unless thy Lord will otherwise. Verily, thy Lord doeth what He pleaseth. Some verses, which go to prove that he was devout, have been attributed to him, but I allow that they may have been forged in his name; for those who know the world pronounce it to be wicked and false and endowed with qualities that are far from honourable. The verses follow: P. 155.

[1] The Ka'ba is said to have been originally a temple of Saturn. The Black Stone was called by some the right hand of God on earth (Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 161).

[2] A mountain near Mecca.

[3] The chief of the Zanj, 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān (Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii, 452 sqq.).

[4] See Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, A. 9, 14.

[5] Cf. below (p. 161): بليغ فى النظر.

I slew others because I was anxious to save myself, and I amassed my wealth by the sword, that I might be happy, not wretched.

Whoever beholds my grave, let him then refrain from doing wrong to any creature!

But when I die, woe is me to think what fate shall be mine before God—whether eternal life under God's protection or whether I shall be cast into His fire.

And a certain individual quoted to me some verses in the 'long' measure and with the same rhyme as this, which have been attributed to 'Aḍudu'l-Daula.[1] It is said that one day when his illness took a turn for the better he wrote them on the wall of his room. They are modelled on those of the Baṣrite, but I bear testimony that they are fictitious, the work of some impudent fellow, and that 'Aḍudu'l-Daula never heard of them.

As regards Ḥusain b. Manṣūr, his cable is not drawn tight.[2] A whole people has often worshipped a stone: how, then, should the man of judgment be secure from calamities? Wishing to set error revolving on its axis, he left his cotton to take care of itself. Had he turned his mind to the manufacture of cotton,[3] no page would have preserved his
P. 157. name, but the workings of Destiny are bewildering to contemplate. It were comelier in a man to be a pebble or a rock than to be made a laughing-stock, but they fly to delusion and have a thousand highways to mischief. How many are the inventions concerning al-Ḥallāj! Falsehood

[1] Ibn Khallikān, *Translation*, ii, 481.

[2] I.e. he is not a person of strong intellect. Cf. a similar phrase on p. 140:

كان مِثلَ غيرِ مُمَيِّزِ الناس متدلّهاً

[3] For the exact meaning of بُرْس see Glossary to Ṭabarī.

is rich in rain-clouds. All the extraordinary things attributed to him are fiction and fable:[1] I would not believe them in a dream! One of the forgeries against him is this: that he said to his executioners, "Do you imagine that you are killing *me*? You are killing the mule of al-Mādarānī,"[2] and that the mule was found slaughtered in its stall. There are Ṣūfīs at the present day who exalt his state and rank him with the stars. And I have been told that some people at Baghdād who expect him to rise again stand upon the shore of the Tigris where he was crucified, looking for his appearance. This is not a unique example of human folly; nor [would a parallel be wanting] even if the gazelle had been worshipped in its lair. Fortune has lighted on an ape ere now and caused it to obtain the place of honour, and the people cried, "Bow to the ape in its season!"[3] And I shrink from the sin of mentioning the ape which the governors, it is said, used to come and salute in the time of Zubaida; and Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaibānī[4] came into the crowd of saluters and kissed it. And there is a story that Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya had an ape which he mounted on a wild she-ass, and started the latter along with the racehorses.[5] As regards the verses in *y*:

O mystery of mystery, so subtle that Thou art beyond the description of any living creature,
O visible invisible One that from everything revealest Thyself to everything,

[1] Is خبريت the Syriac ܚܒܪܝܬܐ = jugglery?

[2] Cf. Ibnu'l-Athīr, viii, 94, second line from foot, and sqq. I do not know who is meant by al-Mādarānī. The name of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Mādarānī occurs in the reign of Muḳtadir (Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii, 550, n. 2).

[3] Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, i, 652, and iii[1], 199.

[4] Ibn Khallikān (Wüstenfeld), 830.

[5] For more about this ape, which was called Abū Ḳais, cf. Mas'ūdī, *Murūju l-Dhahab*, v, 157 seq. الحلبة may be an error for الحجل = starting-post. See Lane and Glossary to Ṭabarī under حجل.

O all in all, Thou art mine own kin:[1] *how, then, should I plead for myself with myself?*

the composition does not lack power, but the word *ilayy* is a canker in the verses. If he used *takyīd*, according to some authorities that is not allowed in this kind of metre, but if
P. 158. he pronounced the *y* with *kasra*, that is thoroughly bad and a foul blemish.

The following lines are quoted as belonging to a contemporary of al-Ḥallāj:

If the doctrine of incarnation is true, my God is in the glass-merchant's wife.
P. 159. *She appeared in an embroidered dress between the house of the druggist and that of the seller of ice.*
What they laid to my charge is not true. No! it is the invention of our Shaikh, al-Ḥallāj.

Such beliefs are of old date. One age hands them down to the next. It is said that Pharaoh held the doctrine of the Ḥulūlīs, and on that account claimed to be Almighty God. And it is related that one of them[2] in praising God used to say, "Thy praise is my praise and Thy forgiveness is my forgiveness." This is frenzy supreme. The man who says this is numbered among the beasts, and never realized the nature of divine beneficence. Another said: "Certainly I am Thou. Praise to Thee is praise to me, and offence to Thee is offence to me, and pardon from Thee is pardon from me; and, O my Lord, why should I be flogged

[1] This is perhaps an adequate rendering of لَسْتَ أَهْلَ غَيْرِي. Cf. *Dīvāni Shamsi Tabrīz*, xxxii, 7: ای مادر و پدر تو جز تو نَسَب ندیدم

[2] Bāyazīd of Bisṭām said إِنّي انا الله لا اله إِلّا انا and سبحاني ما أعظم شأني ('Aṭṭār, *Tadh. al-Auliyā*, Brit. Mus. MS., ff. 80*a* and 82*a*).

when I am accused of fornication?" Mankind is without sense, and this is a thing that is taught by the adult to the child, and is a most fruitful source of perdition.[1] *Dost thou imagine that the greater part of them hear or understand? They are even as the beasts of the field; yea, they are further astray.*[2] The following lines are attributed to a member of this sect:

I saw my Lord walking, with his shoes on, in Yaḥyā's bazaar,[3]
and was near jumping out of my skin [with joy].
I said, "Art thou eager that we should be united?" He answered, "Alas! fear hinders it."
Had God decreed our alliance in love, there would have been nothing more than bowing to the earth and gazing.

This sect inculcates the ancient doctrine of metempsychosis, which is held by the Indians and is now much in vogue among a party of the Shī'ites. We pray God to assist and protect us. These verses by a Nuṣairī[4] are quoted:

Marvel, O our mother, at the accidents of Time, that made our sister dwell in a mouse.
Drive these cats away from her and let her have the straw in the sack.

Another Nuṣairī said:

Blessed is God who relieves affliction, for He has shown us the P. 160.
wonders of Time.
Our neighbour Abū'l-Sakan has been converted into the ass of Shaibān, the Shaikh of our city.

[1] Literally, "a rain-cloud that most amply fulfils its promise in respect of perdition."

[2] Kor. xxv, 46.

[3] In the Shammāsīya quarter of Baghdād. See Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 199–201.

[4] See René Dussaud's *Histoire et Religion des Noṣairis*. It should be remembered that Ma'arra lay just outside the Nuṣairī country, which is enclosed on the north and east by the Orontes. Abū'l-'Alā must have had many opportunities of conversing with members of this sect and of informing himself at first-hand about their curious beliefs and superstitions. Unfortunately he does not mention the Nuṣairīs again, though he may allude to them in two anecdotes which contain a further *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory of metempsychosis (pp. 164–5).

He has had to exchange walking in his clothes for walking with girth and leading-rope.[1]

P. 161. Some people profess a belief, without conviction, as a means of acquiring worldly vanities, which are more deceiving than a foolish prostitute. In the West there was a person known as Ibn Ḥānī,[2] an excellent poet, who used to exaggerate so much in his panegyrics upon al-Mu'izz Abū Tamīm Ma'add[3] that he said, addressing the umbrella-holder:

O thou who turnest the parasol wherever he promenades, terribly indeed under his stirrup thou art rubbing shoulders with Gabriel.

And concerning him, when he had stopped at a place called Raḳḳāda,[4] he said:

The Messias alighted at Raḳḳāda, there alighted Adam and Noah.

There alighted God, the Lord of glory, save whom everything is empty wind.

A poet known as Ibnu'l-Ḳāḍī recited in the presence of Ibn Abī 'Āmir,[5] the regent of Spain, a poem beginning:

What thou willest, not what Fate wills! Decide, for thou art the One, the Omnipotent.[6]

He continued in this blasphemous strain. Ibn Abī 'Āmir was disgusted with him, and gave orders that he should be flogged and banished.

[1] I omit here the tale of an Indian prince who burnt himself alive on losing his beauty through an attack of smallpox, as well as another Indian story, very prettily told, illustrating the same custom.

[2] Brockelmann, i, 91.

[3] The Fāṭimite Caliph (341–365 A.H.).

[4] In the province of Africa, not far from Ḳairawān.

[5] Regent on the accession of Hishām al-Mu'ayyad-billāhi (366 A.H.). See Gayangos, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, ii, 178 sqq.

[6] Ḳor. xii, 39, etc.

Though al-Ḥallāj is magnified by some disreputable[1] Ṣūfīs, his writings indicate that he was a miracle-monger, a man of dull wit and slow intelligence.

As to Ibn Abī 'Aun,[2] he proceeded from one extravagance to another. Poor wretch! he was beguiled by Abū Ja'far.[3] He did not put his milk in a large skin. Sometimes you may find a man skilful in his trade, perfect in sagacity and in the use of arguments, but when he comes to religion he is found obstinate, so does he follow the old groove. Piety is implanted in human nature; it is deemed a sure refuge. To the growing child that which falls from his P. 162. elders' lips is a lesson and abides with him all his life. Monks in their cloisters and devotees in the mosques accept their creed, just as a story is handed down from him who tells it, without distinguishing between a true interpreter and a false. If one of these had found his kin among the Magians, he would have declared himself a Magian, or among the Ṣābians, he would have become nearly or quite like *them*. When Reason is made guide, it does a good turn to the thirsty traveller by quenching his thirst. But where is he who will patiently submit to the laws of Reason and polish his intelligence till it attains a perfect lustre? Alas! that quality belongs to none upon whom the sun rises or who lie rotting in their graves, unless there be one unique among his kind, marked by completeness of superiority. Many a time have we met a man who was versed in philosophy and followed some ancient tradition, and have found him sanctioning vile principles and ready to act like one whose moral sense is obscured.[4] If a shameful

[1] شايفة appears to mean 'consideration,' 'repute.' I do not find it in the dictionaries.

[2] Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Abī 'Aun was put to death in 322 A.H. See Ibn Khallikān's article on Ibnu'l-Muḳaffa'.

[3] Ibnu'l-Shalmaghānī, generally known as Ibn Abī'l-'Azāḳir.

[4] I take يبتكر = يُصبح, but we may perhaps keep معمور and translate 'bringing sound intelligence to naught.' In this case يبتكر ب = يُهلك = يتغدّى ب (see Glossary to Ṭabarī under غدا).

deed is in his power, he will commit it, and if he recognizes that something is a duty, he will brush it aside, as though annulment [of obligations] were the sage's ideal; for his tenets are the worst possible. And if he is entrusted with a pledge, he will prove dishonest; and if he is questioned as a witness, he will lie; and if he prescribes for a sick person, he does not care whether his prescription doubles the invalid's sufferings or kills him outright. No; his sole object is gain, yet he poses as a philosopher. And often one who foolishly scoffs at religious people is himself inwardly smitten with the most grievous malady. Truly, men are even as the Kor'ān says: *Each party rejoices in its own.*[1] Some devout individuals hold the Imāmites guilty of an unpardonable sin, because they rub their faces in the dust when they approach [the Imām]. And congregations
P. 163. are attended by impious rascals, seeming to seek the truth, whilst, God knows, they are innovators and impostors at heart. Who will be responsible to you for the use of cymbals in divine worship?[2] How many a one, professing to stand aloof while he is face to face with his foe, asserts that the Lord will cast all created [for Hell], not to speak of their worldly goods, into fire without end! Nevertheless, he continually saddles himself with monstrous crimes, which must land him in blazing ovens. He inveighs against immorality and lewdness, yet himself goes heavily laden with a damning cargo; he curses those who believe in 'compulsion,' yet leans upon the 'Compeller's' servant;[3] day and night are not too long for his own misdeeds, yet he thinks that the Shaikh of the Mu'tazilites is a person of foul character. He has made disputation a trap, and composes by means of it a poem of error. I have been told concerning an Imām of these reprobates (who was venerated and had disciples, though he was, one might say, 'a paradise of folly'[4]) that he used to sit with the drinkers,

[1] Kor. xxiii, 55; xxx, 31.
[2] Abū'l-'Alā is probably referring to the Ṣūfīs.
[3] I.e. Muḥammad.
[4] Literally, 'an abode consisting of ignorance.'

and when the intoxicating, flowing beverage passed round and the cup came to him, he would drain it to the dregs and call those present to witness that he repented of his choice.

If an Ash'arite is examined, he will be found base coin,[1] cursed by the solid earth and by the heavens. He resembles a cruel shepherd, wandering at random through the dark moonless night, taking no heed for his flock against a sudden onset or that he should bring it to rich pastures.[2] And serve him right, if he leads it among wolves that will make themselves answerable for its annihilation! He is one of those whose intelligence is at fault, just as if they were placed in the dark, unless they are saved by conformity with the early tenets of Islām and by submission to the established duties of religion. And I pronounce an infidel whoever asserts that our Lord God has two corporeal hands, without knowing when He clapped them in sport.[3] If such a one makes verses, he invests the Eternal[4] with his own idle fancies; for he pins his faith to a delusion. And if he searches the mystery and scrutinizes it, he proves utterly P. 164 incapable of grasping its essence.

The Shī'ites maintain that 'Abdu'llah b. Maimūn al-Ḳaddāḥ,[5] who belonged to Bāhila,[6] was among the honoured

[1] ظهر وهو نمّيّ = ظهر نمّيّ.

[2] قال ابو الحسن اليَمَامَة نبّت مسترخٍ على وجه الارض تأكله الابل فتكثر عنه البانها (*Kāmil*, 221, l. 12).

[3] I.e. he cannot defend his statement except by showing that the divine and human natures are analogous. The passage is corrupt, and my restoration only suggests a possible way of taking it.

[4] The text has ان شعر قلد السكين هواه. سَكين is not in the lexica, but cf. سكينة فارّة (p. 159), unless this is a vulgar use of السكينة in its theological sense. If we point السِكّين, we must read اشعر for شعر and render, 'If he marks (a beast for sacrifice)' or 'If he puts a شعيرة (to a knife)'; but it is difficult to see what either of these metaphors could mean.

[5] *Fihrist*, 186–187 and notes *ad loc.*

[6] Concerning the low esteem in which this tribe was held cf. Ibn Khallikān, *Translation*, ii, 518.

friends of Ja'far b. Muḥammad [1] (on whom be peace!), and that after relating many things on Ja'far's authority he apostatized. But one of their Shaikhs informed me that they still cite him as an authority, saying, "'Abdu'llah b. Maimūn al-Ḳaddāḥ related to us a most excellent tradition," i.e. before his apostasy. And these verses are quoted:

Come, give me wine to drink, O wise one, for I am not of opinion that I shall be raised to life.
Seest thou not how the Shī'ites are distracted and beguiled by Ja'far from their religion?
I was seduced by him for a while; then a secret revelation appeared to me.

And they quote also:

I went to Ja'far for a time, but I found him treacherous and cajoling,
Drawing the chief power to himself and pulling everyone to his own side.
But if your pretensions had been true,[2] *your murdered ancestor*[3] *would never have been dragged [in the dust].*
May none of you gain experience by age, and may your lives be short, for your misfortunes are sufficient!

The Ḥulūlīs are next door to the doctrine of metempsychosis. I had the following story from one of the leading astrologers in Ḥarrān, who stayed some time in our city. One day he went out with a party of pleasure. They passed an ox ploughing, and he said to his friends, "I am sure that this is a man who was known in Ḥarrān by the name of Khalaf," and began calling to him, "O Khalaf!" The ox happened to low; whereupon he said to his companions, "Don't you see, I told you the truth?"

And it was related to me, concerning another believer in metempsychosis, that he said: "I saw my father in

[1] Shahrastānī, 124 seq.
[2] An ironical reference to Ja'far's title, 'al-Ṣādiḳ.'
[3] Ḥusain.

a dream, and he said to me, 'O my son, my spirit has P. 165.
been transferred to a one-eyed camel in so-and-so's troop, and I long for a water-melon.'" The narrator continued: "I took a melon and made inquiries about this troop of camels, and I found among them a one-eyed camel. When I approached him with the melon, he took it like one who desires ardently." You see, my dear sir, with what a want of discrimination these men are cursed, and how they apply to a special case that which does not admit of such a restriction.

As to the Dāmigh,[1] I think it turned the head of him P. 166.
alone who composed it and claimed for it an impious succession. Among the Arabs there is a man known as Damīghu'l-Shaiṭān;[2] but this man [Ibnu'l-Rāwandī] is like dried-up gossamer. The scandalous fact that it is famous for its oaths[3] indicates a weakness of mind on the part of its author: does anyone listen to a screecher? *Māghⁱⁿ* is derived from the phrase *maghati'l-hirra*, 'the cat miaued.'[4]

He flung in my face a thing of which I, and my father too, am clear; and he flung from inside the well.[5]

[1] Houtsma, *Zum Kitābu'l-Fihrist*, Vienna Oriental Journal, 224, where it is described as:

كتاب يطعن فيه على معظم القران

It was written to prove by its superiority of style that the Ḳor'ān is no such miracle as Muḥammadans generally consider it to be.

[2] I.e. harebrained, crazy. The form of the sentence seems to imply that a particular individual is referred to, but the author can hardly mean this. If, however, the statement refers to a typical individual one would expect قد يُعرف الرجل.

[3] It is doubtful whether the MS. reads الواته or الوانه. For this use of فى see Wright's *Grammar*, ii, 155 C.

[4] صاح and صاء are both used in this sense, but not صاص, which is used of a chicken.

[5] I.e. he hurt no one but himself. See Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, i, 556.

May his stone recoil on himself and his woe in the next world long endure! Evil is that which is referred to Rāwand! For who can disparage[1] Dabāvand?[2] He only rent his own garment and exposed his empty paunch to view. Heretic and churchman, conformist and nonconformist, are agreed that the Book brought by Muḥammad (on whom be God's blessing and peace!) is a book that overcame and disabled and caused his enemies to shiver when confronted with it. It was not formed upon any model, and it excelled the most marvellous works of imagination.[3] It was neither in poetical measure nor in the commonplace doggerel of the camel-driver. (The *mākiṭ* is he who runs from town to town.) I am told that a similar claim is made on behalf of a woman at Kūfa.

I have heard it related that some partisans of Ibnu'l-Rāwandī declare him to have been the abode of deity and to have been divinely inspired with knowledge. And they falsely attribute to him many superhuman qualities, which the Creator and all reasonable men attest to be silly inventions. But, for all this,[4] he is an infidel and not reckoned among the noble, the pious. The following lines by him are quoted (no God-fearing instructor is he!):

P. 167. *Thou didst apportion the means of livelihood to Thy creatures like a drunkard who shows himself churlish.*

[1] Or perhaps rather, "Who can kindle a fire in Dabāvand?" i.e. attain to so great a height. Cf. *Arabum Proverbia*, ii, 518.

[2] The well-known mountain near Teherān.

[3] The above passage forms a strange comment on the fact "that Abū'l-'Alā took up the challenge of the Kor'ān, and wrote a rival work, which he thought only required 'to be polished by the tongues of four centuries of readers' to be equal to the sacred volume" (Margoliouth, Introduction, p. 36). It is almost impossible to believe that this censure of Ibnu'l-Rāwandī was penned by one who had already committed the same impiety; unless it is to be regarded as a singularly inept and ungraceful palinode: for why should 'Abū'l-'Alā sit in the chair of Satan rebuking sin? If the work in question was later than the *Ghufrān* (which seems unlikely), he must have known that he already stood condemned by his own words. But such a violent revolution of opinion in a man of three-score, though far less damaging to his character, is also less credible than the alternative hypothesis that he used Ibnu'l-Rāwandī as a scapegoat to divert popular indignation from himself. Either view is beset with difficulties, and one would like to end the matter by declaring that Abū'l-'Alā must be the victim of a calumny. The evidence, however, is strongly against this solution.

[4] = مع هذا.

Had a man made such a division, we should have said to him, "You have swindled. Let this teach you a lesson!"

If these two couplets stood erect, they would be taller in sin than the Egyptian pyramids in size.[1] If the man of keen intelligence died of grief, he would not be blamed. For where can the sage find a refuge from ordained misery? Is not[2] every deceit the signal for a whole volley of infidelities? (*maṣādi'* means 'arrows'). And when madness seizes any outrageous pretender, does he not always meet with fools to lead astray? (*'awā* = *'aṭafa*).

There once appeared in the village known as Nairab, near Sarmīn,[3] a man called Abū Jauf, who did not hide his folly with a *khauf*. (The *khauf* is a little leathern *izār*, of which the lower edges are split, worn by young girls.) He claimed to be a prophet and made ludicrous revelations, and displayed therein the obstinacy of a quarrelsome woman. He had some cotton in his house. "My cotton," said he, "will not burn"; and he bade his daughter apply a lighted wick to it. It caught fire, and the women ran out of doors, while the neighbours gathered to try if they could extinguish the flames. I was told by eye-witnesses that he used to laugh immoderately, without any cause and though nothing surprising had happened. On being asked why he laughed, he answered to this effect, that men rejoice in a brief separation [from the celestial world]: how, then, as regards union with the grace of God? He was evidently mad; his imbecility is not concealed. And he found disciples in the foolish, and denied the revelation of the prophets until he was put to death in Ḥalab (God be her guard!). This took place after the

[1] Similar verses of his are cited by Houtsma, *Zum Kitāb al-Fihrist*, p. 233.

[2] أ = أما. The following ما may account for the omission of the negative. Cf. Glossary to Ṭabarī under أما.

[3] بلدة مشهورة من اعمال حلب اهلها اسماعيلية (*Marāṣidu'l-Iṭṭilā'*).

execution of the patrician,[1] called Dūḳas,[2] in the town of Afāmiya. The inciter thereto was Jaish b. Muḥammad b. Samsāma. Reports that came in led him to communicate
P. 168. with the Sulṭān of Ḥalab, saying, "Kill him, or I will have him killed by an emissary." The Sulṭān was holding him cheap on account of his contemptible character, but a single ewe may bring forth a large flock. (*Waḳīr=ḳatī'u'l-ghanam*).

Some Shī'ites relate that Salmān al-Fārisī, along with a few more, came seeking 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (on whom be peace!), but did not find him at home. Meanwhile there was a flash of lightning followed by a thunderclap, and lo! 'Alī had descended on the roof of the house with a bloodstained sword in his hand. "Two angels," said he, "had a quarrel. I mounted to heaven to act as mediator." Those who tell this story believe that Ḥasan and Ḥusain are not his sons. May grievous torment encompass them!

P. 174. And when a man is superstitious he is always in trouble.[3] If he sees a swallow, he thinks it a poison; or a dove, he fears death, as the Ṭā'ite[4] says:

They are doves (ḥamām), *but if you pronounce with 'kasra,' drawing an augury from their* ḥ, *they are death* (ḥimām).

And if a snub-nosed woman crosses his path, he does not feel secure against evil. "I dread," says he, "a comrade who will leave me in the lurch and an event that will cover me with disgrace." And if it is a wild cow, his heart shrinks for fear of the sons of the jinn. And if he sees her approaching on his left hand, he will strike one of his

[1] I.e. the Greek general.

[2] ? = dux. Cf. قُومَس = comes.

[3] Cf. the Persian خاک خوردن.

[4] Abū Tammām, author of the *Ḥamāsa*.

ribs in apprehension, exclaiming: "There have been men amply endowed with intelligence, possessors of camels and horses, who used to augur ill from that which approaches on the left, and to fear that it involved the loss of the lucky arrow." And if, by fate's decree, she comes on his right hand, he will behold in her the spear-thrust that inflicts a mortal wound, saying: "Were not the owners of steeds and she-camels wont to dread mischief from that which comes on the right?" And if he meets a man called Akhnas, it is just as though he met a stalking lion. "What security," he says, "have I that he is not like Akhnas[1] of the Banū Zuhra who fled with his confederates, though he had nothing to complain of,[2] when the slaughtered men were thrown into the well?"[3] And if one crazy about such matters comes face to face with a dust-coloured antelope, he expects to be rolled in the dust [of abasement]; and if he espies a gazelle streaked with grey, he is sure that blood will be shed; and if a horse strikes him on P. 175. the forehead with its long tail, it seems to him like a proud-stepping lion—"How near I am," says he, "to suffering a humiliation that will render rebuke unnecessary!" And if he sees an ostrich in the desert, when he is with the travellers on camel-back, instead of taking it as a blessing,[4] he regards it as being responsible for his perdition—"It is wicked and vile," he cries; "its first syllable is *na'ā*, which is derived from *na'īyy* (announcement of death)." And if a male ostrich appears in the waste,[5] that is grievous torment. "Would that I knew," he exclaims, "who it is that will wrong me! Will he seize my property or deal

[1] He persuaded the Banū Zuhra to desert from the Kuraish on the march to Badr and return home. (Ibn Hishām, 438.)

[2] Or perhaps = عن قُدرةٍ, 'while he had the opportunity.' Cf. the usage of *copia* in Latin.

[3] Cf. the verses on p. 141.

[4] I.e. by connecting it with نَعِمَ.

[5] See Lane under أَخْوَقُ. It is not necessary to read الخَرْق.

me a wound?" And if he looks at a sparrow, he says: "Copious blasts of calamity, for it is well off all its days, yet it cannot escape death." The same tendency induced Ibnu'l-Rūmī to derive *ja'far* from *jauḥ* (destruction) and *firār* (flight), whereas, if he had been rightly guided, he would have connected it with *al-nahru'l-jawār* (the deep river), because *ja'far* is a stream abounding in water.

And methinks I see you, when the scattered parties of
P. 197. pilgrims raise their voices to cry "Labbaik!" musing on the *talbiyas* of the Arabs.[1] There are three sorts: (1) with rhyme but without metre, (2) metrical, each verse consisting of two feet, (3) metrical, each verse consisting of three feet.[2]

An example of the first sort is, "*Labbaik, O our Lord, labbaik! All good is in Thine hands.*"

The second sort has two varieties: (*a*) *rajaz*, (*b*) *munsariḥ*. The following is an example of *rajaz*:[3]

Labbaik! Thine is the praise and the kingdom. Thou hast no companion, save a companion that belongs to Thee.
Thou art his lord and the lord of what the father of girls at Fadak possesses.[4]

This is a *talbiya* of the Ignorance. In those days there were idols at Fadak.

[1] The following passage, with which I conclude the present article, is of great interest. Ya'ḳūbī (ed. Houtsma), i, 296 seq., gives a number of *talbiyas*, but none of these, with two partial and trifling exceptions, will be found here.

[2] The first kind of *rajaz* contains six feet: when four are dropped, the verse is called *manhūk*; when three are dropped, *mashṭūr*.

[3] This *talbiya*, except the last line, occurs in Shahrastānī, 434; Wright's Reading-book, 151. Ya'ḳūbī, i, 296, cites

لبّيك اللهمّ لبّيك لبّيك لا شريك لك تملكه وما ملك

as the *talbiya* of Ḳuraish.

[4] I.e. lord of the female children buried alive as a sacrifice to the idols. Fadak is a place in the Ḥijāz. أَبُو بَنَاتٍ seems to refer not to the father of the victims, but to the god, who may equally well be called their father according to Arabic idiom.

Another example [of *rajaz*] is:

Labbaik, O giver of plenty! Labbaik from the Banū Namir!
We come to Thee in the year of dearth, hoping for an abundant rainfall that will make the dry watercourse a rushing torrent.

(*b*) *Munsariḥ*. Of these there are two kinds: (*a*) the two final letters are quiescent, e.g.:

Labbaik, Lord of Hamdān! Whether distant [from Thy shrine] or near,
We come to Thee with swift she-camels, easy to manage. We come seeking Thy bounty,
Traversing the valleys towards Thee, hoping for the grace of forgiveness.

(*β*) Two quiescent letters are not combined, e.g.:[1]

Labbaik from Bajīla, the honoured, the powerful (a fair tribe is she!),
That brings to Thee an intercessory offering in hope that Thou wilt make her prevail!

And in some cases different rhymes are used: e.g., in the *talbiya* of Bakr b. Wā'il they relate as follows: P. 198.

Labbaik in very truth, in devotion and abasement! We come to Thee for counsel, we come not for gain.

The third sort has two varieties: (*a*) *rajaz*, according to the opinion of Khalīl; e.g., in the *talbiya* of Bakr it is related:

Labbaik! Were not Bakr Thy defender, men would give Thee partners and would deny Thee.[2] *Bands [of pilgrims] from our tribe come to Thee always.*

[1] Ya'ḳūbī, i, 227, cites:

لبّيك عن بجيله ذى بارق ومخيله

[2] يُشْرِكُكَ app. = يُشْرِكُ بك, though it may be translated 'make Thee a partner with other gods.' Examples of كفر with the accusative occur in prose.

(*b*) *Sarī'*, of which there are two kinds: (*a*) two quiescent letters meet; e.g., they relate in the *talbiya* of Hamdān:

"*Labbaik!*" [*we cry*] *along with every troop of clansmen that keep Thy commandment. Hamdān of kingly race invoke Thee.*

They have left their idols and turned again to Thee. Hearken, then, to a prayer touching the whole community.

Labbūk means 'kept thy commandment';[1] those who read *labbauk* commit an objectionable fault in rhyme. (*β*) Of that variety of the third sort in which two quiescent letters are not combined the following is an example:

Labbaik from Sa'd and her sons, and from the women whom they leave behind! Sa'd goes towards the divine mercy to gather it.

The Arabs hold that metrical *talbiyas* must always be in *rajaz*.[2] None is in regular verse. There may, however, have been such *talbiyas*, although tradition has not preserved them.

[1] I.e. لبّوا بک = لبّوک.

[2] I.e., whether the metre is *rajaz*, *munsariḥ*, or *sarī'* no verse must be without a rhyme, whereas in regular poetry only the second verse of each couplet is rhymed.

Art. XIV.—*On the Authority (Prāmāṇya) of the Buddhist Āgamas.*[1] By Louis de la Vallée Poussin, M.R.A.S.

The well-known history of Buddhism by Tāranātha—not to mention here the book of I-tsing—is filled with tales of the controversies between Buddhists and 'orthodox' teachers of the Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya, or Vedānta schools.

The Tibetan chronicler affirms, to say the truth, that the noble (ārya) Ācāryas were armed with all the weapons magical art could afford; their adversaries used the same weapons, and it was by the striking effects of miracles that the Rājas were made generous or favourable, or were converted. Those tales are confirmed by legends of which the Śaṅkaras and Udayanas are the heroes.[2] I do not

[1] A lecture given at the meeting of the R.A. Society, 11th June, 1901.

[2] See, for instance, the *Saṁkṣepaśaṁkaravijaya* (Cat. Aufrecht, Oxford, fol. 254[a]), where is narrated, with variants, the legend elsewhere attributed to Udayana: ". . . . . yaḥ patitvā gireḥ śṛṅgād avyayaḥ, tanmataṁ dhruvam . . . . . yadi vedāḥ pramāṇaṁ syur, bhūyāt kā cin na me kṣatiḥ." The Buddhists do not accept this ordeal: "saugatās tv abruvann: idaṁ na pramāṇaṁ matanirnaye, maṇimantrauṣadhair evaṁ deharakṣā bhaved iti." The king does not yield to this (rather conclusive) argument, but he manages a new experience, asking: "What is hidden in this basket?" The Buddhists do, of course, know that there is a serpent. But a divine voice is heard: "This serpent is not a serpent, but Viṣṇu." Therefore the king gives orders for the slaughter of the heretics (vadhāya śrutividviṣām).

The story of the serpent in the basket is well known from Tāranātha.

The legend of Udayana—Brahmin and Buddhist falling from the top of a mountain—is interesting from its conclusion. The Naiyāyika conqueror, being a murderer—for the benefit of the creed—is not approved of by the priests of Jagannāth, and he does not conceal his anger. "The following couplet, which has not been traced beyond oral tradition, at once illustrates the irreverence of the Hindu mind and shows that the Nyāya is prized as the stronghold of theism. The verses are reported—falsely, it is hoped—to have been uttered by Udayana Ācārya: aiśvaryamadamatto 'si, mām avajñāya vartase: upasthiteṣu bauddheṣu madadhīnā tava sthitiḥ . . . . . but let the Bauddhas show themselves, and upon me will depend thy very existence." (N. Nīlakaṇṭha Gore: "A rational Refutation of the Hindu Philosophical Systems," p. 6, note. Mr. C. H. Tawney has given me this curious reference. See also Barth, Bulletin, 1899–1900, 2, 32, n. 4; J.B.T.S., iv, 1, p. 21.)

believe them to be only a fiction, but they must be looked upon as of little historical importance. The war is really elsewhere; it is between the philosophical systems (darśana), not between the magicians (mantra-vid).

The doctrinal debate is essentially a philosophical one: the *magister dixit* argumentation cannot be used, and it appears that Dignāga's adversaries have been obliged to submit to his controversial axiom, that is to say, "a doctor cannot be beaten, except by such way of reasoning as is in accordance with his own point of view."[1]

We do not fully trust the legends on the Indian St. Barthélémies, ruled over by Śaṅkara and his fellow-workers; but we know that the prize of the fight was an important one. The defeated doctor had to accept his winner for a guru (master).[2] The conversion or apostasy, it must be added, was not very hard. Brahmins and Buddhists, those *frères ennemis*, are the products of parallel intellectual evolutions; they had many points of agreement; and the Dubious Truth's kingdom, that is, the sphere of the *saṁvṛtisatya* (vyavahāra°), is large enough to allow easy metaphysical concessions.

However, the importance of those logical and oratorical contests is beyond any doubt. The prosperity of Buddhism in India seems to have varied with its doctors' fortune—luxuriant with its hundreds of scholar-monks in the large universities of the catholic Saṁgha, when the Dignāgas, Candrakīrtis, Candragomins, were giving the Good Law a high degree of authority; falling almost into decay under their anæmic successors, mean magicians, and of a poor dialectical training. Therefore, one must insist on the special interest those disputes would offer to the Indianist, were it possible to know them with some details. The two schools, then in the full strength of their maturity, were

[1] The law of controversy according to Dignāga, see *Madhyamakavṛtti*, fol. 9b, ed. Calcutta, p. 9 init.; *Ślokavārtika*, p. 250, cf. p. 372; Sadagiro Sugiura, "Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan," p. 34 (Un. of Pennsylvania, Series No. 4).

[2] Cf. the history of Śabhika, *Mahāvastu*, iii. 389 foll.

fighting each other; philosophical questions of capital consequence were being discussed. The Buddhists, so to speak, champions of the "free examination" (*libre examen*), are distinguished from the other sects by the indelible character of a definite creed, and by the somewhat revolutionary appearance of some of their essential dogmas. But, up to the present time, we have had nothing to base our conclusions upon except hypotheses. Tāranātha, like many a chronicler, prefers the marvellous stories to the doctrinal expositions. On the Buddhist darśanas we knew almost nothing but what Colebrooke, the first and no doubt the greatest of Indianists, taught us some sixty years ago. The Sarvadarśana and the famous commentary on the Brahma-sūtras were the only authorities to draw from. On the Buddhist side the Sanskrit documents are very few; they were left a long time untouched or unknown. The courageous explorations of Schiefner, Wassilieff, and others, interesting as they are, throw little light on the momentous matter.

But things are going now another way. Not to speak of several collections, the Bibliotheca Indica, the Vizianagaram S.S., the Chawkhamba S.S., give us in a handy form the works of the high masters and the commentaries of their pupils—honest, eloquent, and learned men—the Śrīdharas, Pārthasārathimiśras, Vācaspatimiśras.

We find in the *Bhāmatī* the whole of a quotation from the Śālistambasūtra; in the *Nyāyavārttika* we find a precise reference to some old canonical definition of the pudgalavāda.[1] Śaṅkara mentions the famous text, "What does the Earth rest upon? . . . . What does the Wind?"[2] In a chapter of the *Nyāyaratnākara* are twenty quotations ascribed to the 'Bhikṣu,' fourteen of which, at least, are to be read in the fifth chapter of the Pramāṇasamuccaya by Dignāga. The *Tātparyaṭīkā* and the Mādhava's well-known compilation show their high value by numerous passages extracted from

[1] Bouddhisme, Notes et Bibl., p. 43, n. 1 (from the Muséon); J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 308.

[2] Śaṅkara, 2, 2, 24; *Abhidharmakośav.*, 13ª (Burn., Introd., 449); *Madhyamakavṛtti*, ad vii, 25. Cf. *Aitareya Br.* 11, 6, 4.

Pramāṇaviniścaya of Dharmakīrti. And lastly, Dharmottara and his Nyāyabindu were both known to Vācaspatimiśra.[1]

How could we doubt it? Those books are circumstantial books, books of polemic. So says Vācaspatimiśra: "Vatsyāyana has written a commentary on the Nyāyasūtras; but that commentary (bhāṣya) has been discussed by Dignāga; and it was to answer that powerful antagonist that Uddyotakara made his new commentary on the same Sūtras (vārttikas)."

Not less rich, indeed, in precious references is the Jaina literature, as the learned pandit K. B. Pathak has conscientiously established.

It seems unquestionable, if we trust Tāranātha — and a short examination of Tandjur confirms the Tibetan chronicler—that Dignāga and Dharmakīrti were fortunate enough to endow their co-religionists with a complete new set of philosophical principles. Thanks to those doctors, the canonical dogmas of "universal momentariness" and of "no existence of a soul" (kṣaṇikatva, nairātmya) were provided with a logic, with a psychology, with a theory of the understanding. Since Brahmins and Buddhists start from directly opposite tenets, no wonder is it to find them in manifest conflict concerning the definition of perception, the essence of individual and universal, the normal use of reasoning, the final emancipation. But not to speak of the historical meaning of those strong though subtle conceptions, we shall find abundant food for our curiosity in the varied turns of a war in which every blow is warded off, in which each party, if uncertain to win, is, at least, sure not to be irremediably conquered.

The above prolegomena seem necessary, firstly, to show with a full light how much needed are the researches to which we venture to call attention (those researches, it must

[1] See the transl. of the *Sarvadarś. s.*, Muséon, 1901. *Tātp. ṭ.* 339; *Ślokavārt.* 397; *Nyayāb. ṭ.* 16. 4. Professor Haraprasād Śāstrī, in his last report (1895–1901), has given a short but interesting notice of two little treatises by Ratnakirti, *Apohasiddhi*, *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi*.

be admitted, will not get their full value before the Tibetan translations of Śāstras and Vṛttis have been duly studied); secondly, to make any mistake impossible: for the question I shall endeavour to develop is certainly not to be neglected, but it is only one of the many doctrinal topics the Ācāryas of both parties have explained.

The question bears on the authority of the Vedas and of the Buddhist Āgamas, or, to use the technical word, on the 'authority of the Verbum,' the Śabdaprāmāṇya.

The problem is a difficult one, for it implies the investigating of a more general question, namely, the question of the prāmāṇya, or the validity of the means of proof[1]—the very *nucleus* of Kant's or of Descartes' philosophical systems. We shall not investigate here this last question, which would carry us too far.

As far as the Śabda is concerned, Sir John Muir, in the third volume of his "Original Sanskrit Texts," has given a complete survey of all the texts published up to 1873[2]; Professor Cowell just touches it, but throws a great deal of light upon it in his translation of the Jaiminī-darśana[3]; Dr. G. Thibaut, in the introduction of his Arthasaṁgraha, led us to hope he would some day examine the opinion of the Mīmāṁsakas on the matter; Mahādev Rājāram Bodas treats it in a few words in his ample commentary on the Tarkasaṁgraha.[4]

I can only point out the final result of a long scholastic elaboration. There are two orthodox systems, not to dwell on the minute divergences, that of the Vedāntists and Mīmāṁsists on one side, that of the Nāiyāyikas on the other.[5]

[1] See *Śaṅkaradigvijaya*, Ānand. S.S., Comm. ad viii, 81. Śaṅkara was paying a visit to the Mīmāṁsaka Maṇḍana; as he asks some washing-women the way to the āśrama, they give the following answer: "Where you shall hear the birds singing: svataḥ pramāṇaṁ, parataḥ pramāṇam . . . , there is the house."

On the philosophical problem, *Advaitabrahmasiddhi*, p. 185, is interesting.

[2] Sanskrit Texts, second edition, 1873.

[3] *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*, transl. 1882. The so-called "second edition" (1894) is only a reprint.

[4] Bombay S.S. lv.

[5] On the Sāṁkhyas, Garbe, Sāṁkhya, 115; Deussen, Vedānta, 94.

The latter, champions of theism, establish by reasoning the existence of God (īśvara), maker and ruler, good, and by his own goodness obliged to reveal to the creatures the way of salvation. That God, "who never can mislead or be misled," has revealed the truth.[1] And where is that revelation to be found if not in the Veda, mould and pattern of the sacrifices, of the castes, of the social and cenobitic life?

For the former (Mīmāṁsists and Vedāntists) the Vedas are eternal; they have no personal author (apauruṣeyatva).

The Śabda, that is, the Verbum or Veda, is a means of proof quite different from that our senses, or reason, can furnish us. Its object—be it either the Brahman, the endless and boundless substance, as the Vedāntists believe, be it the Dharma, or the sacrificial law, as the Mīmāṁsists contend—is above any common or worldly pramāṇa.

The Vedāntists call the smṛti, or tradition, inference (anumāna), and for them the word perception (pratyakṣa) has the same meaning as śruti (revelation),[2] which has a self-authority, this authority being recognized by an internal intuition.

The Vedas are eternal and the origin of knowledge.

Against the opinion of all the Veda-followers (vedavid), Mīmāṁsists or Naiyāyikas, the Buddhists maintain that the śabda or āptopadeśa (the word of a truthful witness)

[1] Vācaspatimiśra, *Nyāya vārtika tātparyaṭīkā*, p. 300: "It shall be established, in the fourth book of the sūtras, that from the existence of created things (kārya), viz. the body and the world, can be logically demonstrated the existence of a creator of these creatures, able to create them, knowing the essence of everything, unpolluted by the impression of the matured passional action, and endowed with a supreme pity. But, when this compassionate Being sees that the creatures are ignorant of the method to realize their own welfare and to avoid bad destiny, that they are consumed by the fire of numerous sufferings, he must be grieved by the sufferings of the creatures. Being so grieved, knowing the way of salvation, is it possible that he did not teach this way, or that he did teach this way erroneously? Therefore, this compassionate Being, after having created the earth and the four classes of human beings, did certainly teach them the way to attain happiness and to avoid the reverse: he cannot stay without teaching it (na hy anupadiśya sthātum arhati). And the teaching of this father-like compassionate Being is accessible to the Devas, to the Ṛsis, to the men; it must be accepted by the four classes. . . . ."

[2] Deussen, p. 96: "Das Offenbarte ist ihm (Śaṅkara) das Offenbare." Cf. Śaṅkara, 1, 1, 2 (Ān. S.S., p. 34); *Bhām.* Objection of the Mīmāṁsakas, 1, 1, 3.

cannot be distinguished from the vulgar pramāṇas. Udayana and Vācaspatimiśra bring forth Dignāga's dilemma:—

"Where is the āptopadeśa's strength to be found? In the witness's undoubting trustfulness, or in the specific truth of his learning? In the first instance, it is a case of inference.[1] (Witness is to be relied upon, for he knows the facts and he does not lie.) In the second, the evidence comes from an actual perception. (The truth of the teaching is made obvious by its accordance with the facts.)"[2]

Let us see, however, if the dissidence is as deep as it seems to be. On the one hand—the Brahmins do not deny it—the eternity of the Vedas or the existence of God, the Veda-inspirer, has to be established by proofs.[3] On the other hand, the Buddhists consider their own sūtras as eternal, and one of the most commonly used names for Buddha is the Omniscient. Both make an equal use of "Faith resting on Reason," and the polemic, apart from the logical dispute, grows up unchecked on the solid ground of fact.

"The Buddhists," says Kumārila, "give the Veda a human origin; on account of the principle of the universal momentariness they deny its eternity; but, strange to say, they claim eternity for their own books (āgamas)!" such

[1] Āptavākyāvisaṁvādasāmānyād anumānatā = *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, ii, 5, fol. 5ᵃ, 4 (Tandjur, Mdo, xcv):

yid-ches tshig ni mi-bslu-ba
spyi-las rjes-su-dpag-pa-ñid.

Cf. iii, 2 (fol. 7ᵃ, 2); *Tātp.* 138. 2; *Vārttika*, 61. 13; *Nyāyas.* i, 1, 17.

[2] "As it has not a specific object, the śabda is not a specific pramāṇa. Things are perceptible or imperceptible: the first ones can be known by perception (pratyakṣa), the second ones by means of the liṅga . . . ." *Nyāyas.* ii, 1, 46; *Vārt.* 260; *Tātp.* 286. 3. See *Ślokavārt.*, pp. 51–53, the characteristics of the śabda.

[3] Śaṅkara, of course, establishes by purely rational arguments the principles of his system; but, as well said by Ānandagiri, "If it is possible to show by logical process that there is a cause of the world, we are altogether unable to ascertain by common pramāṇas the nature of this cause, the unity and the other characteristics of Brahman." Śaṅkara says: "The true nature of the cause of the world, on which final emancipation depends, cannot, on account of its excessive abstruseness, even be thought of without the help of the holy texts; for it cannot become the object of perception . . . , and as it is devoid of characteristic signs, it does not lend itself to inference . . . ." (Thibaut, i, p. 316.) Śaṅkara, 2, 1, 11; see 1, 1, 4 (p. 47. 2); *Bhām.* 294. 11; and *Vedāntakalpataru.*

assertion of Kumārila being supported by quotations from old Āgamas. "Through hatred of the Vedas, admitting the eternity to be a proof of veracity, jealous of any superiority in the Veda, they insist on the eternity of their āgamas; at the same time, to exalt their master, they glorify him for having discovered the doctrine of the *ahiṁsā* (respect for living beings)."[1] "The Buddhist Āgamas, they say, are eternal! But in what language are those books written? In Prakrit, a barbarous dialect; worse, if possible, than the Apabhraṁśa!"[2] and Kumārila does triumph; for the

[1] *Tantravārtika*, 169. 11:

yathā mīmāṁsakatrastāḥ śākyavaiśeṣikādayaḥ
nitya evāgamo 'smākam ity āhuḥ śūnyacetanam,
pradveṣād, vedapūrvatvam anicchantaḥ kathaṁ cana,
tanmātre 'pi ca bhūyiṣṭhām icchantaḥ satyavāditām . .
ahiṁsādy atatpūrvam ity āhus tarkamāninaḥ.

170. 2:

āhuḥ svāgamanityatvaṁ paravākyānukāriṇaḥ . . . .
tatra śākyaiḥ prasiddhāpi sarvākṣaṇikavāditā
tyajyate, vedasiddhāntāj jalpadbhir nityam āgamam.
dharmas tenopadiṣṭo 'yam "anityaṁ sarvasaṁskṛtam,
kṣaṇikāḥ sarvasaṁskārā asthirāṇāṁ kutaḥ kriyā,
buddhibodhyam trayād anyat saṁskṛtaṁ kṣaṇikaṁ ca tat."

171. 2:

śabdādiṣu vinaśyatsu vyavahāraḥ kva vartatām?
"sthitaiṣā dharmatety" etad arthaśūnyam ato vacaḥ.
eṣety api na nirdeṣṭuṁ śakyā kṣaṇavināśinī,
kiṁ uta sthitayā sākam eṣety asyaikavākyatā.

tenānityaśabdavādināṁ āgamanityatvānupapatteḥ . . . .

163. 2:

śākyādayo 'pi hy evaṁ vadanty eva: "yathotpādād vā tathāgatānām anutpādād vā sthitaiveyaṁ dharmanityateti."

The line: Kṣaṇikāḥ sarvasaṁskārā . . . . is quoted, *Bodhicaryāvat. t.* 251, 27. Cf. *Bhāmatī*, 361. 3, and the *Nyāyabindupūrvapakṣa*, a very interesting little tract by Kamalaśīla, Tandjur, Mdo, cxi, fol. 118[b]. The following one is to be found, Śaṅkara, 540, Comm. *Ślokavārt.* p. 735. The three 'asaṁskṛta' are well known.

See for the quotation 163. 2 the *Sarvadarś. s.*, p. 21, l. 8, and notes to the translation (Muséon, 1901–2).

As concerns the ahiṁsā, see *Atmatattvaviveka* (ed. 1873), p. 121 in fine. There are some curious observations on the matter in Rhys Davids' "Dialogues," p. 165.

[2] *Mīmāṁsātantravārt.* (Ben. S.S.), p. 171. 9:

Asādhuśabdabhūyiṣṭhāḥ śākyajaināgamādayaḥ
asannibandhanatvāc ca śāstratvaṁ na pralīyate.

Māgadhadākṣiṇātyatadapabhraṁśaprāyāsādhuśabdanibandhanā hi te | mama vihi bhikkhave kammavacca isī save | tathā ukkhitte loḍammi ukkheve atthi kāraṇaṁ

Prakrits were, at his time, considered as recent degenerations of the Sanskrit.

That philological argument is capital; but Kumārila goes on, for it is of interest to overthrow Buddhism in the very core of the Good Law, in the dogmatic conception of the Teacher. "This word of Buddha," so he says, "is well known: 'May all sins done in the world during this iron age fall down upon my head; but may the world be saved!'" In that saying we find the whole of the Great Vehicle's glory. But Kumārila shows how absurd is that

5 padane natthi kāraṇam | atthy ubbhave kāraṇam ime sakkaḍā dhammā saṁbhavanti sakāraṇā, akāraṇā vināsanti aṇupyattikāraṇam ity evam ādayaḥ.

Tataś cāsatyaśabdeṣu kutas teṣv arthasatyatā
dṛṣṭāpabhraṣṭarūpeṣu kathaṁ vā syād anāditā.

173. 19: Śākyādigrantheṣu punar yad api kiṁ cit sādhuśabdābhiprayeṇā-
10 vinaṣṭabuddhyā prayuktaṁ, tatrāpi prajñaptivijñaptipaśyatātiṣṭhatādiprāyapra-yogāt kiṁ cid evāviplutaṁ labhyate.

Kim uta yāni prasiddhāpabhraṣṭadeśabhāṣābhyo 'pi apabhraṣṭatarāṇi bhikkhave ity evamādīni, dvitīyābahuvacanasthāne hy ekārāntaṁ prākṛtaṁ padaṁ dṛṣṭaṁ, na prathamābahuvacane saṁbodhane 'pi; saṁskṛtaśabdasthāne ca kakāradvaya-
15 saṁyogo, 'nusvāralopaḥ, svarṇākārāpattimātram eva prākṛtāpabhraṁśeṣu dṛṣṭaṁ na ukārāpattir api | so 'yaṁ saṁskṛtā dharmā ity asya sarvakālaṁ svayam eva pratiṣiddho 'pi vināśaḥ kṛta iti asādhuśabdanibandhanatvād ityantena hetunā vedatvākṛtakaśāstrāntaraśaṅkānivṛttiḥ . . . .

I am indebted to Mr. F. W. Thomas for the readings of the India Office MS., to Mr. A. C. Woolner for the readings of the Oxford MS.

Line 3, Oxford has mamā. Line 4, Oxford, kammavacasī, ukhittai, ukheve; printed text, lodasmi uvve; F. W. Thomas, no doubt rightly, ukkheve, sic for ubbhave via ubjave. Line 5, I.O., padune (=patane, du might be ddu), acchi uttave (=ubbhave); Oxford, ajjhadbhave (jjha can be tthyu); printed text, aṇubhave, saṁkadā; Oxford, sakkaḍā; I.O., sakvadā. Line 6, Oxford, anupattikāraṇād; I.O. agrees with printed text; F. W. Thomas's suggestion anuprāpti° and the reading °karaṇād might be right; Oxford, evamādirūpāḥ.

Line 12, Oxford, kiṁ punar. Line 13, Oxford after bhikkave has sakkaḍā dhammā ity evam°. Line 14, Oxford, saṁskṛtapadasthāne. Line 16, Oxford, na hy u°.

This tenet of Buddhist schools alluded to in the Prākrit quotation by Kumārila, viz. that *vināśa* is *ahetuka*, is known from various authorities. See, for instance, *Ślokavārtika*, 736. 1: "āhuḥ svabhāvasiddhaṁ hi te vināśam ahetukam," and Comm.: "svābhāviko ghaṭādīnāṁ vināśaḥ: te hi svahetubhyo vinaśvarā eva jātāḥ: janitvaiva pradhvaṁsyante, kim atra kāraṇeneti." *Bhāmatī* (1891), 360. 18: "vaināśikair akāraṇaṁ vināśam abhyupagacchadbhiḥ." *Abhidharmakośav.*, Paris MS., fol. 269^{b} 6: "utpattyanantaravināśirūpaṁ cittacaittavat: ākasmiko hi bhāvānāṁ vināśa iti; akasmādbhava ākasmikaḥ, ahetuka ity arthaḥ." *Madhyamakavṛtti*, 7. 16 (Buddh. T.S.); *Nyāyabindu*, 106. 3; *Nyāyakandalī*, 78. 8.

We have, therefore, to read:

Udbhave asti kāraṇaṁ patane nāsti kāraṇam. Asti udbhave kāraṇam:

Ime saṁskṛtā dharmāḥ saṁbhavanti sakāraṇāḥ
akāraṇā vinaśyanti [svayam?] utpattikāraṇāt.

incomprehensible pity (karuṇā): "Can we for a moment believe that a Kṣatriya, a member of the royal caste, after deserting the duties of his own caste to make himself a teacher and a boon-receiver, thereby intruding on the rights peculiar to the Brahmins alone, can we believe that such a man could teach the true teaching? He boasts in putting aside his own duty (svadharma); he is praised for his altruism; but how could he be both the loser of himself and the saviour of others? Indeed, Buddha's disciples, despising revealed as well as traditional precepts, are conspicuous by the unlawfulness of their life." [1]

But to go further, Buddha is omniscient.[2] Where are, then, in Buddhism all those treatises, those laws, metric, grammar, astronomy, those Vedāṅgas (members of the Veda) which are the hereditary possessions of the Brahmins?

The Buddhists answer, not without some wit: "Be it so; Buddha is not omniscient, but he knows the Dharma (Religious Law). It has been said: 'What use is it for us that Buddha knows or knows not the number of the insects, that he be far-sighted or not, since he knows the truth

[1] *Tantravārt.* 116. 13: svadharmātikrameṇa ca: yena kṣatriyeṇa satā pravaktṛtvapratigrahau pratipannau, sa dharmam aviplutam upadekṣyati iti kaḥ samāśvāsaḥ? Uktaṁ ca

Paralokaviruddhāni kurvāṇaṁ dūratas tyajet
ātmānaṁ yo 'tisaṁdhatte 'nyasmai syāt kathaṁ hita? iti.

Buddhādeḥ punar ayam eva vyatikramo 'laṁkārabuddhau sthitaḥ; yenaivaṁ āha:

Kalikaluṣakṛtāni yāni loke
mayi nipatantu, vimucyatāṁ tu lokaḥ! iti.

Sa kila lokahitārthaṁ kṣatriyadharmam atikramya, brāhmaṇavṛttaṁ pravaktṛtvaṁ pratipadya, pratiṣedhātikramāsamarthair brāhmaṇair ananuśiṣṭaṁ dharmaṁ bāhyajanān anuśāsan dharmapīḍām apy ātmano 'ṅgīkṛtya, parānugrahaṁ kṛtavān iti; evaṁvidhair eva guṇaiḥ stūyate; tadanuśiṣṭānusāriṇaś ca sarva eva śrutismṛtivihitadharmātikrameṇa vyavaharanto viruddhācāratvena jñāyante.

[2] On the sarvajñatva of Jina and of Buddha, see the very interesting lecture of K. B. Pathak, *The Position of Kumārila in Digambara Jaina Literature* (Trans. Congr. London, pp. 186–214); also *Sarvadarś. s.*, Jaina chapter; and *Nyāyabinduṭ* (112. 17, 114. 3, 116. 15, 117. 2 foll.), a handful of syllogisms on sarvajñatva, vaktṛtva, rāgādimattva. Cf. *Kandalī*, 397 fine; *Bhāmatī*, 322. 4.

that we want?'[1] And we shall prove that Buddha knows the Dharma. This Buddha's saying, 'All compound is momentary,' and any other texts dealing with ascertainable matters, are easily shown to be exact; therefore, the dogmatic principles, or *vérités de foi*, those, for instance, that bear on the worshipping of relics or caityas, must needs be exact, since they have been said by Buddha himself."

Kumārila answers: "The way you reason does not make the authority of Buddha certain; on the contrary. That Buddha, in matters of common experience, might have said the truth, no wonder; but as soon as his teachings pass those limits, where does his authority come from? Since you appeal for a certainty to your own examination, you make Buddha's authority useless. Shall I show you with a more striking instance how irrelevant is your reasoning? I shall use your own syllogism: 'Buddha is not omniscient, since I say he is not; for the fire burns when I say it does.' To affirm safely that Buddha is omniscient, one must needs be oneself omniscient."

Then Kumārila: "Buddha, you say, has made himself a teacher. What for? For his own, or for other people's advantage? In both cases he is led by *rāga*, by desire, or some *πάθος*; and an omniscient being cannot be *παθητικός* (*rāgavān*). Do you not also affirm that Buddha is completely devoid of any *vikalpa*?[2] He must, therefore, keep himself absolutely motionless; he gave no teaching, and his Dharma was taught by some one else. Will you say [in accordance with one of your sūtras] that Buddha stays motionless, as does the Miraculous Jewel,[3] but that by his presence alone he gives all things around him, and even the walls, the teaching power? You will not make

[1] Cited by Pārthasārathimiśra ad *Ślokavārt.*, p. 83:

Kīṭasaṁkhyāparijñānaṁ tasya naḥ kvopayujyate
dūraṁ paśyatu mā vāsau tattvam iṣṭaṁ tu paśyati.

[2] This word is difficult to translate. It would be rather dangerous to understand "any discriminative operation." The *paramārthasatya* (true Truth) is, of course, above expression and thought; there is not thought without *vikalpa*, "falsche Vorstellung" (P.W.).

[3] Cf. *Bodhicāryāv.* ix. 37, 38.

us believe in whatever teachings walls can give! Those are devilish games! (piśāca). Go and tell such tales to anyone you will find ready to believe them."[1]

Besides, to study the question closely, the Buddhist Āgamas must have been derived from the Vedas. Kumārila does not mention the Purānic hypothesis of the Buddha avatar of Viṣṇu, that is, avatar of malevolence[2] or of pity, according to the way it is looked at. More clever still, and with a sort of anticipation of Professor Herman Oldenberg's theory, he thinks that the Vedas, misunderstood, contain the germs of all heretic systems: "The doctrine of the non-existence of the external world, that of the universal momentariness, and that of the non-existence of a soul, are derived, he says, from the Upaniṣads."[3] Therefore we have to recognize the authority of those nihilistic doctrines only so far as they lead us to dislike the sensible world.

But, "That indebtedness to the Veda is fruitless for those heretic leaders (tīrthaṁkaras): they give the Veda up since they are rationalists." "Śākya does not teach the Dharma

[1] *Ślokavārt.* 86. 10 (Comm.): " . . . . . tasmin nirvyāpāre 'pi tatsaṁnidhimātreṇaiva kuḍyādibhyo 'pi deśanā niḥsarantīti cet . . . ." See the sūtras quoted *Bodhicāryāv. ṭ.* 276: "tasmin dhyānasamāpanne cintāratnavad āsthite | niścaranti yathākāmaṁ kuḍyādibhyo 'pi deśanāḥ | tābhir jijñāsitān arthān sarvān jānanti mānavāḥ | . . . ." And: "te tathāgatamukhād ūrṇākośād uṣṇīṣād ghṛṇiṁ niścarantaṁ śṛṇvanti . . . ." Cf. *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, 284. 9: " . . . . yadi buddhā na bhavanti gaganatalād dharmaśabdo niścarati kuḍyavṛkṣebhyaś ca."

It is well known that Buddha did not speak after he had attained the Saṁbodhi (the silence (tūṣṇīṁbhāva) is the highest Truth (paramārthasatya), cf. *Madhyamakavṛtti*, 15ª (B.T.S. 15. 11), and *Laṅkāvatāra*, 17. 15: maunās . . . . tathāgatāḥ); but it is worth while to contrast the *Āryatathāgataguhyasūtra* and the Pāli books. We read in the Northern Sūtra (*Madh. vṛtti*, fol. 109ᵇ, p. 130. 15): "yāṁ ca . . . . rātriṁ tathāgato 'nuttarāṁ samyaksaṁbodhim abhisaṁbuddho, yāṁ ca rātrim upādāya parinirvāsyati, asminn antare tathāgatenaikākṣaram api nodāhṛtam . . . ." The same phraseology *Itivuttaka*, p. 121, 20; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, Intr., § 44, and no doubt elsewhere, but with an altogether different conclusion.

[2] Māyāmohāvatāra (Viṣṇupur.).

[3] *Tantravārt.* 81. 20: sarvatra hi tadbalena pravartate taduparame coparamatīti vijñānamātrakṣaṇabhaṅganairātmyādivādānām apy upaniṣatprabhavatvaṁ viṣayeṣv ātyantikaṁ rāgaṁ nivartayitum ity upapannaṁ sarveṣāṁ prāmāṇyam . sarvatra ca yatra kālāntaraphalatvād idānīm anubhavāsaṁbhavas tatra vedamūlatā.

I am unable to identify the quotation from the Upaniṣads.—Similarly the Sautrāntikas maintain that Buddha, when teaching the śūnyatā, was directed by principles of policy (upāyakauśalya).

Cf. *Nyāyavārt. tātp. ṭ.* 415. 21.

without surrounding it with a complete net of proofs"[1];—and all those Vedabāhyas, or strangers to the Veda, as Manu has said, despise the tradition. They approve the teaching of the outcasts (śūdra), the building up and the worshipping of the caityas, things unheard of and against the Smṛti.

This last is the main objection, the only one, it seems, that proved to be of any historical moment. On the side of the Brahmins we find the perennial constitution of castes and rites, and the universality of honest people.

In vain does Dignāga claim for his own side the 'mahājanaparigraha'[2]; Vācaspatimiśra,[3] after having, in beautiful words, possibly inspired by Buddhist theism,

[1] *Tantravārt.* 117. 13: "Sākyādayaś ca sarvatra kurvāṇā dharmadeśanām | hetujālavinirmuktāṁ na kadā cana kurvate." This rationalistic side of Buddhism is illustrated by the formula: "yat kiṁ cit subhāṣitaṁ tad buddhavacanam" (*Aṅguttara N.* iv, 164. 7; *Bodhic. ṭ.* 284. 1; *Śikṣās.* 15. 19). Minayeff (Recherches, 85) gives reference to the Bhabra Edict: " . . . . . e kechi bhaṁte bhagavatā budhena bhāsite save se subhāsite vā . . . . ." The meaning is quite different; the new sentence can be a tendencious recast of the old one?

Cf. *Majjhima N.* i, 71. 20: "Yo . . . . evaṁ vadeyya: . . . . takkapariyāhataṁ samaṇo Gotamo dhammaṁ deseti vīmāṁsānucaritaṁ sayaṁpaṭibhānan ti, ... nikkhitto evaṁ niraye."

[2] See the curious stanza (Subhāṣitāvali, 3437) ascribed by Vallabhadeva to Dignāga (three of the four MSS. mention Dignāga). As observed by P. Peterson, the stanza occurs in Mahābhārata, iii, 312, 115 (ed. Protap) = Böhtlingk, Sprüche, 2505 = Mbh. iii, 17,402 = Subhāṣitārṇava, 163. I cannot agree with P. Peterson; "It is impossible to contend that its attribution here to the well-known Buddhist writer . . . . may not be a copyist's error." Our stanza in the Mbh. episode occurs in an answer of Yudhiṣṭhira to some Yakṣa. Cf. the closely connected story (of Bahubhaṇḍaka) in the Comm. to *Dhammapada*, 141, and the Devadhammajātaka (*Jātaka* 1, 1, 6 (p. 126)).

The stanza runs as follows:

tarko 'pratiṣṭhaḥ śrutayo vibhinnā
nāsāu munir yasya vaco (*sic*) pramāṇam
dharmasya mūlaṁ nihitaṁ guhāyāṁ
mahājano yena gataḥ sa panthā.

In the Mbh.: naiko ṛṣir yasyā mataṁ pramāṇaṁ, dharmasya tattvam. . . . .

Tarko 'pratiṣṭhaḥ: cf. Śaṅkara, ad ii, 1, 11 (Deussen, Vedānta, 97); Mahājana = dharmaparo loko brāhmaṇādiḥ = Manvādiḥ. Cf. *Ślokavārt.* 75; *Tātparyaṭ.* 301; *Ātmatattvav.* 121.

[3] *Tātp. ṭ.*, pp. 300 ff.; see *supra*, p. 368, n. 1.—There are many strong arguments against the authority of the Vedas. See, for instance, Comm. to Nyāyasūtras, ii, 1, 56 (or 57). "When it is said 'svargakāmo yajeta' we cannot ascertain the truthfulness of the precept; but we see that the putreṣṭi's, the kārīrya's, rites for promoving mundane fruits, do not realize the expected fruits; therefore . . . ."

defined the personal God and defended revelation, breaks down, stone by stone, the whole of the Buddhist edifice. "None of those saviours (saṁsāramocaka[1]), Buddha or Jina, is omniscient; Śuddhodana's son is evidently neither the creator of the world nor the maker of the human body. The Buddhist āgamas did not regulate the laws of caste and of the Brahmanic life; they know nothing of the rites of life from the cradle to the grave. Those āgamas, of which the authority is vainly supported, depend for all that concerns the practical life upon the Śruti, the Smṛti, the Itihāsas, the Purāṇas. Buddhists themselves do not fear to say, 'It is the custom (sāṁvṛtam etat),' and they follow, in practical life, Revelation and Tradition. The Vedas, and the Vedas only, are observed by the three castes. In order to keep their meaning unaltered, the Ṛṣis, one after the other, have written the several limbs of the Vedas and the Treatises (Śāstras). Buddha's words do not, in fact, interfere with the every-day life of men. They are heard and obeyed by nameless people only (manuṣyāpasada), by foreigners, by tribes who live like beasts (paśuprāya). They can have no authority."

[1] Cf. Petavatthu, ii, 1.

Art. XV.—*Buddhist Gnosticism, the System of Basilides.*

By J. Kennedy.

> "Up from Earth's centre through the seventh Gate
> I rose, and on the Throne of Saturn sate;
> And many a Knot unravel'd by the Road;
> But not the Master-knot of Human Fate."

Two questions, the early contact of Buddhism with Christianity, and the origins and character of Gnosticism, have attracted much attention of late. Although these questions are independent of each other in the main, they happen to join hands in the case of the great Gnostic Basilides. I propose to show that the famous scheme of that arch-Gnostic was an attempt at fusing Buddhism with Christianity, and thus to throw some light upon the one question and the other.[1]

The universal charity enjoined by the Buddha, and the occasional parallelisms of doctrine or story in the Buddhist writings and the Old and New Testaments,[2] have awakened much curiosity regarding the possible contact of the two religions. So much so, indeed, that the Congrès International d'histoire des religions has called attention to the matter by a special resolution.[3] Moreover, such speculations are not devoid of a certain historical basis. Asoka states in an inscription, four times repeated, that between 260

[1] Basilides occupies a considerable place in all works dealing with early Church history or the Gnostics. For the special bibliography regarding him see Bardenhewer's Patrologie, and the admirable article on Basilides by Dr. Hort in Smith's Dict. of Christian Biography.

[2] A useful collection of parallel texts will be found in "Christianity and Buddhism," by Dr. T. Sterling Berry (S.P.C.K., London).

[3] Upon the motion of M. Camerlynck, of Amiens, the Congress agreed to the following resolution: "That at the next Congress attention be drawn to the relations which may have existed, at the commencement, between Buddhism and Christianity."

and 256 B.C. he despatched preachers of 'the law' to five Greek kings.[1] At the other end of the chain we have the proselytizing efforts of Nestorian and Buddhist monks in Central Asia between the fifth and twelfth centuries A.D., which resulted in that curious syncretism of religious ceremonies and legends ascribed by the good Abbé Huc to the machinations of the devil. The widespread story of Barlaam and Josaphat is the earliest literary proof of this syncretistic activity. But Barlaam and Josaphat were unknown saints before the seventh century A.D. Prior to that date we have nothing certain, although much has been conjectured.[2] Unfortunately these conjectures seldom conform to the historical conditions of the problem. And three reasons may be adduced to show that before the birth of our Lord any considerable importation into the West was an unlikely thing. Firstly, Indians and Arabs kept up a lively exchange across the Indian Sea, but Indian merchants and sailors were not to be found beyond the shores of Arabia and the Persian Gulf; while the trade by land was chiefly in the hands of Bactrians, and the Bactrians were zealous Zoroastrians until converted to Buddhism by the Kushan kings in the first century A.D. In either case direct intercourse with Alexandria and the Roman Empire was practically *nil*. Secondly, the agents who might be supposed to carry Buddhism to the West were few. We have none of the soldiers, the officials, the women and slaves who spread the rites of Isis and Mithras, and for that matter Christianity itself, throughout the

[1] Epigraphia Indica, vol. ii. The latest transliteration and translation of the text with which I am acquainted is given in McCrindle's "Invasion of India by Alexander the Great," pp. 372–374. I understand that it was supplied by the late Dr. Bühler.

[2] Some of the Celtic gods are occasionally represented as sitting cross-legged in an attitude resembling that of Buddha. These rude representations probably date from the first or the beginning of the second century A.D.; and are in any case posterior to the time of Julius Cæsar. The resemblance is limited to the general attitude; the figures themselves with their symbolism are purely Gallic, and they cannot have been borrowed from Buddhism, since figures of Buddha are unknown in India until the first century A.D. (v. pls. xxv and xxvii, "La Religion des Gaulois," par M. A. Bertrand, pp. 314 and 318). The swastika and the aureole were not peculiar to Buddhism, and the swastika travelled to Gaul before Buddha was born.

Empire. Hindoo merchants and sailors alone visited the West, and of these the merchants only were Buddhist. Thirdly, down to the battle of Actium India received much of its civilization and its impulse from the West, from Persia first and foremost, and in a lesser degree from the Bactrian Greeks. It was the long peace with the Parthians inaugurated by Augustus, and the destruction of Aden and of the Arab monopoly of the Indian trade, in the time of Tiberius or Claudius, which first opened up those direct communications between India and the Empire that lasted with such brilliancy for two centuries.[1] Therefore, although it would be unsafe to deny the possibility of an earlier contact between Buddhism and Christianity, the probability of it is exceedingly small. We must look to the two centuries succeeding Tiberius for the earliest fruitful contact between the two religions, and it is precisely to this era that Basilides belongs.

If Buddhism was to influence Christianity, Gnosticism might be supposed to furnish the most likely channel. Gnosticism was anterior to Christianity, and was open to Indian influence. In the period immediately preceding and following the commencement of the Christian era Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia became a breeding-ground of religious ideas. The ferment was primarily due to Hellenism, which had weakened or destroyed the national religions and stimulated thought, but it stimulated chiefly through the antagonism it evoked. And in this fermentation, which affected Essenism and the later developments of the Zoroastrian religion as well as Mithraism, and the Syrian solar cults, and sowed the germs of the future Kabbala, the Jewish and the Syro-Babylonian religions were the strongest elements and took the leading part. Their disintegration

[1] I have discussed the earliest communications between India and the West in an article on "The Early Commerce of Babylon with India," in J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 241 ff.; and I gave a sketch of its subsequent history in a lecture delivered before the Royal Asiatic Society in March, 1900. I hope some day to deal with the whole subject in a more extended form. For the opening up of the Egyptian trade with India under Augustus, v. Mommsen's masterly account in the "Provinces of the Roman Empire," vol. ii, p. 298 ff., Eng. trans.

and their contact created a religious syncretism which strove to unite Judaic monotheism and the problems of the Fall and the origin of sin with Babylonian ideas of the spirit world, of destiny, and the future life. The process was a natural one, the work of nameless men, and it took many forms and created many schools,[1] Jewish and pagan, some of which took the name, and all received the collective designation, of Gnostic. Morally this syncretism was apt to run into those extremes of asceticism and libertinism so characteristic of the Syro-Babylonish cults. Intellectually it followed two main tendencies. It took from the ancient religions a theory of the spirit world which was essentially magical. The disembodied soul wandered by the dark path or the bright, through many realms and among many perils, from which the magic word alone could save it. Magic is essentially cosmopolitan, and it was this magic which in after days gave popular Gnosticism its vitality, when it was transported to the West, and its polypous faculty of assimilating strange religions. The Syrians, Babylonians, and Egyptians, the peoples who held the belief in a future life with the greatest earnestness and plenitude of knowledge, were the peoples among whom Gnosticism flourished longest. The second great subject of Gnostic speculation was the Fall, the origin of man, and the origin of sin—questions which reveal their full significance only from the monotheistic standpoint. Hence the important part which theories of the flesh, of cosmogony, of emanation play in all these Gnostic systems.

In this fluid mass of primitive Gnosticism it is possible to find many Indian analogies. We have similar theories of emanation, the same threefold division of souls, the same

[1] We must not conceive of the Gnostic schools either now or afterwards as in any way akin to the Stoa and the Porch or the other schools of Greek philosophy. They are of the Oriental type, the religious family, the Mohant and his Chelas, the master and his disciples. The only Hellenic thing about Gnosticism is the approximation, by certain schools in later days, of the Gnostic mysteries to the Greek. But the Greek mysteries had borrowed most of their contents from the East; they were mainly Oriental themselves, even the Eleusinian, and they represent the most Oriental aspect of the many-sided Greek intellect. Here, therefore, a rapprochement was easy.

belief in transmigration, and an almost identical scale of ascent for the soul after death. Emanation theories are not peculiar to India, the threefold division of souls is natural, the belief in transmigration may have been derived from India, but has nothing specifically Indian, and was moreover always subordinate to Chaldæan astrology and planetary fate; but the resemblance between the Indian and the Gnostic history of the soul is striking. According to the Chāndogya Upanishad the soul of the ascetic—the initiated—travels upwards by the way of the Gods through ever-increasing spheres of light. From death it passes to the sunlight, from the sunlight to the region of day, from the day to the bright half of the month, and thence to the summer, when the sun travels north; further on it passes through the world of the Gods, of the sun, of the lightning, to enter the world of Brahma, from which it will return no more. Virtuous souls that lack initiation travel by the darker path—the way of the Fathers. Through the smoke of the funeral pyre they ascend to the night—the dark half of the month, the winter of the year, the world of the Fathers, the aether and the moon, where the Devas feed upon their spiritual substance; and they descend again to earth by the way they had trodden.[1] All this corresponds closely to the ascent of the Gnostic soul, and the soul of the simple, by the right-hand path or the left through the Archon-guarded spheres of light. By the right-hand path the Gnostic attains the eternal silence—the divine pleroma—and will never return. The obscure path on the left—the dishonourable hand — leads the simple through the intermediate worlds, where the Archons feed themselves by sucking out his light, and he is presently returned, shorn of his brightness, to the earth. Now whether these coincidences be accidental or not, they have nothing Buddhist. The ordinary Gnosticism may owe something to India, with which it was in contact, but what it owes

[1] v. Professor Rhys Davids' article on "The Soul in the Upanishads," J.R.A.S., 1899, pp. 79–80.

is due to popular mythology and to the Vedanta; Buddhism contributed nothing to it.[1]

Original Gnosticism had two great divisions, the Jewish and the pagan, and the pagan schools were either magical or ascetic, as the speculative element or the moral tendency prevailed. Judaic Gnosticism first came into contact with Christianity, but it was the pagan Gnosticism which most materially affected and was affected by it. In reality neither the Judaic nor the pagan Gnosticism underwent any fundamental change. The popular Gnostic schools, however fluid, assimilative, indeterminate in details they might be, always conformed to one or other of a few main types, and these types essentially Eastern. But in the commencement of the second century A.D. we come upon a new phenomenon. Christianity had entered the world as a mighty vivifying power, but it wanted a philosophy. Basilides and Valentinus, then Marcion, and later still Tatian and Bardaisan, supplied it with one on a so-called Gnostic basis. These men were endowed with fresh and vigorous minds, in no ways inferior to their contemporaries, and if Tatian be excepted, the intellectual equals of Plutarch, Epictetus, and Dio. They were each the founder of a philosophic school, their influence was far-reaching, and some of them had illustrious successors; but their philosophy was far above the comprehension of the commonplace vulgar that took their name, and it has come down to us only in detached fragments preserved by Clement or Origen and others, or in imperfect *précis*, which often represent the average belief of the common Gnostic rather than the teaching of the founder. Here, then, we have a twofold task, to reconstruct the system and to explain the phenomenon. Are we to say that Christianity had set out to conquer the Hellenic world, and that the Hellenic

[1] Lassen's attempts (Ind. Alter., iii, p. 379 ff.) to connect Gnosticism with Buddhism have not met with general acceptance; v. Garbe, "Die Sānkhya-Philosophie," p. 96 ff. The resemblances are, some unreal, some superficial, and others are more easily accounted for otherwise. The emanation theories of the Gnostics are totally opposed to everything Buddhist.

world required a philosophy? But these philosophies were presented, not to outsiders, but to Christians. Is this Gnosticism, then, an intrusion of Hellenic philosophy into the Christian faith? These arch-Gnostics were men of learning and of culture, they had the Hellenic spirit in so far as they were philosophers, and the method, the form, the symmetry, above all, the inward necessity they felt for a philosophy, is Greek. But the substance? The controversialist Fathers of the Church, men of Hellenic education, and unacquainted with Oriental theosophy, gave various answers. The majority declared that the arch-heresiarchs had borrowed and disguised ideas from every Greek school of thought, as Plato and Aristotle in turn had stolen their ideas from Moses and the Hebrew Prophets. Others stoutly put down everything to the religion of Zoroaster. The opinions of the moderns are equally divided. It is undeniable that Valentinus and Marcion largely employed Oriental elements, but Basilides is usually held to have been "steeped in Greek philosophy," although a few, on the strength of the "Acta Archelai," have claimed a Zoroastrian origin for him. It is the purpose of the present essay to prove that the system of this supposed coryphæus of the Greek philosophy was Buddhist pure and simple—Buddhist in its governing ideas, its psychology, its metaphysics; and Christianity reduced to a semi-Buddhist ideal for result. The moment we apply this key every fragment takes its place, the system is complete, and we can reconstruct the whole. If the form is Greek the positive Greek element is altogether wanting. Christianity was represented to the Hellenic world as a "barbarian philosophy"; and the first attempts at its intellectual comprehension, the first efforts of dogma, were based on a philosophy profounder and more venerable far than the juvenile wisdom of the Greeks, a wisdom which the Greeks regarded with the reverence of ignorance. Gnosticism is not pure Hellenism, as some say; it is rather pure Orientalism in a Hellenic mask. If the 'true Gnostic' of Clement is a Hellen, the genuine Gnostic of Basilides and Valentinus is a thorough Oriental.

Let me state at the outset what I consider it is that I have to prove. I assert, then, and shall try to show, that Basilides had opportunities of becoming acquainted with Buddhism; next, that pessimism and transmigration, the two basal doctrines of his philosophy, are held by him in specifically Indian forms, which cannot have been derived from any other quarter; and lastly, that the system is developed on Christian-Buddhist lines with many Buddhist coincidences, great and small. And the correctness of this view is proved by the fact that the master key of Buddhism effects what no other key has done; it resolves difficulties, reconciles conflicting opinions,[1] assigns each fragment to its proper place, and gives us a complete, symmetric, and intelligible whole, a revivification and restoration of one of the greatest of Gnostic philosophies.

Basilides flourished at Alexandria under Hadrian (117–138 A.D.), and is said to have been the disciple of Glaucias—the "interpreter of S. Peter."[2] He belonged therefore to the second generation after the Apostles, and to the great age of the Gnostics (Clem. Strom., vii, 17. 106, p. 325). Possibly he was somewhat senior to his contemporary, Valentinus, and his death occurred before or soon after the accession of the elder Antonine.[3] His great work, the "Exegetica," in twenty-four books, is said to have been "a commentary on the Gospel"; and Origen says that he composed odes—probably like those of the Gnostic Valentinus and of Bardaisan. The doctrines of Basilides were to be found not only in his own "Exegetica," but in the numerous writings of his son and chief disciple, Isidore.

[1] According to Baur, Basilides laid special stress upon free-will, according to Neander upon fate; Dr. Hort finds his psychology "curious"; some hold Basilides for a Pantheist, others find dualism in him. These and other hypotheses are all justified, explained, and modified by the Buddhist theory.

[2] Clement affects to doubt the tradition, but apparently only from a general suspicion of such claims. There are no chronological difficulties, the tradition was accepted by the Basilidians in Clement's time, and as they professed to base their doctrines on the secret teachings of S. Matthew and not of S. Peter, they had no reason to invent a fable.

[3] A comparison of Clem. Strom., vii, 17. 106, and Justin Martyr, Ap. i, 26, makes this almost certain.

And when we have said this, we have said all that is known with certainty regarding him.

But we may advance a little further by conjecture.[1] Epiphanius will have it that he was a Syrian, but Epiphanius wished to connect him with Menander, and made other wrong guesses about him. And as Basilides named his son Isidore after the great tutelary goddess of Alexandria,[2] we are probably correct in considering him a Hellenized Egyptian. Basilides had a perfect command of the ordinary Alexandrian Greek and wrote it with vigour, but his predilections, if not his training, were mainly Oriental. Eusebius and Theodoret tell us, on the authority of Agrippa Castor, that Basilides had a special regard for the prophecies of Barcabbas and Barcoph and other barbarous apocryphal writers.[3] His son Isidore wrote a commentary on the Prophet Parchor, and quotes the prophecies of Ham, and although Isidore knew something of Aristotle, he studied by preference the poems of Pherecydes, the singer of the wars of the Titans and the teacher of Oriental metempsychosis to the Greeks (Clem. Strom., vi, 6. 53, p. 272). It is clear that father and son took their stand on the wisdom of the East, and that the sources of their knowledge were unfamiliar to the Christian writers and historians.

Alexandria, the home of Basilides and Valentinus, was the second city of the Empire in the age of Hadrian. It was famous for its situation and its sky, a marble-fronted city rising from the sands that fringe the shallow Egyptian sea. It was a city of harbours and dockyards, of broad streets and echoing arcades, of palaces and shady gardens.

[1] A very ingenious person might conjecture that Basilides is merely a translation of Rajput. The conjecture would be on a par with a good many others that have been hazarded. But unfortunately the Rajputs are not heard of in India for five centuries after this.

[2] Egyptians usually retained their heathen names after their conversion to Christianity, even although the name was taken from a god. Ammonius, Serapion, Pachomius, are instances in point. But I am not sure that they gave heathen names to children born after the conversion of the parent. Isidore must have been born when his father was a comparatively young man, and probably before Basilides joined the Christian Church.

[3] Euseb. H.E., iv, 7, and Theodoret, Haer. Fab., i, 4.

The architectural magnificence and the variegated splendours of the royal halls and piazzas which lined the shore and overlooked the moving waters at their feet, fell not short of the subsequent glories of Venice; the Pharos and the Serapeum were accounted among the wonders of the world; and the town could boast of the tomb of Alexander and the mausolea of the Ptolemies. A city of commerce, of philosophy, of bustle, and of pleasure. Greeks, Jews, and Egyptians streamed noisily from their separate quarters to view the horseraces and the pantomimes; and charioteers, harpers, and flute-players, male and female, like the jockeys and the divas of a modern capital, were the idols of a witty and turbulent populace. Filthy cynics lay outside the temples or in the streets, exchanging coarse repartees with the jesting crowd. Dignified philosophers discoursed in private lecture-halls or wrote books (which have rarely survived) in cool libraries. But the chief occupation, although not the chief passion of the city, was trade. Dio Chrysostom calls it the world's agora, and Hadrian, or the pseudo-Hadrian, says that among the innumerable sects and cults which congregated there, one only was supreme—the worship of 'hard cash.' The great corn ships for Rome were laden at the quays, and the piers were crowded with merchant craft from the Ægean and Syrian seas, and from the distant Euxine. The bazars were filled with motley crowds, rough mariners, inquisitive Greeks, bearded Jews, and tattered Bedouin. Blear-eyed Egyptian boatmen and peasants thronged the canals. But being above all the great emporium of the trade with the East, Alexandria was the chief resort of Oriental merchants, and Dio Chrysostom, in an oration which he delivered to the Alexandrians in the reign of Trajan, when Basilides was a youth, gives us the following enumeration of them: "I see among you not only Hellenes and Italians, and men who are your neighbours, Syrians, Libyans, and Cilicians, and men who dwell more remotely, Ethiopians and Arabs, but also Bactrians, Scythians, Persians, and *some of the Indians* (*Ἰνδῶν τινας*), who are among the spectators,

and always residing here." [1] This colony of resident Indians must have been a colony of merchants from the west coast of India — probably from Ceylon or Barygaza, the chief depôts of the Alexandrian trade. Colonies of this sort have been dotted along the shores of the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf from the earliest days of intercourse with India, and we have literary evidence of the existence of similar colonies in Socotra and Armenia in the first and second centuries A.D. We can therefore form a fair estimate of the character of this Alexandrian colony. Now Indian merchants, as a rule, have always been Buddhists or Jains. Buddhism was a merchant religion *par excellence*; there are few parables or birth-stories in which a Buddhist merchant does not figure,[2] and Ceylon and Barygaza were head-centres of the Buddhist faith. If we find that Basilides was a Buddhist philosopher it is easy to discover the source from which he learned his philosophy.

Before proceeding with my exposition of Basilides' teaching, it is necessary that I should advert to, although I need not discuss, a question which has evoked much literary criticism. It is universally admitted that the accounts given us by Clement and Hippolytus are irreconcilable with those given by Irenæus and Epiphanius; and it is very generally, but not universally, admitted that while the former state the doctrines of Basilides himself, the latter are reporting the opinions of the later Basilidians. Personally I have no doubt of the correctness of this view, and I might shelter myself behind the authority of the greatest names.[3] But it will be found that the question solves itself. If I discover Buddhist pessimism and transmigration in Clement, Buddhist metaphysics in Hippolytus,

[1] Dio Chrysos., Orat. xxxii, ad Alexandrinos (Teubner ed., vol. i, p. 413). I have said something of these Indian merchant colonies in "The Early Commerce of Babylon with India" (J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 269 f.).

[2] Mrs. Rhys Davids gives a number of examples in her essay "Economic Conditions in Northern India" (J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 859 ff.), and it would be easy to extend the list.

[3] Baur, Mansel, Hort, and others.

and Buddhist psychology in both, it is evident that both are describing a single system—the system of the master.[1]

It must also be borne in mind that Basilides was a sincere Christian, utterly ignoring Buddha and all Indian mythology. If we forget this, we shall utterly misunderstand him. He adopts the Buddhist philosophy, but not the Buddhist religion; the Buddhist faith is nothing to him. And it is as a metaphysic, not as a religion, that Buddhism first penetrated to the West.

I now proceed with the main subject of this essay—the exposition of Basilides' teaching. I shall first consider the general presuppositions which lie at the root of all his doctrines. I shall then consider his Psychology, next his Metaphysic, and lastly his Theology.

I. Presuppositions.

The Basilidian system is based upon certain fundamental conceptions of the nature of sin, of suffering, and rebirth.

1. The universality of suffering is for Basilides the cardinal fact of the world. "Pain and Fear are as inherent in human affairs (*τοῖς πράγμασιν*) as rust in iron."[2]

[1] The literary question is fully discussed in Dr. Hort's article. Clement wrote his "Stromata" at Alexandria some sixty years after the death of Basilides, and had excellent opportunities for knowing the facts. He gives extracts from the "Exegetica" and from Isidore's works; he repeatedly refers to or summarizes the opinions of Basilides and the Basilidians, using the terms usually as synonymous, and sometimes interchanging them. In one passage he pointedly contrasts the degenerate teachings of the later Basilidians with the doctrines of their master. Clement's object was ethical and practical, while Hippolytus dealt with the speculative part of the Basilidian philosophy. The two therefore seldom deal with the same subject, but where they do they agree. They also agree in undesigned ways, as, for instance, in the use of terms which had a technical significance in the Basilidian teaching, e.g., *φυλοκρίνησις*, *ἀποκατάστασις*, etc. The extracts given by Hippolytus are evidently from the "Exegetica," although Hippolytus does not give the name of the work. Moreover, Hippolytus expressly distinguishes in one passage a work circulating among the later Basilidians from the works of Basilides and Isidore. The only serious objection to the general opinion is the Greek character (so-called) of the Hippolytian extracts, but if they turn out to be not Greek at all, but Buddhist, this objection vanishes.

[2] Clem. Alex. Strom., iv, 12. 90, p. 218. Clement denies the doctrine *οὐκέτι οὖν ὁ πόνος καὶ ὁ φόβος ὡς αὐτοὶ* (i.e. the Basilidians) *λέγουσιν ἐπισυμβαίνει τοῖς πράγμασιν ὡς ὁ ἰὸς τῷ σιδήρῳ, ἀλλ'*, etc.

Buddha laid the same foundation—"Birth is suffering, old age is suffering, sickness is suffering, death is suffering, to be united with the unloved is suffering, to be separated from the loved is suffering, not to obtain what one desires is suffering. In brief, the conditions of individuality and their cause, the 'clinging' to material form, sensations, abstract ideas, mental tendencies, and mental powers involve suffering."[1] The universality of suffering is the fundamental fact, the extinction of suffering the goal, of the Basilidian theology.

2. But Basilides' pessimism takes a distinctively Christian cast. If suffering accompanies all action, it is especially the concomitant of sin. This theory lies at the bottom of Basilides' famous paradox—"the Martyrs suffer for their sins"—a paradox which shocked the conscience of the Church, and was utterly perverted by Basilides' followers.[2] Basilides thought no scorn of martyrdom; it had its consolations and was a good (*τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθόν*). But still the martyrs suffered for their sins, although they might be unconscious of them, or like the new-born babe might be innocent of actual transgressions. But why must the infant suffer? Why must the martyr have committed sin? Because,

[1] From the Buddha's First Sermon, translated in "Buddhist Suttas." Compare Dhammapada, 186 ff.

[2] Basilides' views on martyrdom were grossly misrepresented. The extracts given by Clement (Strom., iv, 12. 83–85, p. 217) from the 23rd book of the "Exegetica" show this clearly. "For I say that all those who undergo the aforesaid tribulations have undoubtedly sinned, though they be ignorant of it (*λανθάνοντες*), in other ways; but are led to this particular good by the goodness of Him who directs (them), being really accused of other faults (than those they have committed); so that they suffer not as malefactors for confessed iniquities, nor as the murderer and adulterer reproached by all, but as Christians—a fact so consoling that they appear not to suffer at all. And even granting that the sufferer is entirely innocent of actual sin (which rarely happens), yet not even will this man suffer by the design of any (evil) power, (the orthodox held that persecutions were the work of the devil), but he will suffer as suffers the infant apparently innocent of sin." Further on Basilides says that as the infant, although obviously incapable of sinning, "suffers because he has a sinful nature, and gains the benefit of suffering," so the perfect man, innocent of actual sin, suffers for his evil propensities. According to Clement, Basilides admitted that his argument applied even to the Lord Himself, although in the extract Clement gives us Basilides will not mention Him by name, taking refuge in the text "none is free from stain." Dr. Hort has some excellent remarks on the whole subject.

so Basilides says, suffering is the consequence and the proof of sin, if not of actual sin committed in this life, yet of an inherited tendency to sin; otherwise we accuse the Divine Constitution of the world. "And I will admit anything," he cries, "rather than admit that the Divine Constitution of the world is evil" (*πάντ' ἐρῶ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ κακὸν τὸ προνοοῦν ἐρῶ*), (Strom., iv, 12. 84, p. 217).[1]

3. And this leads us to the keystone of the Basilidian as of the Buddhist system—the fatal law of transmigration which governs all things in heaven and earth. Every act produces fruit, so every life bears the burden of its fruitage in the following rebirth. "Basilides lays down (*τῷ Βασιλείδῃ ἡ ὑπόθεσις*) that the soul has previously sinned in another life, and endures its punishment here, the elect with honour by martyrdom, and the rest purified by appropriate punishment" (Clem. Strom., iv, 12. 85, p. 217). And again, "If any, then, of the Basilidians, by way of apology, should say that the martyr is punished for the sins committed before this present embodiment (*πρὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἐνσωματώσεως*), and that he will hereafter reap the fruit of his doing during the present life, for thus has the constitution (of the world) been ordained, then we would ask him," etc. (Clem. Strom., iv, 12. 90, p. 218). Origen says that Basilides interpreted Romans vii, 9 as an apostolic reference to transmigration,[2] and he complains in his Commentary on S. Matthew iii that Basilides "deprived men of a salutary fear by teaching that transmigrations are the only punishments after death."[3] The Basilidians interpreted the phrase "unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate Me" of this series of rebirths (Clem.

[1] The Divine Providence (*ἡ πρόνοια*) plays a great part in the Stoic and rhetorical literature of the second century A.D., but it always applies to the universe, and not to the individual. With Basilides, Providence in the ordinary sense is an impossibility; he means by it the constitution of the world "involuntarily willed" by "not-being God."

[2] Origen expressly mentions transmigration into beasts and birds. "Dixit enim, inquit, Apostolus, quia ego vivebam sine lege aliquando, hoc esset, antequam in istud corpus venirem, in ea specie corporis vixi quae sub lege non esset, pecudis scilicet vel avis."

[3] Dr. Hort.

Alex. Frag., 28, p. 338); and Basilides was logical when he said that the only sins which can be forgiven are involuntary sins and sins of ignorance (Clem. Strom., iv, p. 229). Every act is fruitful, and every sin of commission bears its fruit in a future life.

4. We shall presently see that the Basilidian soul is not a simple, but a compound composed of various entities. These warring entities influence the actions of the man; and as some of them have the character of animals and others of plants (Clem. Strom., ii, 20. 112, p. 176) they explain how rebirth in another than a human form is philosophically conceivable. I notice more especially the transmigration into plants, because this is a specifically Indian doctrine, although found occasionally among savage tribes of the Eastern seas.[1]

5. Man is enthralled in the fatal bondage of rebirth, but during the present life his will is free. This is stated in the clearest manner. "If I persuade anyone that the soul is not a single entity, and that the sufferings of bad men are occasioned by the violence of the 'appendages' (a technical word of which more hereafter), then the wicked will have no small excuse to say I was compelled, carried away, involuntarily acted, nor did I will my deed, although the man was led by his lust for evil, and did not struggle against the compulsion of the 'appendages.' It behoves us to rise superior by virtue of our rationality, and to appear triumphant over the baser creature within us" (Clem. Strom., ii, 20. 113, 114, p. 176). And again, "Only let a man will to achieve the good, and he will obtain it" (Clem. Strom., iii, 1. 2, p. 183). Man's will is free to act, but the consequence of his action is inevitable: that is the sum and substance of the doctrine.

6. With the freedom of the will comes the possibility of salvation, but the elect alone are saved, and the mass of mankind will remain bound everlastingly in the endless cycle

[1] Tylor ("Primitive Culture," 2nd ed., ii, p. 6) says that they may possibly have been influenced by Indian ideas. Ovid mentions transmigration into plants, but this is the only instance I can remember among Western writers.

of causation and rebirth—a subject which I shall discuss at length in connection with the Basilidian theology.

These are the fundamental tenets of Basilides, and they are also the foundations which the Buddha laid. The inherency of suffering in existence, its cause rebirth, the freedom of the will, the salvation of the few, and, (if I may anticipate,) nirvāna form an essential and the most important part of both their systems. There is, however, a divergence from the outset in one point, and in one point only. The Buddha had a practical end in view; he wished to discover and to preach the mode of liberation. For Basilides the way of salvation had been found in Christianity, and his purpose is purely philosophical. The burden of existence weighs upon him; how shall he harmonize the constitution of the world and the universality of suffering, how "justify the ways of God to men."

But granting the identity of Buddha's and Basilides' ideas of suffering and transmigration, it may be urged that the coincidence is natural and accidental, that the origin of sin formed the starting-point of every form of gnosis, and that transmigration was a theory known to Hellenes and Egyptians. I reply that pessimism, the inherency of evil in all action, was alien to Greek modes of thought, and was never the basis of any Greek philosophy; while it has always been a marked peculiarity of Indian speculations. And I next proceed to show that the Basilidian theory of transmigration is exclusively Indian. I have already pointed out that Basilides adopted that rare form of metempsychosis, transmigration into plants, universal in India, but sporadic elsewhere. But let that pass. It is with the various stages in the transmigration theory that I wish to deal.

It is usual to confound two very different sets of ideas, a series of rebirths and the temporary or permanent lodgment of a spirit in a foreign body. Most nature-religions assume that the gods can take the form of men or beasts at pleasure, and that certain men can change their shape into that of the inferior animals. Apollo and Athene,

changed for the nonce into birds upon a tree, overlook the windy plains of Troy; or the transformations of Procris, of Narcissus, and of Daphne may serve for Greek examples. The much-imperilled soul of the ancient Egyptian had to put on many an animal shape and many a disguise to escape its ghostly enemies on the road to the blessed fields of Aru. Men everywhere believe in lycanthropy, the wandering of the soul in sleep, the power of witches to assume the shape of animals. In magic the process is reversed. Spirits no longer assume inferior shapes alone: they have the power of putting on the higher forms of gods and demons; but with this we are not here concerned. Suffice it to say that such temporary embodiments of the spirit in foreign forms refer to a totally different line of thought from a series of rebirths. They belong to animism—to the savage philosophy which distinguishes only between animate and inanimate, and which accounts for the travels of the soul in trance and dreams. They have nothing to do with the belief in a future life.

Metempsychosis properly so called is of three kinds. Men have at all times and everywhere believed in the rebirth of a departed spirit. The soul of the deceased returns to earth in the person of a new-born infant of the family, whose looks and ways recall a thousand times a beloved memory. Or the soul may come to earth again in some stranger, the double of the dead. But this return of the soul is occasional and sporadic; it has not been systematized into a theory of the future life. It is a floating semi-conscious belief. Among the great nations of antiquity only two advanced further on this path—the Indians and the Gauls. Both held the doctrine of a future life with firmness, they knew it in detail, and with both of them transmigration is the universal law of humanity.[1] It is no part of the common Aryan tradition (if such tradition or stock there ever was), nor does it occur in the earlier Vedas. The Greeks first

[1] For Gallic and Celtic beliefs v. "La Religion des Gaulois," par A. Bertrand, p. 270 ff., and Rhys Davids, Hibbert Lectures, 1881.

learned the doctrine from Pherecydes and Pythagoras; and these great doctors doubtless learned it from the Cymri or Cimmerians of Asia Minor, who taught them other Gallic lore. But there is a third stage in the history of the doctrine. From the universal belief of India the Brahmans[1] evolved a profoundly philosophical theory peculiar to themselves. In the popular belief each successive transmigration is occasioned by, but is not the result of, the previous life. The Indian philosophers introduced the law of causality; causes are equalled by their effects; and each rebirth is the exact resultant of the preceding life. Transmigration is for them the reign of causal law in the spiritual world; it has the rigour, the universality, the invariability of Fate; it is the self-made destiny which overshadows man from the cradle to the grave: and it is this law which enabled Buddha, and Basilides after him, to explain the origin of evil, and the method of salvation.[2]

II. Psychology.

From this digression, necessary to avert any suspicion of a non-Indian origin, I proceed to consider the Basilidian psychology. The Buddhist doctrine of personality has mightily puzzled modern scholars, and the Basilidian theory of the soul was equally puzzling to Clement. He compares it to the Trojan horse which was full of warriors, and a little further on he says that the Basilidians, like the Pythagoreans, believed in two souls (Strom., ii, 20. 113, 114, p. 176). Three passages contain all that we know of Basilides' psychology. The first consists of Clement's summary. The Basilidians "are accustomed," Clement says, "to call the

[1] Or more probably the Khshatriyas.

[2] On the Indian ideas of transmigration v. chap. xiv of Dr. P. Deussen's excellent work "Die Philosophie der Upanishad's" (Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie, vol. i, pt. 2), and Garbe, "Die Sāmkhya-Philosophie," p. 174 ff.

passions Appendages,[1] stating that these are certain spirits which have a substantial existence, having been 'appended' to the rational soul in a certain primitive turmoil and confusion, and that again other bastard and alien natures of spirits grow upon these, as of a wolf, an ape, a lion, a goat, whose characteristics (say they) create illusions in the region of the soul, and assimilate the desires of the soul to the animals: for they imitate the actions of those whose characteristics they wear, and not only are they familiar with the impulses and impressions of the irrational animals, but they even ape the movements and beauties of plants, because they likewise wear the characteristics of plants appended to them. Moreover [these Appendages] have properties of a particular state like the hardness of a diamond."[2] (Strom., ii, 20. 112, 113, p. 176.) According to Clement, then, there is a rational soul (*ἡ λογικὴ ψυχή*). There are also certain appendages (*προσαρτήματα*) adhering to it. These parasitic appendages are the various affections (*τὰ πάθη*) which have a substantial entity of their own (*πνεύματά τινα κατ' οὐσίαν ὑπαρχεῖν*). They are intermixed with the rational soul by a primæval confusion, intermixed, be it noted, and not intermingled, since the whole process of evolution is to disentangle them. These entities, as well as the rational soul, remain always separate and distinct.

The second passage is the extract (Strom., ii, 20. 113, 114, p. 176) from the work of Isidore "On the Attached (or Parasitic) Soul" (*περὶ προσφυοῦς ψυχῆς*), already quoted in connection with free-will. From it we learn that the soul is not a simple entity, that it suffers from the violence of the parasitic appendages, and that it can rise superior to them by virtue of its rationality.

These extracts find their explanation and complement in the statements of Hippolytus (Haer., vii, c. 15, cf. vii, c. 12).

[1] *προσαρτήματα*, a technical word employed by Basilides and by Isidore. Tertullian translates it as 'appendices' ("ceteris appendicibus sensibus et affectibus," Adv. Marc., i, 25); and Dr. Hort also refers to M. Aurelius, xii, 3, with Gataker's note. *τὰ προσαρτήματα* might be translated as parasites which attach themselves externally.

[2] I have adopted Dr. Hort's translation with a few alterations.

Basilides held that there were five separate entities in Jesus (and therefore in all the elect who are the sons of God). At His death the Sonship ascended into what, by anticipation, I shall call Nirvāna; another part ascended to the Firmament, a third to the Aether, a fourth to the Air, and the corporeal part which suffered and died reverted to Formlessness, i.e. to matter. It would seem, therefore, that Basilides conceived of the elect, if not the natural man, as a compound of five entities—the highest being the rational part (also called the subtle part and the Sonship), the lowest the material body. The resemblance of this conception to the Buddhist theory of the *Skandhas* is remarkable. Man is a compound, say the Buddhists, of five Skandhas—or 'aggregates' as Professor Rhys Davids translates the word. The highest is reason, the lowest the material body. The other three, in an ascending scale, are the Sensations, Abstract Ideas, and Potential Tendencies. So far as one can judge, the Basilidian analysis of man is identical with the Buddhist.

Did Basilides go further? Did he, like the Buddhist, deny the existence of the soul? We cannot say. Clement certainly talks of 'the rational soul,' as he naturally would; but Isidore neither mentions nor implies it, and he employs τὸ λογιστικόν when we should have expected ἡ λογικὴ ψυχή. We learn from Hippolytus that the proper region of the ψυχή was the air; and in Basilides' fivefold division of man there is no room for a soul in the ordinary sense.

I may here note the employment of two technical expressions, Ignorance and Formlessness (ἡ ἀγνοία and ἡ ἀμορφία). The Great Ignorance which (as we shall see) makes the world content to exist without a thought of Nirvāna is a translation of the Buddhist Avijjā (Avidyā). Avijjā has a double aspect.[1] It is at the root of all desire for a sensuous existence, and is therefore the origin of all evil. On the other hand, take consciousness away and there is

[1] For the double aspect of Avidyā, v. Deussen, "Die Philosophie der Upanishad's," p. 217 (Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie).

left neither knowledge of Nirvāna nor feeling of suffering. It is with this latter connotation that Basilides talks of 'the great ignorance.'

The second word is Formlessness (*ἡ ἀμορφία*), used six times in Hippol. Haer., vii, c. 14, 15, as an equivalent for the blind material world. Now the words Rūpaṃ and Arūpaṃ, Form and Formlessness, play a great part in Buddhist psychology, but with a different signification. Natural objects when present to perception have form; ideas presented to the reason are formless.[1] The Basilidian *ἀμορφία* is different, it corresponds more closely to the conception of Prakriti—nature unperceived in consciousness.

III. Metaphysics.

Whether Basilides postulates a soul or not, he certainly postulates a God. But his God is the most abstract, the most remote that ever was imagined. Like Philo and the Alexandrian Jews, the Gnostics, and the later Kabbalists, he declares the Absolute God to be unknowable and unutterable, unpredicable, inconceivable. But no one has equalled Basilides in the energy of his expression. He strains negations to the utmost. 'Not-being God' (*οὐκ ὢν Θεός*) is Basilides' name for Him. He will not use the article, *ὁ οὐκ ὢν Θεός*, although Hippolytus does so. To assert that God exists is to affirm a predicate, and He who is unknowable is above all predicates. But there is an earlier stage than 'not-being God.' "Was when was nothing,[2] nor was that nothing any kind of entity, but in plain, unreserved, unequivocal language, there was altogether nothing. And when I say 'was,' I do not assert that 'there was,' but I merely indicate my meaning when I affirm that there was

[1] v. "A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics" (translation of the Dhamma Sangani), Or. Trans. Fund, vol. xii, by Mrs. Rhys Davids: Introd., p. xli ff.

[2] *ἦν ὅτε ἦν οὐδὲν*, etc. (Hippolytus, Haer., vii, c. 8).

altogether nothing." Absolute existence is absolute nothing, said Basilides, anticipating Hegel.

From nothing one passes to the germ of something. Beside 'not-being God' there exists the world conceived as a seed-mass, posterior to Him in thought, but co-eternal with Him in reality. This seed-mass (*ἡ πανσπερμία*) is conceived both as an ideal cosmic germ (*τὸ κοσμικὸν σπέρμα*) and as a mass of individual seeds, the world of actuality (*ἡ πανσπερμία τοῦ σωροῦ*), precisely as Prakriti bears the same double signification in the Sankhya philosophy.[1] The relation of not-being God to the cosmic germ is described as follows:—"When there was nothing, neither matter, nor substance, nor entity, nor simple, nor compound, nor incomprehensible, nor imperceptible, nor man, nor angel, nor a God, nor anything that has a name, or can be perceived by sense, or conceived by mind, or what is of more subtle still, when every [predicate] has been removed, not-being God without or act of mind or sense, without plan, without purpose, without affection, without desire, willed to make the world. And when I say willed, I mean [an act] involuntary, irrational, insensible; and by the 'world' I mean, not the world of length and breadth [the world of space], and which existed subsequently, and has a separate existence, but the germ of a world (*πανσπερμία κόσμου*). And the seed of the world held all things in itself, just as a grain of mustard-seed contains within the smallest body all things at once [in embryo], the roots, the trunk, the branches, and the leaves, the numberless seeds of other plants born of that one plant, each seed in its turn the parent of innumerable other seeds, a process many times repeated. Thus not-being God made a not-being world out of things that are not, casting down and depositing a certain single seed containing in itself the whole germ of the universe (*σπέρμα τι ἓν ἔχον πᾶσαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου πανσπερμίαν*)" (Hippol. Haer., vii, 9). This cosmic seed,

[1] "Hinter der als *Liñgam* individualisierten Prakriti steht die allgemeine, Kosmische Prakriti, ohne dass von ihr weiter die Rede wäre" (Deussen, "Die Philosophie der Upanishad's," p. 217).

this not-being world, is purely ideal, like not-being God; it is beyond all predicate; "the not-being seed of the world which had been deposited by not-being God" (Haer., vii, c. 9).

From the transcendental cosmic seed we pass to the individual seeds which in their aggregate form the actual world. "The non-existent seed of the world constitutes at the same time the germ of a multitude of forms and a multitude of substances" (Haer., vii, c. 9). "It had all seeds treasured up and reposing in itself just as not-being entities, and designed to come into being by 'not-being God'" (Haer., vii, c. 10). But how existence evolves itself from non-existence Basilides cannot say. "Whatsoever I affirm to have been made after these, ask no question as to whence" (Haer., vii, c. 10). The Buddhists also asserted that from the non-existent the existent is evolved.[1] But "Buddhism does not attempt to solve the problem of the primary origin of all things. 'When Mālunka asked the Buddha whether the existence of the world is eternal or not eternal, he made him no reply.'"[2]

The actual world, then, according to Basilides, is preceded by an ideal world deposited by an ideal God. But this is evidently a mere accommodation to the infirmity of human thought. We shall see hereafter that the world of actuality has no end. We may conclude that it had no beginning, and that creation is a mere fiction of the mind. But neither Basilides nor the Buddha definitely say so.

From cloudland we pass to reality. This spawn of the world, this chaotic and conglomerated seed-mass, has all entities, all realities stored up, entangled, and confounded in itself. It evolves these entities by a process of discrimination and differentiation, and it has three fundamental qualities which correspond with the three Guṇas. This last

[1] "Nach der Ansicht der Buddhisten geht das Seiende aus dem Nichtseienden hervor," says Garbe, quoting Vacaspatimiçra ("Die Sāmkhya Philosophie," p. 201).

[2] "Buddhism," by Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, p. 87. Compare his "Dialogues of the Buddha," pp. 187, 188.

is evident from the description of the triple Sonship. We have the light or subtle (τὸ λεπτομερές) and the dense[1] = Sattvam and Tamas. Between these two is the second Sonship in the region of τὰ πάθη=Rajas.[2] This seed-mass proceeds to evolve itself in obedience to a double law. First: each individual seed, eternal in itself, eternally acts in accordance with its original nature, and without exterior government or aid. "The things which are generated are produced according to nature, as has been declared already by Him who calculates things future, when they ought [to be], and what sort they ought [to be], and how they ought [to be]. And of these no one is superintendent, or thought-taker (φροντιστὴς), or demiurge; for sufficeth to them that calculation which the not-being One calculated when He made them" (Haer., vii, c. 12). The second law is that everything ascends, and nothing descended. The whole scheme of salvation, according to Basilides, is founded upon this. "Nothing descended from above," he says, speaking of the Gospel (Haer., vii, c. 13). And again, "All things press from below upwards, from the worse to the better. Nor among things superior is any so senseless as to descend below" (Haer., vii, c. 10).

Basilides classifies all existences (τὰ ὄντα) as either mundane or supra-mundane. The supra-mundane corresponds to Lokuttara, which is the same as the region of Nirvāna; the mundane includes everything below it. This is Basilides' primary classification,[3] and it is also the chief division of the Buddhists. But we find another and

[1] Basilides (or rather Hippolytus) does not give us the exact Greek equivalents for the second and third Guṇas. The second Sonship is called ἡ παχυμεστέρα [υἱότης] (Haer., vii, c. 10). The third Sonship is the Sonship "left behind in Formlessness" (Haer., vii, c. 14). The second Sonship is less deeply embedded in the material world, and resides in the Aether, the region of the Great Archon (Haer., vii, c. 10 and 11).

[2] Prakriti, says Deussen, "besteht aus den drei Guṇa's (am besten als Faktoren zu übersetzen . . .) Sattvam (das Leichte, Helle, Intellektuelle), Rajas (das Bewegliche, Treibende, Leidenschaftliche) und Tamas (das Schwere, Dunkle, Hemmende), und auf der verschiedenen Mischung der drei Guṇa's beruht die ursprüngliche Verschiedenheit der Liñga's." ("Die Philosophie der Upanishad's," pp. 218–219.)

[3] Basilides divides τὰ ὄντα εἰς δύο τὰς προεχεῖς καὶ πρώτας διαιρέσεις, καὶ καλεῖται κατ' αὐτὸν τὸ μέν τι κόσμος, τὸ δέ τι ὑπερκόσμια (Haer., vii, c. 11).

subsidiary division, peculiar to Basilides, which carries us much farther. According to this there are five spheres. The highest is the region of 'not-being God,' of the supra-mundane, the *ὑπερκόσμια*, of the Lokuttara, that is, Nirvāna. It is separated from the mundane world by the second sphere, which is the Firmament—the abode of the Holy or Limitary Spirit. The Aether forms the third sphere, the region called the Ogdoad, extending from the Firmament to the Moon. This is the sphere of the Great Archon, "more potent than things potent, wiser than things wise," the unutterable. The fourth sphere embraces the region of the Air—the Hebdomad and habitation of the Lesser Archon, whose name is speakable and who inspired the Prophets. Lastly, we have the Earth, the place of Formlessness and Matter, "where men sit and hear each other groan."[1] Each of these regions, or *τόποι*, has its Treasury, and is filled with innumerable beings whose nature

[1] The not-being God and the first Sonship abide in the *ὑπερκόσμια* (Haer., vii, c. 10). The Firmament is between the *ὑπερκόσμια* and the Kosmos (*στερέωμα τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων καὶ τοῦ κόσμου μεταξὺ τεταγμένον*: vii, c. 11). It is the abode of the Holy Spirit, also called the Limitary Spirit (*τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων μεθόριον πνεῦμα. τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐστὶ καὶ ἅγιον*, etc.: vii, c. 11). For the division of the universe below the Firmament into Ogdoad, Hebdomad, and Formlessness, v. vii, c. 15. The highest of these regions is the Ogdoad, the region of the Aether and the seat of the Great Archon (*αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ κατ' αὐτοὺς ὀγδοὰς λεγομένη, ὅπου ἐστὶν ὁ μέγας ἄρχων καθήμενος· πᾶσαν οὖν τὴν ἐπουράνιον κτίσιν, τουτέστι τὴν αἰθέριον, αὐτὸς εἰργάσατο ὁ δημιουργὸς ὁ μέγας σοφός*: vii, c. 11). This region extends to the moon (*τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ μεγάλου τὰ αἰθέρια ἅπτινα μέχρι σελήνης ἐστίν*: vii, c. 12). The greatness of the Great Archon is frequently extolled: "He is more ineffable than things ineffable, more potent than things potent, wiser than things wise, and his beauty surpassingly beautiful" (vii, c. 11). He surpasses every entity except the Sonship left behind (vii, c. 11). He believes the Kosmos to be His creation, and that there is nothing higher than Himself (vii, c. 11). He is called demiurge and God (*τὸν ἀρρήτων ἀρρητότερον θεόν*: vii, c. 12). The region below the Ogdoad is the Hebdomad, the region of the Air which extends from the moon to the earth (*σελήνης . . . ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἀὴρ αἰθέρος διακρίνεται*: vii, c. 12); (*καλεῖται ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἑβδομας*: vii, c. 12). The second Archon, like the first, is administrator and demiurge (in appearance) of all subject to him (*διοικήτης καὶ δημιουργός*: vii, c. 13). He is the God of Abraham and inspired the Prophets (vii, c. 13). The Great Archon is *ἄρρητος, ῥητὸν δὲ ἡ ἑβδομας* (vii, c. 13). The distinction between the two Archons, in Basilides' opinion, probably corresponded to the Gnostic distinction between Yahve and Adonai. The Formlessness is the lowest sphere (*διάστημα τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὅπου ἐστὶν ἡ ἀμορφία*: vii, c. 15). The Gospel comes first to the Ogdoad, then to the Hebdomad, and lastly to us (vii, c. 14). The body of Jesus reverts to Formlessness, and His psychical part to the Hebdomad (vii, c. 15).

fits them for it. Some are destined to a further process of refinement and ascent; others have reached the final stage of which their nature is capable, and ascend no further. All this is partly Gnostic, partly the popular physics of the time, and Basilides uses Gnostic terms throughout—Archon, Ogdoad, Hebdomad, Principalities and Powers, *θησαυροὶ*, *χώρια*, and *τόποι*.[1] But this fivefold division, combined with the law that nothing descends from the stage in which it is, enables him to present the world-process with a sharpness of outline and firmness of detail impossible to the Buddhists, whose spirits wander aimlessly through multitudinous worlds from heaven to earth, from earth to hell.

If now we return to Basilides' scheme of Metaphysics as a whole, with the exception of 'not-being God' and the fivefold division of the spheres, everything in that scheme is evidently Buddhist. It is impossible to mistake the general identity. Barth sums up the groundwork of the Sānkhya and Buddhist metaphysics thus:—"Instead of organising itself under the direction of a conscious, intelligent, divine being, the primary substance of things is represented as manifesting itself directly without the interposition of any personal agent, by the development of the material world and contingent existences. It is then simply, and by whatever name it may be called, the *asat*, the non-existent, the indeterminate, the indistinct, passing into existence—chaos, in other words, extricating itself from disorder by its own energies. When systematised, this solution will on one side have its counterpart in the metaphysics of Buddhism, while on the other it will issue in the Sānkhya philosophy."[2] "The whole theory of the Basilidians consists of the confusion of a seed-mass, and the sorting and restoration into their proper places of things so confused."[3] The cosmic germ, the derivation of existence

[1] Even the region (*χωρίου τοῦ μακαρίου*: Haer., vii, c. 10) of the ineffable 'not-being God' had its treasury (*θησαυρόν*: vii, c. 14).

[2] "The Religions of India," by A. Barth, translated by the Rev. J. Wood (Trübner's Oriental Series), p. 69.

[3] *ὕλη γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ ὑπόθεσις σύγχυσις οἱονεὶ πανσπερμίας καὶ φυλοκρίνησις καὶ ἀποκατάστασις τῶν συγκεχυμένων εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα* (Haer., vii, c. 15).

from non-entity, the evolution of the chaotic seed-mass by differentiation and selection, the absence of all government, the only law the law imposed on each unit by its nature, these are fundamental ideas common to Basilides and the Buddhists. But can we go further? Can we, for instance, identify 'Formlessness' with Prakriti, and the conscious spirits in earth, air, and aether with Purusha?[1] Like Prakriti 'Formlessness' is always single, while the spirits and entities of the Ogdoad, the Hebdomad, and the Earth are innumerable like Purusha; in the Indian and the Basilidian scheme the Purusha and the Prakriti are closely entangled and intertwined: in both they are capable of ultimate separation. But how far the identity of the two systems went, we cannot say; our evidence is very fragmentary, and we have no right to go beyond it.

So far I have followed Basilides upon purely Indian ground.[2] I now turn to him as a Christian theologian.

[1] For Prakriti and Purusha v. Deussen, "Die Philosophie der Upanishad's," pp. 216–219, and Garbe, "Die Sâmkhya-Philosophie," p. 204 ff.

[2] Basilides' repute for Hellenism is mainly founded on his Metaphysics, but it does not amount to much. The attempt of Hippolytus to affiliate the architectonic ideas of the system upon Aristotle has long been abandoned; and modern critics are divided between Plato and the Stoa. 'Not-being God' and the 'not-being world' are expressions which go back through Philo to Plato, but there is little Platonism in Basilides' use of them. According to Plato that which is *ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας* is the ideal good; but the *οὐκ ὢν θεός* of Basilides is the first stage of evolution from the Absolute; it is only in his Theology that 'not-being God' becomes the ideal good. Nor has the 'not-being world' any connection with the invisible world of the Platonic ideas; it is the embryonic germ, the cosmic Prakriti. The corrective power of suffering is a Platonic idea, but it is applied for the explanation of the value of martyrdom, and not to the suffering of the world. These ideas are common to Philo, Celsus, and Clement (*οὐδ' οὐσίας μετέχει ὁ θεός*), and were part of the mental equipment of the time; they do not necessarily imply any knowledge at first-hand of the master. The word *πανσπερμία* is used by Plato (Timæus, 73, c.) and by Aristotle with reference to Anaxagoras, but in neither case in the Basilidian sense. Baur has pointed out the analogies between Basilides and Anaxagoras. Anaxagoras starts his physical theory of the universe with an infinite number of seeds, but apart from this there is no resemblance between the two systems. The seeds of Anaxagoras are all specifically different from each other; they are moved little by little at a time by mind, which orders and arranges them. Order arises from their commixture, corruption from their separation. There is an express denial of fate and chance (Ritter, Hist. Anc. Phil., i, p. 284 ff., Eng. trans.). The alleged resemblances to Stoicism are based on the supposed Pantheism of Basilides, and are general. But 'not-being God' is not consubstantial with the world, and has no further connection with it after it is started. The Buddhist hypothesis alone meets all the requirements of the case.

IV. Theology.

For Basilides was a sincere Christian in his own belief. He was probably not conscious of any sensible difference from the ordinary Christians around him, at least not of any difference greater than that which might reasonably separate a philosopher from a simple believer, except in one point only. He pointedly refused to accept the belief in our Lord's impeccability. He admitted that our Lord did not sin, but he would not say that His material body was not sinful; he would not say "non potuit peccare." But in everything else he appears at first sight orthodox. He frankly accepted Christianity as a historical fact and as a rule of life. There is nothing docetic in his philosophy. "Jesus was born,"[1] and "all the events in our Lord's life occurred in the same manner as they have been described in the Gospels." Basilides was acquainted with a considerable portion of the New Testament. He quotes S. Luke and S. John, and the whole scheme of his theology is in reality little more than the Basilidian expansion of the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel. His great work the "Exegetica" is said to have been a Gospel commentary. He delights to interpret some of the Pauline Epistles, especially the Epistle to the Romans, and he appears to have known the Acts of the Apostles, 1st Peter, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. Moreover, he treats the Old Testament with a respect somewhat unusual among the Gnostics. His reverence for our Lord and his admiration of the moral law are marked characteristics of the man.

Nor is his exegesis, startling though it be, anything extraordinary in the age of Hadrian. Unlike Marcion and Valentinus, he did not violently alter or mutilate the text of

[1] It is always necessary to distinguish between Jesus and Chrestos in dealing with the Gnostics. Hippolytus uses the word 'Christ' in speaking of the Son of the Great Archon (vii, c. 14), but whether Basilides gave it this limited signification is not clear. The Son of Mary is always Jesus in the summary of Hippolytus.

Scripture, so far at least as we can judge. His canon of interpretation is that of most philosophers of his time, the same canon which Dio Chrysostom and Aristides apply to the Homeric poems, an arbitrary adaptation of the meaning to a preconceived philosophy. Nay, we might go a step further and say that, granting him his own interpretation, he might have accepted considerable portions of the Nicene Creed, had it then been formulated. At first sight he is the most orthodox of all the Gnostics; a Bible Christian one might almost call him.

But granting that Christianity was historically true, and an absolute rule of conduct, it wanted a philosophy. The age of Hadrian was enamoured of philosophy: it had just awakened to a general sense of human suffering, and as a rule it accepted in popular form the Stoic idea of a Divine Providence which governed the world. Christianity presented for the first time the problems of Humanity in a new and universal form. What is the origin of sin? what the method of salvation? The Basilidian scheme is an answer to these questions.

Basilides bases his theology on the baptismal formula, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. The "Inconceivable and Blessed not-being God" (Haer., vii, c. 13) is the Father. The Sonship (ἡ υἱότης) is consubstantial with Him (ὁμοούσιος; Haer., vii, c. 10). The Holy Spirit is inseparable from, but not consubstantial with the Sonship (Haer., vii, c. 10). With this Basilides starts, and develops his philosophy by the aid of two ideas, the Sonship and the Evangel.

The Father is inconceivable, and above all created things or human predicates. The Sonship, on the contrary, is deposited in the cosmic germ, but being consubstantial with the Father, cannot stay there; it must be restored to communion with Him, and its evolution is the history of the world-process (Haer., vii, c. 10). But this Sonship is not single; it is a collective germ, containing the seeds of many Sons within itself, and according to the Basilidian metaphysic it ought to have a twofold division, the

supra-mundane and the mundane. But Basilides insists that it is threefold: *ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ σπέρματι υἱότης τριμερὴς κατὰ πάντα τῷ οὐκ ὄντι θεῷ ὁμοούσιος, γενητὴ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων* (Haer., vii, c. 10). The refined or subtle Sonship (*τὸ λεπτομερές*), free from all cosmic stain, ascends at once with the deposition of the seed in pre-cosmic time to the region of the Father (Haer., vii, c. 10); or in other words, seeing that the deposition of the cosmic seed is a mere figment of human thought, the primal Sonship was with the Father from eternity. The grosser Sonship (*ἡ παχυμεστέρα*) is more or less entangled in the seed-mass and remains behind. But the more aetherial part of it, less heavily clogged, ascends (also in pre-cosmic time) to the region of the Great Archon, whom it illuminates and instructs. This is the second Sonship (Haer., vii, c. 10). With this second Sonship, however, must be classed the Son dwelling in the Hebdomad with the Archon of the aerial and psychic world (Haer., vii, c. 12). The third Sonship is deeply submerged in the material world of Formlessness, and first disentangles itself in the Son of Mary, the prototype of all the Sons of God on earth (Haer., vii, c. 14).

Before we go further we must pause a moment. It is clear that, under the Basilidian scheme, each region of Being (except the region of the Holy Spirit), required a Sonship for itself, whose business it was to illuminate and benefit that region; and this corresponds with the actual enumeration. Why, then, does Basilides insist on a threefold division? The logical division would have been twofold, the actual one is fourfold. Basilides was doubtless influenced by the doctrine of the three Guṇas, but there was probably a Christian element at work. The first Sonship corresponds with the Son who "is in the bosom of the Father from eternity"; the second corresponds, in position at any rate, with the Son "by whom all things were made," since this is called the Son of the Great Archon, who imagines Himself to be the Creator; while the third is the historical Christ.

Since the Holy Spirit is inseparable from the Sonship

there must have been a tripartite division of the Holy Spirit also. Hippolytus mentions only one, the *μεθόριον πνεῦμα* (Haer., vii, c. 11); Clement mentions a second, *τὸ διακονούμενον πνεῦμα* (Strom., ii, 8. 36, p. 162, and Frag., p. 337). The Limitary Spirit accompanies the first Sonship on His upward flight, but not being consubstantial with Him is left behind in the adjacent firmament.[1] He has a distinct entity, although scarcely a distinct personality, and the Sonship is related to the Holy Spirit as a bird to its wing, or a pot of myrrh to the fragrance it exhales (Haer., vii, c. 10). The second and third Sonships are accompanied by the 'ministering' Spirit, but as the Spirit cannot descend from a higher to a lower sphere the 'ministering Spirit' of each must be regarded as distinct; and it is evident that when each Sonship finally ascends to the region of 'not-being God' the accompanying Spirit must be left behind in the region of the Firmament.

The second factor is the advent of the Gospel, for "although nothing descended from above, yet from above the Gospel really came" (Haer., vii, c. 13). It came as naphtha catches fire from a spark, and each sphere in turn caught the glory from the sphere above it. The Ogdoad, the region of the Great Archon, was illuminated first; his ignorance was enlightened, he confessed his sin, and his awe-struck mind learned that "fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wisdom" (Haer., vii, c. 14; cf. Strom., ii, 8. 36, p. 162). From the world of the Ogdoad the Gospel descended to the Hebdomad, and from thence to the earth. Each world has been illuminated and evangelized in turn.

What, then, is this Evangel? It is the knowledge of supra-mundane and celestial things, to know what is the Father, the 'not-being God,' what the Son, and what the

[1] *ἦν γὰρ οὐχ ὁμοούσιον οὐδὲ φύσιν εἶχε μετὰ τῆς υἱότητος* (Haer., vii, c. 10, cf. c. 11). Hippolytus (c. 10) attaches this Limitary Spirit to the second Sonship (*ἡ παχυμεστέρα υἱότης*). But there is evidently some confusion, since he explains why this Limitary Spirit could not enter into the communion of not-being God. Moreover, nothing could have checked the upward flight of the second Sonship, had there been no limit. In c. 14 the Holy Spirit is also represented apparently as Light.

Holy Spirit. To know this, and to know what is the constitution of the universe, the differentiation, the perfecting, the restoration of all things, that is the fourfold wisdom (Haer., vii, c. 14).[1]

The advent of the Gospel is a world event. And here we come upon a striking application of an Indian belief. The novelty of Christianity profoundly impressed the Church of the first two centuries; it was a characteristic note of early Christianity. But none seized on it more powerfully than the Gnostics; it is a keystone in the theories of Marcion and Valentinus as well as of Basilides. With Basilides the time of Jesus' birth was determined by the conjunction of the stars, for although the stars, he holds, do not determine the destiny of man, they control the hour of his birth. And so, when Jesus was born, a new Kalpa or Yug began,[2] a world period which will end when all the Sonship has been gathered in and the consummation of all things takes place. For the third Sonship is not exhausted by Jesus any more than the second Sonship is exhausted by Christ. It embraces all the Sons of God left behind in the material mass.[3] Jesus lived the life narrated in the Gospels; he is "the first-fruits of the discrimination of the things confused" (Haer., vii, c. 15), and all the Sons of God must follow in His steps (Haer., vii, c. 14, 15). They are the elect (*ἡ ἐκλογή*), and their very nature ensures their ultimate salvation, although the time may be postponed by voluntary sin. It is neither the Valentinian gnosis nor the contemplative absorption of the Buddhist which enables them to apprehend the Gospel, but it is Faith. Faith (*ἡ πίστις*), according to the Basilidian

[1] *τίς ἐστιν ὁ οὐκ ὤν, τίς ἡ νίότης, τί τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τίς ἡ τῶν ὅλων κατασκευή, ποῦ ταῦτα ἀποκατασταθήσεται· αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ σοφία ἐν μυστηρίῳ λεγομένη* (Haer., vii, c. 14); cf. Clem. Strom., ii, 8. 36, p. 162; *τὴν ἔκπληξιν αὐτοῦ* (of the Great Archon) *φόβον κληθῆναι ἀρχὴν γενόμενον σοφίας φυλοκρινητικῆς τε καὶ διακριτικῆς καὶ τελεωτικῆς καὶ ἀποκαταστατικῆς.* These words recall the 'fourfold path' of the Buddha, but while the latter is moral the fourfold wisdom of Basilides is intellectual. Each of the four adjectives employed by Clement bears a technical meaning in the Basilidian philosophy.

[2] *ἦν γὰρ, φησὶ, καὶ αὐτὸς [ὁ Σωτὴρ] ὑπὸ γένεσιν ἀστέρων καὶ ὡρ ὢν ἀποκαταστάσεως ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ προλελογισμένος σωρῷ* (Haer., vii, c. 15).

[3] *ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔδει ἀποκαλυφθῆναι ἡμᾶς τὰ τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ* (Haer., vii, c. 13).

definition, is the intellectual apprehension of and belief in undemonstrable truths, an intuitive grasp of the teaching of the Gospel (*τὰ μάθηματα*) when presented to a kindred soul (Clem. Strom., ii, 3. 10, p. 156, and ii, 6. 27, p. 160). By this faith the elect,[1] the believer by nature, arrives at a stage of serene blessedness, fulfilling the divinely constituted law which requires him to be in a state of charity with all things, neither desiring nor hating anything (Clem. Strom., iv, 12. 88, p. 217).[2] All passion, all desire is past: surely the elect has attained to the dignity of an Arahat.

If the Pauline terms Faith and Election are essential terms of Basilides' teaching, perfection and restoration are so equally. Jesus suffered and died, and His material part was restored to the Formlessness to which it belonged. The psyche ascended to the Hebdomad, and the regions of the Great Archon and of the Holy Spirit received such elements of His personality as were peculiar to them, while the third Sonship ascended through all these regions to the 'Blessed Sonship,' which had been from the beginning with the Father—the 'not-being God.' And in like manner as Jesus ascended, so must all the elect ascend (Haer., vii, c. 15). Now this region at which they arrive, and this communion with 'not-being God,' 'the Inconceivable and Blessed,' is none other than Nirvāna. And, like Nirvāna, it is a state to be passionately desired. "For every nature desires that [not-being God] on account of a superabundance of [its] beauty and [its] bloom," and "that blessed region which words cannot express nor reason grasp" (Haer., vii, c. 10).[3]

[1] The *φύσει πιστὸς* and the *ἐκλεκτός* are convertible terms; *φύσει πιστοῦ καὶ ἐκλεκτοῦ ὄντος* (Strom., v, 1. 3, p. 233).

[2] It is *ἐν μέρος ἐκ τοῦ λεγομένου θελήματος τοῦ θεοῦ . . . . τὸ ἠγαπηκέναι ἅπαντα ὅτι λόγον ἀποσώζουσι πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ἅπαντά.* "It is one part of the declared will of God" "to be in a state of charity with all things, because all [individual] things bear a relation to the whole, i.e. the general scheme of the Kosmos." This "declared will of God" is the constitution of the universe "involuntarily willed by not-being God." "Deus nec amat nec odit" is a fundamental maxim of all Indian philosophy as well as of Spinoza, and to attribute a state of charity to 'not-being God,' as some commentators do, is to furnish with morality a being above all predicates.

[3] *τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ νοηθῆναι μὴ δυναμένου μηδὲ χαρακτηρισθῆναί τινι λόγῳ χωρίου.* Professor Rhys Davids has pointed out to me that Nirvāna is, properly speaking, a state and not a region. Now Basilides certainly conceived that

From this state the Sons of God can never more descend, for them rebirth is over, all things are at an end. When the last seed of the Sonship has been gathered in, the world-period is over, the 'Kalpa' is completed, and the restoration of all things will take place. At present "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together,"[1] waiting for the manifestation of the Sons of God; it is disturbed by the birth pangs of the spiritual Sonship, and desires heights to which it can never attain. But when the Divine Light is for ever withdrawn it will cease from unavailing trouble, sorrow and sighing will flee away, and 'the great Ignorance' will envelop everything (Haer., vii, c. 15).

> "Thy hand, Great Anarch, lets the curtain fall,
> And universal darkness covers all."

Basilides and the "Dunciad" arrive at the same happy conclusion.[2]

This, then, is the far-famed Basilidian theology, a scheme immensely ingenious, boldly conceived, powerfully reasoned, sincerely believed. It is composed in unequal parts of Gnosticism, Christianity, and Buddhism. With the main stream of Syrian Gnosticism, which attained to Hellenic symmetry and form in the hands of Valentinus, Basilides was well acquainted. But he borrows little from it except the general problem. All the Gnostics agreed in placing the Absolute God beyond all human ken, they all assigned an inferior place to the Old Testament dispensation, they entertained somewhat similar notions of the demiurge, and

"being with not-being God" implied not only a state but a place, a supra-mundane region with its 'treasury.' We must remember that Basilides acquired his knowledge, not from learned Srāmanas, but from the popular beliefs of Buddhist merchants, and that at this very time the doctrines of the older Buddhism were falling into abeyance, and Buddha himself was widely worshipped. Even Clement was aware of that. But if Buddha were worshipped, he must be somewhere; he must have some shadowy existence in some supra-mundane region.

[1] Apparently a favourite text with Basilides. Hippolytus twice quotes it in his summary.

[2] "As a mere system of metaphysics the theory of Basilides contains the nearest approach to the conception of a logical philosophy of the absolute which the history of ancient thought can furnish, almost rivalling that of Hegel in modern times." (Mansel, "Gnostic Heresies," p. 165.)

they all set themselves to solve the problem of the origin of evil and the ascent of man. But beyond this Basilides has not much in common with the Gnostici. He borrows the terms Ogdoad and Hebdomad, and the division of the Spheres. He may have borrowed from his contemporary and fellow-townsman Valentinus the term 'Limitary Spirit,' although the term is so essential to the Basilidian theology that, if borrowing there was at all, I suspect the borrowing was the other way. But in everything else Basilides and the Gnostici are opposed. For them the great fact of human life is the fatalism of the stars, and metempsychosis takes a secondary place. The fatal nexus of rebirth determines Basilides' philosophy, and astrology is scarcely of account. They proceed by emanations, and clothe their ideas in the garb of Babylonian or Egyptian mythology. Basilides is comparatively free from mythology,[1] and argues vigorously against all emanation theories (Haer., vii, c. 10). They start with a fall from the Infinite to the Finite; he knows nothing of it.

Basilides doubtless believed Christianity to be the main factor of his system. He frankly accepted the Gospel narrative, the evangelical morality, the doctrine of the Trinity, the Pauline terminology. His whole scheme is intended to show the advent of the Gospel, how the Divine Sonship came into the world and gave the power to become sons of God to as many as are born of God. And his theology throws a suggestive light upon the doctrinal teaching, and the authority of the Gospels and Pauline Epistles in the Church of Alexandria when Hadrian reigned.

[1] The one, directly mythological expression I find in Basilides is the remark that Righteousness and her daughter Peace dwelt in the Ogdoad (Strom., iv, p. 231). The Ogdoad was doubtless inhabited by a number of abstract entities—Nous, Phronesis, Logos, and the rest mentioned by Irenæus—but not emanations as Irenæus and the later Basilidians held. All these were probably treated, like the Sonship, as collective germs, and characteristic of the sphere. But these are merely abstractions hypostatized after the Oriental fashion. They do not necessarily wear a mythological or even an anthropomorphic dress. At the same time the spheres of the first and second Archon were inhabited by innumerable hosts of κυριότητες, ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι, and δυνάμεις, the Gnostic counterpart of Greek demons, Jewish angels, and Buddhist devas, who were ready to supply the later Basilidians at once with a full-blown mythology.

But this Christianity apparent to the eye is profoundly Buddhist at the core. All things have their law of being in themselves: suffering is the concomitant of existence, rebirth is the result of former acts, and metempsychosis governs men with inflexible justice and with iron severity. The office of Jesus is the office of the Buddha;[1] the elect alone are saved, and the mass of mankind remains content to be born again. All things have their consummation in immense ignorance. But the Basilidian scheme is more grandiose than its prototype: in the place of unending turmoil it substitutes a world process of differentiation, for the release of the individual Arahat the cessation of the sorrows of the world; and it is carried out with a historical character, a clearness of definition, and a rigour of logic which Buddhism never knew.

Thus Basilides lived and taught, accounted an arch-heretic in after times, but in his own day an eminent doctor of the Church at Alexandria. He had constructed, so he thought, a vast théodicée, he had solved the problems of Free-will and Fate, he had explained the evolution of the Spheres, and of the innumerable spirits which dwell above and below the motions of the Moon, as well as of the Sons of God on earth, consubstantial with not-being God and desirous to return to Him. "Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy." Buddhist metaphysics found little acceptance in Alexandria; they were too foreign to Hellenic modes of thought, and it was many centuries later when the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat first attracted the mind of the West. The doctrines of Basilides were misunderstood by his critics, and misinterpreted by his followers. Clement and Hippolytus prove their agreement and good faith by enabling us to reconstruct the main outlines of the system, but they were frequently much puzzled. The followers of Basilides were confined for the most part to Alexandria and

[1] "You yourselves must make the effort: the Buddhas are only preachers" (Rhys Davids, "Buddhism," p. 107). Compare the striking elaboration of the theme, "Be ye lamps unto yourselves," in the Maha Parinnabbāna, translated by Rhys Davids, "Buddhist Suttas," pp. 36–39.

the Delta of the Nile; they were men of little note, probably Egyptianized Hellenes, and Hellenized Egyptians and Jews. They turned the Basilidian teaching into a wild farrago and an immoral cult. The doctrine of election lent itself to Antinomian licentiousness, and the moderate Clement reproaches them with their views of marriage; they scorned the sufferings of the Martyrs, and counted it wisdom to deny Christ. They delighted in emanations and astrology, divided the spheres into 365 heavens,[1] and placed the solar Abrasax[2] at its head, and they were famed above all other sects for their belief in the hidden virtues of stones, in talismans and spells, and all the products of Judæo-Egyptian Magic. These beliefs, the offspring of superstitious hearts and stuffed-up brains, bear as little resemblance to the teaching of Basilides as the confused medley called the religion of the Mandaites bears to the teaching of

[1] It is clear from Hippolytus, vii, c. 14, that that "tedious treatise" on the 365 heavens had nothing to do with Basilides or Isidore. These 365 heavens correspond with the 365 days of the Egyptian 'common' year, and are connected with Abrasax and the solar cult of the later Basilidians.

[2] The Abraxoid gems are numerous, especially in the Delta of the Nile, and they are the only ones which are certainly Gnostic. Hippolytus tells us (vii, c. 14) that Abraxas, or more properly Abrasax, was supreme lord of the 365 heavens, which represent the 365 days of the year. He bears therefore a solar character, and the Greek letters of his name have 365 for their numerical value ($\alpha=1$, $\beta=2$, $\rho=100$, $\alpha=1$, $\xi=60$, $\alpha=1$, $s=200=365$). Neilos and Meithras give the same arithmetical result. The iconic representations of Abrasax on the gems represent him in the main as an Egyptian solar deity. He has the head of the solar hawk, the bird of Horus, or rather Horus himself, and the addition of a rude cock's comb on some gems may represent, as in other cases, not a cock's head, but flames or rays. With his left hand Abrasax advances a shield, his right hand holds a scourge upraised to strike. The scourge I identify with the *khu* of the Egyptian gods, and the attitude recalls the attitude of Min Amen at Thebes. The Abrasax legs are snakes, the symbols of the underworld. The bark of Ra is drawn by serpents in its passage through the twelve hours of the night, and on the sarcophagus of Seti I serpents represent the hidden fires of germination in the realms of Osiris (v. "The Alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimenepthah I," by J. Bonomi & S. Sharpe, 1864, pl. vii). Abrasax is often identified with Iao, and Iao is occasionally represented by an immense python for ever travelling—a python such as we find on the walls of the same Seti's tomb in the Valley of the Kings. These Abraxoid gems are magical talismans for the protection of the wearer. But Abrasax is much more than ἥλιος ἀλεξίκακος, more than Amen-Ra; he is the invention of Egyptian Jews and Gnostics, and has Jewish and even Syrian elements in his composition. For Abrasax, v. King, "The Gnostics and their Remains," p. 226 ff. Also Dr. Hort s.v. *Abrasax* in Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Biography."

the Baptist. The Basilidians and Basilides have little in common except the name.

It is a fascinating spectacle, that inward struggle of the early Church in the generations that extend from the persecutions of Nero to the golden age of the elder Antonine. On one side was ranged the Christian consciousness, the organization, the simple faith, and solid virtues of obscure men; on the other side were learning and philosophy, poetry and genius. The Church was still largely Oriental in character, and Christian experience had not had time to formulate itself in universally accepted dogma. If the churches of Rome, of Antioch, and Asia Minor reeked with blood, these persecutions which made men shudder had not extended to the banks of the Euphrates or the Nile. While Rome and Asia Minor were engaged in building up the social and ecclesiastical organism, and in evolving the rudiments of the liturgy, the Oriental mind was busy in adapting Christianity to preconceived philosophies. Orthodox and Gnostics were sincere believers alike; alike they acknowledged the divinity of Christ, the novelty and the superiority of the Christian dispensation; they listened with curiosity and respect to the stories of those who had known the Apostles. But the Gnostic philosophies were pagan, no other, indeed, being then available, and for the early Christians Paganism was an instinctive barrier. Had the Gnostics prevailed Christianity would have been at an end; happily it was the Church of the simple that triumphed. And yet, perhaps, something has been lost with the disappearance of the traces of the struggle. The historian may regret the loss of traditions which threatened to occupy a place similar to that they hold in Mahommedan theology. Some great truths held alike by Orthodox and Gnostics were allowed to fall into the background. The Church resolutely set its face against all inquiries into the origin of evil. But whenever Christian poets and divines have dared to overleap the limits of our ignorance they have always begun with that first supposition of the Gnostics—the pre-existence of the soul.

" Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting :
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar.
. . . . . .
Hence, in a season of calm weather,
Though inland far we be,
Our souls have sight of that immortal sea
Which brought us hither ;
Can in a moment travel hither—
And see the children sport upon the shore,
And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore."

ART. XVI.—*Note on the Past Tense in Marāṭhī.* By STEN KONOW, of the University of Christiania, Norway.

THE past tense in Marāṭhī is formed by adding a suffix *lā*. The same suffix is also used in Bihārī, Oṛiyā, Bengali, and Gujarātī. This form has long been a puzzle to scholars. Mr. Beames, *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, vol. iii, p. 135, compares the past tense in Slavonic languages; Dr. Hoernle, *A Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, p. 139 f., derives *la* from the suffix *ta* of the past participle passive in Sanskrit; and Sir Charles Lyall, *A Sketch of the Hindustani Language*, Edinburgh, 1880, p. 48 f., thinks that *la* is a diminutive suffix added to the old past participle passive. This last view is essentially the same as that held by Dr. Grierson, who some time ago, and before I had arrived at any independent opinion regarding the question, told me that he derives *la* from the Prakrit suffix *illa* (Hemacandra, ii, 164).

It is not my intention to discuss the whole matter in this place. I hope that such a discussion will soon proceed from a more competent authority, and I shall only draw attention to some phonetical features in Marāṭhī which will, in my opinion, throw some new light on the matter.

It is a well-known fact that Marāṭhī possesses two *l*-sounds, a dental and a cerebral one, but this fact has never, so far as I am aware, been satisfactorily explained.

The cerebral *ḷ* only occurs between vowels, and its use is also in that position restricted. The Prakrits do not give any clue towards the solution of the question about its use. In most manuscripts the cerebral *ḷ* is never written, while others, copied in South India, always use *ḷ* instead of *l*.

An inspection of numerous instances in Marāṭhī has led me to the following conclusion: *Every single* l *between vowels in the Prakrits becomes* ḷ *in Marāṭhī, while* ll *becomes* l.

This rule does not apply to modern compounds, nor to tatsamas and other borrowed words, and the initial *l* of postpositions is not changed after words ending in vowels. In other cases I have not found any exception to the rule.

Single *l* between vowels becomes *ḷ*. Thus, *ōḷakh^{a}ṇē̃*, to know, Prakrit *ōlakkhaï*; *kāḷ*, time, Prakrit *kāla*; *kāḷā*, black, Prakrit *kālaa*; *gaḷā*, neck, Prakrit *galaa*; *gaḷ^{a}ṇē̃*, to fall, Prakrit *galaï*; *gōḷā*, globe, Prakrit *gōlaa*; *ḍōḷā*, eye, Prakrit *ḍōlaa*; *paḷ^{a}ṇē̃*, to run, Prakrit *palāaï*; *phaḷ*, fruit, Prakrit *phala*; *miḷ^{a}ṇē̃*, to meet, Prakrit *milaï*; *muḷē̃*, on account of, Prakrit *mūlēṇaṁ*; *viṭāḷ*, impurity, Prakrit *viṭṭāla*.

Double *l* between vowels becomes *l*. Thus, *aṇḍīl*, male, Prakrit **aṇḍilla*; *ātīl*, being in, Prakrit **antilla*; *ōlā*, wet, Prakrit *ollaa*; *kāl*, yesterday, Prakrit *kallaṁ*; *ghāl^{a}ṇē̃*, to throw, Prakrit *ghallaï*; *tsāl^{a}ṇē̃*, to go, Prakrit *callaï* (Hemacandra, iv, 231); *cikhal*, mud, Prakrit *cikkhalla*; *tēl*, oil, Prakrit *tella*; *phūl*, flower, Prakrit *phulla*; *bōl^{a}ṇē̃*, to say, Prakrit *bollaï*; *bail*, a bull, Prakrit *baïlla*; *bhul^{a}ṇē̃*, to forget oneself, Prakrit *bhullaï*; *vaḍīl*, an elder, Prakrit *vaḍḍilla*.

It seems to me that there can be no doubt regarding the existence of this law. And we are, I think, justified in using it for the explanation of dubious forms. Thus the form *pahilā*, the first, must be derived from a hypothetical **prathillaa*, and not from **prathilaa*. The Apabhraṁśa form *pahila* represents the modern, and not the Prakrit stage. *Āp^{a}lā*, his, must be compared with Prakrit *appulla*. Further, the suffix *lā* of the past tense must be derived from *llaa*, that is from *illaa*, as Dr. Grierson thinks; compare Ardhamāgadhī *āṇilliya*, brought.

It is of interest to note that the change of *l* to *ḷ* is also found in Paiśācī and in Cūlikāpaiśācika. The conditions seem to be exactly the same as in modern Marāṭhī. Compare *kuḷaṁ*, *saḷiḷaṁ*, *jaḷaṁ*, *pāḷakō*, *līḷā*, but *ucchallanti*. There is no connection between Marāṭhī and these old dialects, but the coincidence shows that the law is an old one, and that

it is not restricted to Marāṭhī. I do not doubt that further investigations will show that *ḷ* and *l* interchange according to the same law in other modern vernaculars where both sounds occur.

It may be noted that *ṇ* and *n* between vowels appear to be interchangeable in exactly the same way as was the case with *ḷ* and *l*. That is to say, *ṇ* is derived from a single, and *n* from a double *n*. We are, in this case, able to follow the development farther back. Ardhamāgadhī, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, and Jaina Śaurasenī change every single *n* between vowels to *ṇ*, but usually write *n* in the beginning of words, and *nn* between vowels. The oldest manuscripts prefer *ṇ* in all positions, but *n* is very common in all paper manuscripts. Compare Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen*, § 224.

Medial *ṇ* is preserved in Marāṭhī: thus, *āṇ*^{a}*ṇē*, to fetch, Prakrit **āṇaaṇaam*[1]; *kōṇ*, who? Prakrit *kō uṇa* or *kō ṇu*; *tēṇē* (*-karūn*), therefore, Prakrit *tēṇaṁ*; *paṇ*, but, Prakrit *puṇa*; *bahīṇ*, sister, Prakrit *bahiṇī*.

Medial *ṇṇ* becomes *n*: thus, *kān*, ear, Prakrit *kaṇṇa*; *dōn*, two, Prakrit *doṇṇi*; *dzunā*, old, Prakrit *juṇṇaa*; *rān*, forest, Prakrit *raṇṇa*; *vinaviṇē*, to entreat, Prakrit *viṇṇavēi*; *sōnē*, gold, Prakrit *soṇṇaa*.

[1] I do not believe in the derivation of the infinitive suffix *ṇē* from *-anīyam*. The suffix *aṇa*, *aṇaũ* in Apabhraṁśa (Hemacandra, iv, 411) certainly belongs to an ordinary verbal noun in *ana*, and I am unable to explain the phonetical changes and the development of the sense of the form which must be supposed when adopting the derivation from *anīyam*. The suffix *anīya* becomes *aṇijja* in Māhārāṣṭrī, and Marāṭhī agrees with that dialect in the formation of passive forms. Hindī and especially Braj, on the other hand, show some points of connection with Śaurasenī (compare, for instance, *kiyau*, done, with Śaurasenī *kida*, where Māhārāṣṭrī has *kaa*), and *anīya* in Śaurasenī becomes *aṇia*. I therefore think it probable that an old verbal noun in *aṇaa*, corresponding to the Apabhraṁśa infinitive in *aṇaũ*, has in Hindī been confounded with a form derived from the participle of necessity in *anīya*. Such a supposition would explain the fact that the Hindī form in *nā* is used both as an infinitive and as a future participle passive. In Marāṭhī, however, the form in *ṇē* is a pure verbal noun. And its derivation from *anīya* is, I think, phonetically impossible. A suffix *-aṇaaṁ*, on the other hand, must become Marāṭhī *ṇē*, Braj *naũ*, and so forth. Compare the analogous development of the past participle passive.

There is, however, some uncertainty with regard to the matter. In the Dekhan every *n* is, at least in many places, pronounced as a dental, and we cannot, therefore, expect that the two sounds should be correctly distinguished. Thus we find *vān* and *vāṇ*, colour; *āṇi* and *āni*, and; and so forth. The word *rāṇī*, a queen, is probably correct. It is scarcely derived from a Prakrit **raṇṇī*, as the corresponding *rāā* usually preserves the long *ā*, and the analogy of this word should, therefore, be expected to counteract the shortening of *ā* in *rājñī*. The suffix *ūn* of the conjunctive participle would be against the rule, if it is in reality identical with Māhārāṣṭrī *ūṇa*. The old forms in *ōn*, *ōni*, and *ōniyā* make the explanation of this suffix very difficult, and I am not able to solve the question. Compare the old ablative suffixes *pāsuniyā*, *huniyā*. *Niyā* seems to be a postposition of the ablative or the instrumental added to the old form in *ũ*. Compare Gujarātī (*ī*-)*nē*.

I have already mentioned that the suffix of the past tense probably goes back on an older *illaa*. This suffix is in the Prakrits interchangeable with *allaa* and *ullaa*, and I think it probable that one of these latter forms occurs in past tenses such as *buḍālā*, he sank.

There are in Marāṭhī several irregular verbs, and some of these allow us to see that the *ll*-suffix was really added to the past participle in *ta*. I shall make some remarks on a few of these forms.

Poetical texts have preserved several old forms. Thus, *kāḍhiyalẽ*, taken out, for the modern *kāḍhilẽ*, where the old participle is clearly preserved. The same is the case with *pātalī*, went, from Prakrit *pāttaillaa*. Several such forms have been mentioned by Sir Charles Lyall, l.c., and the reader may be referred to that work for further instances.

The old participle is also easily recognizable in several forms in the modern language. Thus, *kēlẽ*, done; *gēlẽ*, gone; *mēlẽ*, dead, clearly contain the old Māhārāṣṭrī participles *kaa*, *gaa*, *maa*, respectively. It is of interest to note that *kēlẽ* is derived from *kaa*, and not from *kia*, *kida*, which latter form is common in Śaurasenī. *Pyālẽ*, drunk, contains *pïa*;

bhyālē, feared, *bhīa*; and *lyālē*, put on, probably a **lia*. *Khāllē*, ate, is not clear to me. There exists a poetical form *khādilē*, which seems to be the origin of it, but this latter form looks like a late loan-word from Sanskrit.

The *t* of the past participle has been preserved in forms such as *ghētᵃlē*, taken; *ghātᵃlē*, put; *dhutᵃlē*, washed; *baghitᵃlē*, seen; *sāṅgitᵃlē*, said; *māgitᵃlē*, asked. This *t* must be traced back to a double *t* in Prakrit. *Ghētᵃlē* is derived from *ghetta*, a form which must be inferred from Māhārāṣṭrī *ghettūṇa*. *Ghātᵃlē* belongs to Prakrit *ghallaï*, to throw, from which a past participle **ghatta*, that is *ghalta*, might be formed. The *t* of the other forms must be explained after the analogy of Prakrit forms such as *hatta=haa*, killed; *khatta=khāa*, dug; that is, the *t* of the suffix has been doubled under the influence of the accent.

In *mhaṭᵃlē*, said; *khaṇṭᵃlē*, dug; and *hāṭᵃlē*, slain, a *ṭ* precedes the suffix *lē*. The form *mhaṭᵃlē* is probably derived from a Prakrit **bhaṭṭha*, formed from **bhāṣ-ta*, just as *laṭṭha*, friendly, from **laṣ-ta*. It might, however, also be derived directly from the root *bhal*. This verb is in Prakrit conjugated as belonging to the 9th class, and the same was perhaps originally the case in Sanskrit. The forms *khaṇṭᵃlē* and *hāṭᵃlē* are not clear to me. I may note that a form *mhaṇṭᵃlē*, said, occurs in dialects.

The mentioned forms are not all clear, but this much they show, that the suffix *lā* is an additional suffix added to the old past participle passive.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. A Rectification.

3, *Via San Francesco Poverino, Florence.*
January 9, 1902.

My dear Professor,—I have recently received a letter from General Houtum Schindler in Tehran, from which it appears that, quite unintentionally, I have misstated his views in my recent paper (J.R.A.S. for April, 1901) on "The Cities of Kirman." I therefore hasten to set the matter right. In regard to the site of Sīrjān (p. 282 of last year's volume) I have misunderstood General Schindler in supposing that he had identified this place with the modern Sa'īdābād; on the contrary, General Schindler is of opinion that this, the older capital, probably stood in the Māshīz plain, which is considerably to the eastward of Sa'īdābād. In the second place, in connection with the etymology of the name Bardasīr (note 1 to p. 283), General Schindler disclaims any reliance on the statements of the Persian dictionary called *Farhang-i-Anjumān Arā*, which he knew to be misleading and incorrect.—Believe me to be, yours most truly,

G. Le Strange.

2. The term Sahampati.

Sir,—In the course of Dr. Anesaki's interesting letter on the Āgamas in the J.R.A.S. for 1901, p. 899, he gives the

explanation of Japanese scholars of the puzzling title Sahampati applied to Brahmā in Buddhist books. Chinese scholars interpret it somewhat differently. They translate the first part of the word sometimes by 'patient' and sometimes by 'mixed,' and explain the whole word as meaning "the inhabitants of the sphere over which Śākya-Buddha's influence extends." The older Chinese translators generally transcribed it *shā-po* or *sha-bo*, which is apparently meant to represent *sarva* or *sabba*, but the meaning they give is always either 'patient' or 'mixed,' and not 'perishable.' It is evident that those who give the meaning 'patient' had the root *sah*, 'to be patient,' in view; and those who give the meaning 'mixed' had the preposition *saha*, 'with,' in view.

The Chinese Buddhist scholiasts further explain the word 'patient' thus:—

> "all creatures inhabiting the sphere which is under Śākya-Buddha patiently bear rāgas, dveṣas, and mohas."[1]

And the word 'mixed' thus:—

> "in this sphere holy sages, gods, common people, and the beings in hell are found, they are mixed in that world,"

so that, in the view of those writers, Sahampati has the same meaning as Prajāpati.[2]

U. WOGIHARA.

[1] Cf. Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka (Calc. ed., fasc. i, p. 63), where we must read *saha* instead of *sahā*.

[2] [This comes to much the same as Dr. Anesaki's explanation "Lord of the Shaba world," where *shaba* is an interesting cross between *sarva* and *sabba*. It seems more natural to connect Sahampati, as an epithet of Brahmā, with *svayambhū*, also used as such an epithet. So already in 1881, in our "Vinaya Texts," 1. 86; and Professor Franke, in 1893, in the Vienna Journal, p. 359. The Chinese derivations are very forced. If one wanted to say "Lord of the world," is it probable one would have said either "Lord of the patient ones" or "Lord of the with's," even if either of these explanations were etymologically satisfactory? But they belong to the sphere of exegesis rather than to that of etymology—like the word-plays in the Old Testament or in the Aggañña Suttanta—and, as such, are very ingenious.—RH. D.]

3. Water (*vatura*) in Sinhalese.

Indian Institute, Oxford.
January 22, 1902.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—As the word *vatura* in the sense of 'flowing water' occurs in an inscription of King Dappula V (A.D. 940–952), which I have just edited for the "Epigraphia Zeylanica," I had to go into the question of its correct signification and its etymology, about which you and Mr. Ferguson contributed several interesting notes to the Journal for 1898 (pp. 198, 367–369) and for 1901 (pp. 119–120).

There is no doubt that *vatura*, as well as its more archaic form *vaturu*, meant originally 'water in motion,' and not 'water' pure and simple, as it is now understood. To the authorities already cited, I may add the Ruvanmala and the Piyummala (Paṇḍit Baṭuvantuḍāve's edition, 1892, pp. 21, 81, and 90), as well as Jayatilaka's Eḷu-akārādiya (p. 37), where only the old form *vaturu* is given as a synonym of *ōga* (Pāli *ogha*), 'flood'; *megha*, 'rain-cloud'; *saḷu* or *piḷi*, 'cloth.' Of the words *diya* and *diyara*, the former is common enough in the literature, and always means simply 'water,' except, of course, when it represents the Skt. words *jaya*, 'victory'; *jagat*, 'world'; and *jyā*, 'bow-string' (Piyummala, p. 103); the latter, on the other hand, is not recorded in any of the well-known vocabularies such as Nāmāvaliya, Ruvanmala, nor have I come across it in inscriptions or standard works. Jayatilaka also omits it from his useful Eḷu-akārādiya (Colombo, 1893). We see, however, from Mr. Ferguson's letter at p. 369 of the Journal for 1898, that *diyara* and *diya* were synonyms commonly used in every-day talk so far back as the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Turning to the etymology of these three words, we find James de Alwis derives *vatura* from Skt. *vāri*, Dr. Goldschmidt from *vātula*, while my friends Mudaliyar B. Guṇasekara and Professor Geiger connect it with

Skt. *vistara*, 'extensive,' through Pāli and Pkt. *vitthara* ("Etymologie des Singhalesischen," Munich, 1897, p. 78; also his "Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen," Strassburg, 1901, pp. 32 and 36). Mr. Ferguson, in his last note on the subject (J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 119), adheres to this etymology. There is yet another derivation which I wish to submit, and which seems to me to be more in accordance with the phonetic laws of Sinhalese. I should connect *vatura* or *vaturu* with the Sanskrit *vartarūka* (Hemacandra's Anekārthasaṅgraha, iv, 31), through a Prākṛitic form **vattarūa* and Sinhalese **vataru* and *vaturu* (cf. Sinh. *katura* = Skt. *kartarī*; Sinh. *turu* = Skt. *tārā* or *tāraka*; Sinh. *vat-man* = Skt. *vartamāna*; Sinh. *daru* = Skt. *dāraka*). *Vartarūka*, moreover, means a whirlpool, an eddy. It is also the name of a river. Compare in this connection Skt. *āvarta*, 'whirlpool,' and *ā-vartaka*, name of a form of cloud personified.

Professor Geiger has rightly adhered to the recognized etymology of *diya* from Pāli *daka*. We have *dala* from Skt. *jala* in *dala-dara* (Skt. *jala-dhara*, 'cloud,' and *jala-dhārā*, 'current of water, stream'). The word *diyara*, however, I am inclined to consider either as a derivative of a compound *daka-dhārā* or as a word formed from *diya* by adding *ra* on the analogy of *vatura*. The different spellings *diya-wara*, *diaura*, *diora*, quoted by Mr. Ferguson (J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 369), seem to support the first etymology. Compare also Sinh. *piyayuru* with Skt. *payodhara*.—Yours very truly,

DON M. DE ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE.

4. TWO OLD MANUSCRIPTS.

17, *Elysium Row, Calcutta.*
December 10, 1901.

DEAR SIR,—It may interest the members of the Society to learn that in the course of removing the Records of the Board of Examiners, Fort William, which is the existing

representative of the College of Fort William, to the new offices, I have unearthed two rather interesting manuscripts. One is a large thick folio of 271 manuscript pages, in excellent condition, except as regards the calf binding. The paper is thick, and bears in it a watermark, a shield, on which is a bend, the shield surmounted by a *fleur de lis* and beneath it the letters G. R. The paper is yellowed by age and somewhat mottled by damp, but otherwise is in excellent preservation. The title-page reads as follows :—

"MÁNAVA
DHERMA-SASTRA
OR
THE LAWS OF
MENU
WITH THE GLOSS OF CULLÚCA ;
COMPRISING
THE HINDU SYSTEM OF
DUTIES,
RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL,
VERBALLY TRANSLATED FROM THE
ORIGINAL SANSCRIT
BY SIR WILLIAM JONES."

This MS. appears on the face of it to be Sir William Jones' *original* manuscript. It is undoubtedly in his handwriting, as judged by specimens of his script in the records of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I have no knowledge of the circumstances under which this MS. came into the possession of the College of Fort William, whose Library stamp it bears.

II. The second MS. is the original Catalogue of the Library of Tippoo Sultan, made in 1805 by Major Charles Stewart. This is a folio of 105 pages, in Stewart's own handwriting and bearing his signature.

I have collated it with the printed Catalogue of the Library published at Cambridge in 1809, and am about to bring the MS. before the Asiatic Society of Bengal at the next meeting. It is in good condition, but requires rebinding. Not a page, however, is missing.

The title-page reads—

"Detailed Catalogue of the Library of the late Tippoo Sultan of Mysore. Compiled A.D. 1085 [*sic*; in pencil is added "1805?"]."

The last words are—

"Having given the Titles of the Books in the Persian Character, I have not been at all studious in my Oriental Orthography, nor have I attempted in the course of the work any Elegance of Language. It may perhaps mitigate the severity of criticism when it is known that from the commencement of this work till its conclusion only five months have elapsed. College, January 7, 1806.

S^{d}/ Charles Stewart."

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE RANKING, M.D.,

Lieut.-Col., I.M.S.

5. THE WORD KOZOLA AS USED OF KADPHISES ON KUSHĀN COINS.

Bedford.

March 15, 1902.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—Mr. Vincent Smith's paper on the Kushān, or Indo-Scythian Period, read at the last meeting of the Society, has shown that there is much to be said in favour of a readjustment of present conceptions as to the chronology of the Kushān kings. At any rate it has revived my interest in the question as to what the term Kozola means which is found attached to the name of Kadphises I, and I venture to offer a solution.

As this monarch consolidated the five Yue-chi kingdoms and became the sole supreme head of the Kushān empire, I at one time suspected that the word might be intended to represent the Latin title Cæsar, or even Khusro, but this proved to me to be untenable when I considered that the longer expression Kozola-kara is, unless I am mistaken, found as qualifying Kadphises. This shows that the term must be explained by a word which is equivalent in meaning, whether it be Kozola or Kozola-kara. We have the words *Kuśala* and *Kuśala-kara* in Sanscrit which satisfy this requirement.

They mean 'prosperous,' 'prosperity-causing,' and 'auspicious' or 'propitious.' The parallel terms *Kshema* and *Kshemakara* in Sanscrit are of exactly similar meaning. I am not sure that I should not be justified in saying that the same idea of the auspicious or prosperous underlies the very name of Augustus, whose coins seem to have served as an archetype for one issue at least of Kadphises; and perhaps the word Augustus may have suggested Kozola. In cases where one meets Kozolakasa, or Kuyalakasa, or Kujalakasa, this would be the genitive of *Kuśalaka*, a noun formed from the adjective Kuśala.—Yours truly,

W. Hoey.

6. Buddhist Notes.

British Museum.
March 25, 1902.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—Perhaps the following observations may have some interest, despite their trifling nature. If there should be any error in them I shall be grateful for correction.

1. Apparently there exists in Burma a Pali version of the Lalitavistara. That maker of books without end, the late Shwegyin Hsadaw, has written a little tract called *Kāmādinavakathā*, containing the well-known passage describing the sleeping damsels seen by Siddhārtha (pp. 252*f* in the Bibliotheca Indica), with a Burmese translation and homiletic notes (Mandalay, 1894, 1898).

2. The British Museum possesses two MSS. of a little Bimbamānavidhi (Or. 5291–2), which begins—

āpāṇḍugaṇḍam aruṇādharam āyatākṣim
bhrūcāpacārucaturasmitam indukāntam
mārāṅganāvadanapaṅkajam abhyahāri
yenāvadhūtam avatāt sugatasya-yuṣmān.

This apparently means "may you be blest through the sanctity of the Buddha, for whose sake a smile was brought

upon the lotus-faces of Māra's maids" (Lalitavistara, xxi). The interest lies in the imperative *avatāt*. After pointing out the extreme rarity of imperatives in *-tāt* in later Sanskrit, Whitney remarks that for the "benedictive" value of this form avouched by the grammarians (Pāṇini, vii, 1. 35, etc.) no examples appear to be quotable. Here is a striking example.

3. There is a certain wit in passages such as the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of the Jain Jyotiṣasāroddhāra—

> taṃ namāmi jinādhiçaṃ sarvajñaṃ sarvasiddhidam
> pratibimbitam ābhāti jagad yajjñānadarpaṇe.

This is clearly a voice from the Sāṅkhya. The Tīrthaṅkara is omniscient; the content of his thought is the whole universe. For this his mind is a perfect mirror; himself *Buddha*, he cognizes the All with pure *buddhi*. Remembering that two of the functions of buddhi are defined as "reflexion of object" and "reflexion of soul," we see all these points brought out still more explicitly in the opening stanza of the Daivajñakāmadhenu of the Buddhist Anomadassi—

> pratiphalanti jaganti samantato
> *mahati* yad dhi *sanāmani* darpaṇe
> sa bhagavān munir īhita siddhaye
> hṛdi ciram mama gandhakuṭīyatām.

"Forasmuch as the universe is reflected in the *great* (*mahat* = *buddhi*) mirror that has the same name as he (i.e. the *buddhi* of the Buddha), may the saintly Lord long dwell enshrined in my heart," etc.—Very sincerely yours,

L. D. Barnett.

7. Kusinārā.

Errata.

Gwynfa, Cheltenham.
March 25, 1902.

My dear Professor Rhys Davids,—I regret to say that I find a serious and misleading blunder in my paper on

Kusinārā, *ante*, p. 140, top. For the sentence "The discovery . . . . garden," please substitute "The discovery of the true site of the Lumbinī Garden proved that Kuśinagara could not possibly be represented by the remains near Kasiā, which are neither at the right distance, nor in the right direction, from the garden."

Also the following errata:—*Ante*, p. 152, line 3, for 'Magistrate' read 'Commissioner'; *ibid.*, footnote, for '1889' read '1898.' I am indebted to Mr. Walter Lupton, M.R.A.S., for pointing out the former error, which was due to a slip of memory on my part. The second error is merely a misprint.—Yours sincerely,

V. A. SMITH.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge. By the late William Wright, LL.D.; with an Introduction and Appendix by Stanley Arthur Cook, M.A. 1901.

No work on Syriac or Arabic literature could come to the world better recommended than one bearing on its title-page the name of W. Wright. The present Catalogue, of which more than three-quarters were prepared by that eminent scholar, provides a further proof of his extraordinary industry, to which Oriental study owes so many monuments. The MSS. catalogued are far less interesting in every way than those of the British Museum, but this fact does not diminish the gratitude due to those who have gone through the trouble of acquainting the world with the nature of their contents. The editor, besides describing those MSS. which Wright had not examined, has contributed an Introduction dealing with the history of the accessions to the Syriac collection of the Cambridge Library and also a valuable note on South Indian Syriac MSS. The arrangement of MSS. in the Catalogue, which appears to follow the shelf-numbers in the Library, is less helpful than the arrangement according to subjects which is ordinarily adopted; but the Indexes which the editor has appended compensate for this disadvantage.

D. S. Margoliouth.

BRUCHSTÜCKE INDISCHER SCHAUSPIELE IN INSCHRIFTEN ZU AJMERE. Von F. KIELHORN. Mit 4 Tafeln. Separatabdruck aus der Festschrift zur Feier des 150 jährigen Bestehens der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1901. (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1901.)

The inscriptions which Professor Kielhorn now publishes are found on four basalt slabs which are kept in the Arhaidin-ka Jhompra mosque in Ajmere. They have already been partly edited by the same scholar in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, and in the *Göttinger Nachrichten* for the year 1893. The new edition is based on better pencil rubbings and accompanied by photolithographic plates of the originals.

The Ajmere slabs contain fragments of two plays, the Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka, written in honour of King Vigraharāja of Sāmbhar, and the Harakelināṭaka by King Vigraharāja himself. The former is styled a Nāṭaka, but is in reality a Nāṭikā. Both are engraved by Bhāskara, the son of Mahīpati, and the latter is dated Saṁvat 1210=1153 A.D.

The fact that these plays were engraved on stone is of interest as giving some support to the tradition according to which the Hanumannāṭaka was originally engraved on a rock. Their chief importance, however, rests with the fact that they contain passages in Prakrit which more closely agree with the rules laid down by the Prakrit grammarians than is the case with any known manuscripts of Sanskrit plays. This is especially the case with the Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka. We find here three Prakrit dialects used—Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, and Māgadhī. The last-mentioned dialect is not used in the Harakelināṭaka, and the Prakrit passages in this play are, on the whole, far inferior to those occurring in Somadeva's work.

The spoken vernaculars of India had in the twelfth century A.D. developed very far from the stage represented by the literary Prakrits, and an author who wished to use

those forms of speech in his compositions was, accordingly, obliged to learn Prakrit from literary sources. The manuscripts of older plays were, as we can see from Hemacandra's grammar, at this period much better than now. And a study of them might therefore convey a fair idea of the peculiarities of the various Prakrit dialects. There is no reason for supposing that Somadeva and Vigraharāja have not studied their predecessors. But such a study is not sufficient to account for the comparative correctness of the Prakrits, especially in Somadeva's work, and there can be no doubt that there has been another source from which they derived their knowledge. This source cannot be anything else than the Prakrit grammarians.

Professor Pischel has already a long time ago, when these inscriptions were for the first time made known, drawn attention to the fact that Somadeva's Prakrit is, broadly speaking, in close accordance with the rules laid down in Hemacandra's Prakrit grammar. This is not only the case where Hemacandra's rules are in accordance with the practice in the oldest plays, but often also where his sources have been corrupt. The rich materials collected in Professor Pischel's masterly Prakrit grammar make it a comparatively easy task to state the relation between them, the more so because Professor Kielhorn in footnotes refers the reader to Professor Pischel's book. It is not necessary to go into details in order to show the general agreement of Somadeva's Prakrit with Hemacandra's rules, as this has already been done in a review of Dr. Bloch's "Vararuci und Hemacandra" in the *Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1894, pp. 478 ff. I shall only make some remarks regarding the instances where Somadeva's Prakrit is incorrect.

A medial *t* ought to be dropped in Māhārāṣṭrī. It is, however, in some instances changed to *d*. Thus, *māladī*, *agahida*, *amuṇida*. It is probable that here we have only to do with ordinary blunders. The Prakrit grammarians teach that *t* becomes *d* in certain words, not however in those just quoted. Hemacandra declares that this change is not justified. He admits, however, that instances occur. They

must, he informs us, be explained by means of the rule *vyatyayaś ca*, according to which the various dialects are freely mixed up with each other. That is to say, that the rules of his grammar may, if convenient, be disregarded. It is characteristic for Hemacandra as a systematic grammarian that the first and last rule about Prakrit teaches to neglect the whole grammar *ad libitum*.

I shall now turn to Somadeva's Śaurasenī. We here find several orthographic mistakes; thus, final *m* instead of *ṁ*, e.g. *devīyam aṇurāam eārisam*; *n* instead of *ṇ*, e.g. *Nomālie* and *Ṇomālie*; double consonants in the beginning of words, e.g. *ṭṭhāṇe, vvavasidaṁ, jjhijjai*; single consonant instead of double ones, e.g. *paćakkhāiṁ, tamapasara*, and so forth. Most of these are probably only slips of the pen. The same is the case with *kitti* for *kiṁ ti, kiṇṇa* for *kiṁ ṇa, huṃti* for *hönti*, etc. Hemacandra's grammar contains many similar blunders, and they are of no importance. The words of Desaladevī, plate i, l. 37 f., are pure Māhārāṣṭrī and were perhaps meant as verses.

There remain, however, several blunders of a more serious kind.

The form *duppĕccha*, i, 7 is Māhārāṣṭrī. The corresponding Śaurasenī form is *duppĕkkha*. The grammarians do not, however, give any rule about this word.

A *t* between vowels becomes *d* in Śaurasenī. This rule is usually observed by Somadeva. We find, however, also the Māhārāṣṭrī form in words such as *eārisaṁ, rayaṇāiṁ*. These are probably mere slips, and are against the rules of all grammarians, with the exception of the convenient *vyatyayaś ca* and *bahulam*. Hemacandra commits the same blunder in his Kumārapālacarita, a monstrous work which clearly shows how little he really understood of Prakrit. Compare *iṇavaiṇā=jinapatinā*, vii, 94.

Th becomes *dh* under the same conditions as those under which *t* is changed to *d*. The rule is, however, according to Hemacandra, iv, 267, and other authorities who copied his statements, only facultative. Somadeva follows this laxer rule and presents forms such as *maṇoraha, jahattha*.

The inflection of nouns and verbs is in accordance with Hemacandra's rules. The locative plural ends in *su*, not in *suṁ*; thus, *peraṁtesu*. The grammarians do not give any rule about the formation of this case in Śaurasenī. The correct form is, however, probably *suṁ*; compare Pischel, Grammatik, § 371.

The false form *kāmiṇi-raaṇa*, i, 8, is only a misprint for *kāmiṇī-*.

The form *tujjha* for *tuha*, thy, in i, 2, is probably false, but quite in accordance with Hemacandra, who actually gives *tujjha* in Śaurasenī, Kumārapālacarita, vii, 101.

In the inflection of verbs we may note forms such as *gihīda, huvaṁtī, huvidavvaṁ*, which, though wrong, are not forbidden by Hemacandra. The conjunctive participles in *ūṇa*, e.g. *āacchiūṇa, pĕkkhiūṇa, kāriūṇa*, are Māhārāṣṭrī and not Śaurasenī. Hemacandra, however, allows the forms in *dūṇa*.

The Śaurasenī termination of the passive is *īadi*. Hemacandra, however, freely uses the mixed form in *ijjadi*. The same is the case with Somadeva, who writes *pĕkkhīyadi, jaṁpijjadi, pĕkkhijjaṁti*, and so forth.

Somadeva's use of the particles *vva* for *iva*, *khu* after *a* and *o*, and *hu* in Śaurasenī is probably wrong, but is in accordance with Hemacandra's grammar. The same is the case with the use of *dāṇi* for *idānīm* in the beginning of a sentence.

The only point where Somadeva's Śaurasenī differs from Hemacandra is in the particle *jjeva=eva* for Hemacandra's *yyeva*. I think it probable that Somadeva has here followed the practice of older plays.

Several of the preceding remarks also apply to the Māgadhī passages in the Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka. Compare forms such as *śśalūvaṁ=svarūpam, yāṇiyyadi* for *yāṇīadi=jñāyatē, hage khu* for *hage kkhu=ahaṁ khalu, vva=iva*, and so on. All these forms are in accordance with Hemacandra's practice. The same is the case with the substitution of *nd* for *nt* in forms such as *payyaṁda=paryanta*. Hemacandra allows this change also in Śaurasenī. The change of *nt* to *nd* is now common in Pañjābī, Sindhī, Multānī, Naipālī, and Kāśmīrī. It is also occasionally met with in the Prem Sāgar, from

which work I have noted *Vaisandara* = *Vaiśvantara*. Compare Dr. Grierson, ZDMG., 1, p. 36. It is therefore probable that such forms are due to the influence of the Western vernaculars spoken in the neighbourhood of Hemacandra's home, just as his Apabhraṁśa is often pure Gujarātī. Compare, however, Pischel's Prakrit Grammatik, § 275.

Hemacandra teaches that *j*, *dy*, and *y* in Māgadhī become *y* and *yy*. He does not, however, give any such rule for the treatment of the corresponding aspirates. Forms such as *ṇijjhala* and *yujjha* are, therefore, not in disaccord with his grammar. The only point where Somadeva really differs from Hemacandra in his Māgadhī is in the treatment of original *kṣ*, *ṣk*, and *rth*, for which he substitutes *śk*, *śk*, *št*, and *st* respectively, instead of Hemacandra's *ẖk* and *sk*, *sk*, and *st*. I do not think that this disaccord is in reality serious. In Hemacandra, iv, 296, *kṣasya ẖkaḥ*, '*ẖk* must be substituted for *kṣ*', the jihvāmūlīya *ẖ* is not written in any manuscript, but we find *kṣ* and *ś* instead of it. The same may have been the case in the copy which Somadeva used. We can clearly see how little he was able to distinguish between the different *s*-sounds in his treatment of *rth*, which, according to Hemacandra, becomes *st*. Somadeva has *śaśta* = *sārtha*, but *aste* = *artha*, *yahastaṁ* for *yadhastaṁ* = *yathārtham*, and so on. The same remark holds good with regard to the change of *ṣk* to *śk* instead of Hemacandra's *sk*. Compare *Tuluśka* = *Turuṣka*, *śuśka* = *śuṣka*. Namisadhu, whose sources must have been somewhat the same as Hemacandra's, has *śk* as Somadeva.

I cannot, therefore, see any serious obstacle to the supposition that Somadeva actually used Hemacandra's grammar. It is well known that the courts of Sāmbhar and Aṇhilvād were in intercourse with each other, and it is therefore quite probable that copies of Hemacandra's grammar were sent to Sāmbhar.

The Harakelināṭaka also contains some passages in Prakrit, but only in Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī. The two dialects are much more mixed up with each other than was the case in Somadeva's work. But the mistakes are exactly of the

same kind. Thus we find *-ggahida=gṛhīta* in Māhārāṣṭrī; *duggai=durgati*; *ṇiggaa=nirgata*, *ṇāha=nātha*, etc., in Śaurasenī. Other mistakes of the Harakelināṭaka do not occur in the Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka, but do not, on the other hand, sin against any of Hemacandra's rules. Compare the locatives *samaammi* and *aggiṇi*, the imperative *pĕkkhadhaṁ*, the use of the theme *kuṇ=kṛ* in *kuṇehi*, and forms such as *avidīo*, that is *abidīo=advitīya*, *mahadāruṇa* for *mahādāruṇa*, and so on.

The preceding remarks will have shown that the Prakrit dialects of both plays are not correct, but still, on the whole, in agreement with the teaching of contemporary grammarians. This is of importance for the understanding of the Prakrits and their history. It shows, as does also Hemacandra's grammar, that the knowledge of the different Prakrit dialects was in the twelfth century vague. The old writings had been copied during centuries by more or less ignorant writers, the dialects had been mixed up, and had long ago ceased to be clearly understood. The later grammarians based their works on their predecessors and on the manuscripts, which did not any more faithfully represent the old dialects. But these grammars were used by the authors for their compilations, as they are used to the present day. And we may safely conclude that the common practice had been the same for centuries.

The fact that we are able to prove that these authors used a Prakrit grammar for their work is of importance, because it conclusively shows that this was the practice, and that the authority of the grammarians can accordingly be, at least to a great extent, relied on when we have to correct Prakrit manuscripts. It is quite irrelevant for this question whether Hemacandra or some related Jaina grammarian was the authority used by Somadeva and Vigraharāja.

Professor Kielhorn's edition is excellent. I have only noted a few misprints. Thus, p. 2, l. 20, *kāmiṇi* for *kāmiṇī*; p. 6, l. 19, *pradāy=asmad-* for *pradāy=āsmad*; p. 7, l. 23, *namn=eva* for *nāmn=eva*; p. 8, note 6, *bhūsiabbhaṁ-* for *bhūsidabbhaṁ-*; p. 9, note 2, *eārisaṁ* for *edārisaṁ*; p. 19,

l. 27 ff., ought to have been printed as verse; p. 24, note 2, *calli* is correct; compare Karpūramañjarī, iv, 12*b*, 16*b*. I may add that the last Prakrit passage on p. 12 ought to be translated *sakala-jagad-eka-pradīpa*, etc.

The accompanying plates are very clear, and Professor Kielhorn's Sanskrit translation of the Prakrit passages will prove to be useful.

STEN KONOW.

SANSKRIT GRAMMAR FOR BEGINNERS. By A. A. MACDONELL. (London; 1901.)

The appearance of Professor Macdonell's *Sanskrit Grammar for Beginners* will be welcome to those who are entering on the thorny paths of Sanskrit, and still more to those who have to guide them. It is the work of one who has tested by experience the needs of elementary students, and, but for the fact that Vedic reading generally comes early into the course of a Sanskritist, it hardly deserves its modest title, since the student of purely classical Sanskrit will find enough for his needs until he begins the study of the Indian grammarians. The mistake made by many writers on grammar is to suppose that condensation means simplification, and this is by no means the case. It is often easier by the help of the numerous examples given in a large grammar to formulate a rule that can be understood and remembered than to understand the condensed statement in a short grammar, and some of the new simplified grammars of Eastern languages err greatly in that respect. Professor Macdonell has, however, generally avoided this difficulty, though occasional passages would not be very clear to a solitary student.

The book begins with an interesting short introduction to the history of Sanskrit grammar, which will give pleasure to older students also. The *Devanāgarī* is transliterated throughout, with the exception of the examples in the syntax and the parts of the irregular verbs, these exceptions

being made in order to compel practice in reading the native alphabet. It may be doubted whether these also should not have been printed in Roman type. Sanskrit students are either obliged to read *Devanāgarī*, or, in the case of some philological examinations, are purposely exempted from so doing. The latter will be impeded in the use of the syntax and the list of verbs, while the former have probably ample opportunities of learning the character in their reading. Intelligent students, moreover—and most Sanskrit students are intelligent—ought to be able to consult the whole grammar long before they can read the foreign character with ease.

Professor Macdonell shows his knowledge of a beginner's needs by telling him where to seek in the dictionary for words containing *anusvāra* and *visārga*. The *Sandhi* rules are very good, but *Sandhi* is the greatest difficulty in starting Sanskrit, and it would be convenient to have such a table as Dr. Bühler gave in his *Leitfaden*. The rules on internal *Sandhi* he wisely suggests should be taken after learning the paradigms. It is questionable whether the arrangement of learning the vowel declensions first, familiar already to classical students, is not better than to start with the more normal endings of the consonant declension. Change of termination demands less mental effort than change of stem, however regular, and, for practical use in reading, the vowel declension is sooner needed than *uṣṇik* or *saṃrāt*, while the philological student has no difficulty in re-classifying the declensions in his own mind. The paradigms of verbs and the explanations of their formation are very clear, while the chapter on particles is specially useful, and given in great detail for the size of the book. Compound words also, the second great difficulty of the beginner, are well analyzed, while the syntax is excellent and contains all that is necessary for the ordinary reader of classical Sanskrit. There is a useful short appendix on metre, and a second, of eight pages, on Vedic peculiarities. Two pages of the latter are given to an admirable account of Vedic accent. The purpose of this appendix is doubtless to increase the

student's thirst for knowledge, for, good as it is, it is hardly sufficient equipment for reading a Vedic hymn.

It would be interesting to know if, when Professor Macdonell says the five nasals are incorrectly replaced by *anusvāra*, and the final *m* of a sentence wrongly written with the same sign, he would condemn the practice of the Clarendon Press—a system which the student begins by reprobating, but ends, for its saving of the eyes, by blessing.

Altogether, the book is an excellent and scholarly one, written with practical experience of the needs of learners, and already found valuable when tested by the experience of teachers.

C. M. RIDDING.

ALEXANDER S. KHAKHANOV. OCHERKI PO ISTORII GRUZIUSKOI SLOVESNOSTI. Vypusk 3: Literatura xiii-xviii vv. Outlines of the History of Georgian Literature. Part 3: Literature from the Thirteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries. (Moscow, 1901.)

The third volume of the elaborate work of Professor Khakhanov on Georgian Literature treats of the period from the beginning of the thirteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. We have left the classical period and now have to do with others, in which much less poetical merit can be found. As M. Khakhanov says, literary productions are numerous, but they are deficient in originality and style. A large number are translations from Persian, which had a great influence upon Georgian literature. Thus, in the Vardbulbuliani of Teimouraz (1591–1663) we have the favourite Persian *motif* of the loves of the Nightingale and the Rose. References to the originals of these poems can be found in the excellent works of Professor Ethé, who has done so much for the history of Persian literature. The very interesting version in Georgian of the Alexander-Saga will attract the reader's attention. Mention must be made of the Rostomiani, a version (although not complete) of the

Shah Nameh. Professor Ethé gives a catalogue of the translations of Firdousi's great work, but does not appear to mention this.

One of the most important productions in Georgian of the eighteenth century is the version of the Kalilah va Dimnah made by Tsar Vakhtang VI. The tsar seems to have accomplished his translation partly while imprisoned at Ispahan, whither he had gone to do homage to the Persian king who was his suzerain. The latter, however, was offended with him because he would not turn Mohammedan. Vakhtang translated the prose, but the verse was rendered by the famous Savva Sulkhan Orbeliani, the author of the first Georgian Dictionary. In the introduction Tsar Vakhtang speaks of an earlier version of the twelfth century, which would have been of great interest. This has been considered lost. Professor Khakhanov, however, thinks that he found some fragments of it in the Library of the Georgian Society at Tiflis. The version from which the tsar translated was a Persian redaction of the fifteenth century. Vakhtang died in 1737: he will be always famous in the annals of Georgian literature for having established the Press at Tiflis. The earliest book printed in the Georgian language was a Psalter at Moscow in 1705; the first book which issued from the Tiflis press was an edition of the Gospels in 1709. In 1712 was printed there the work of Rustaveli, *Vephkhvis tqaosani*, which has now become a great rarity. In 1743 the Georgian Bible appeared at Moscow.

We must not leave the authors of the eighteenth century without mentioning the Catholicos Antoni, who wrote a famous grammar of his native language, and afterwards under the influence of the Latin monks at Tiflis turned Roman Catholic. Sulkhan Orbeliani, previously mentioned, travelled in the west of Europe, and, besides his dictionary, wrote his famous collection of stories called the "Book of Wisdom and Lies," of which an excellent translation into English has been published by Mr. O. Wardrop.

Mr. F. C. Conybeare has also translated the Armenian

version of the Khikar, a book which belongs to this period, although not written by Orbeliani. The work of Professor Khakhanov concludes with pieces of apocryphs—the Gospel of Joachim, the birth of the holy Virgin, etc.

This useful production fills a void, for but little is known about Georgian literature in Europe. Professor Khakhanov has a very readable style. Unfortunately his book is written in Russian, but the number of students of that important language is so continually increasing that it seems idle to talk of a book in the Russian language as being sealed.

W. R. MORFILL.

THE SPOKEN ARABIC OF EGYPT. By J. SELDEN WILLMORE, M.A. (London: David Nutt, Long Acre, 1901.)

In a country which has been during the whole of the past century closely connected with England, and for the last twenty years of it has occupied a very exceptional position under British influence, it is indeed strange that the English-speaking resident should have found himself up to the present without any reliable guide in his own tongue to the language spoken by the people.

Yet this has been the case in Egypt. A few English grammars of Arabic have, it is true, given some indications of the Egyptian dialect, but their references to it have been generally merely incidental, and they have so confused it with the literary language, or with other dialects of Arabic, as to be of little value.

We now have a work which supplies this want. It will be welcomed by those who are desirous of acquiring a practical knowledge of the speech of the country in which they live, but there is another class to which it will be equally acceptable. Students of the Semitic languages will regard it as by no means an unimportant contribution to Semitic philology.

Its author, a well-known resident of Cairo, where he occupies the position of a Judge in the Native Court of

Appeal, is exceptionally well situated with regard to his undertaking. His judicial office must give him remarkably good opportunities for hearing the speech of all sorts and conditions of men delivered under circumstances that preclude artificiality of diction.

Besides having lived in Cairo for a considerable time he has, we believe, previously passed a number of years at other places in the East, and thus has had the opportunity of acquiring a diversified experience of Oriental life and a knowledge of Eastern languages in addition to Arabic, which, doubtless, he has found of considerable service to him in the execution of his task. We have to thank him for a comprehensive Egyptian-Arabic Grammar, the first that has been written in English which treats the subject on a fitting scale with full detail. It is evident that labour has not been spared in the execution of the work. Those who examine it, when they see the great quantity of interesting material that it contains, will be able to realize the amount of time and trouble that must have been spent on its collection.

A work of this sort, founded on original observation by an author really familiar with the language of which he writes, and resident in the locality where it is spoken, is the only kind that can be of real value as a dialectical study. Yet so much is written on dialects by persons extremely imperfectly qualified, and based on observation made over totally inadequate periods, that the production of such work must be looked upon as the exception rather than the rule, and hence its appearance will be regarded with increased appreciation.

Mr. Willmore gives us a volume of some 390 pages, divided into two parts. The first part contains an Accidence; the second a Syntax. There are 74 exercises, consisting of sentences for translation from and into Arabic in the first part, which together with vocabularies and the sections of the Accidence to which they are attached, form a series of graduated lessons. There are also 42 exercises in Arabic for translation into English in the second part, illustrative of the rules of Syntax. In addition to this, two appendices,

one on 'Naḥwi,' the other on provincial pronunciation, besides a vocabulary which gives the meaning of the words occurring in the Syntax exercises that have not been explained in the body of the book, must be mentioned.

The book contains a number of footnotes by its author, and a few by Professor Sayce, to whom Mr. Willmore in his preface acknowledges his obligation for reading his manuscript, and who supplies a short introduction.

The Latin character is used throughout, the spelling of Arabic words being generally phonetic, but with some regard to uniformity of spelling, so that words may not be represented in forms in which they might be hard to recognize.

The volume is well bound, and of a convenient size.

Reference to the book would have been much facilitated by the provision of a proper table of contents. Its index is too scanty to be of much use for the purpose, and having had occasion to examine it we feel that this is a real want.

The study of the Egyptian dialect by Europeans may be said to have been commenced by Burckhardt, whose collection of proverbs, published in 1817, contains the first genuine material of value relating to the subject. It was not, however, until 1880 that the first complete exposition of the grammar of the Cairene language was made, by Spitta in his "Grammatik des Arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten." The importance of this book was immediately appreciated, and it has remained until now the standard authority. Mr. Willmore has been able to supplement and correct the observation of his predecessor, whose work, admirable as it is, could not possibly be expected to be exact in every single particular. Yet the generally unimportant nature of the differences between Mr. Willmore and Spitta on points of fact gives a striking testimony to the care and accuracy of the latter. Spitta's book affords a standard by which Mr. Willmore's book will naturally be compared.

It appears to be, like that of Spitta, confined almost entirely to the dialect of Cairo. Mr. Willmore makes a few remarks on the idiom of the fellahin, but we think

we are right in supposing that he would not claim that his book includes all their forms of speech. He would doubtless justify its title in the same way as Spitta does that of his grammar in his preface.

An essential difference between Mr. Willmore's treatment of his subject and that of Spitta may now be pointed out.

The latter continually compares the etymology and syntax of the modern dialect with that of 'classical' Arabic. The former does not keep up a regular comparison between them.

The reason of this is apparent when the author's preface is examined. From it may be gathered that he does not believe that Cairene is derived from classical Arabic. We understand that the dialect is considered by him to have a separate place in the Semitic family, that is to say, it is derived from some form of Arabic so far removed from the classical as to be really a distinct language, occupying a place beside it similar to that of Hebrew, Ethiopic, or any other of the Semitic group.

To assert that the Arabic portion of Cairene is all derived from the dialect of Quraish would be so opposed to probability as to be absurd. But the compilations of Arab lexicographers and grammarians are not confined to the 'Quranic.' They cannot be imagined to treat of a single dialect, but to embody the words and practice of a number which, taken together, form what is generally called classical Arabic.

Historical considerations make it exceedingly improbable, one might almost say quite impossible, that Cairene is derived wholly from any single Arabic dialect, so that it can have a place in the Semitic family similar to that of one of the languages referred to.

It can hardly be otherwise than derived from a mixture of several Arabic dialects. In the classical compilations we find what appear to be the easily recognizable originals of nearly every one of its Arabic words and forms, whose modification, by readily visible phonetic changes due to the corruption of foreign influence until they have reached their present shape, seems usually easy to trace.

It is quite possible that Cairene may have preserved to us a few words or even forms from Arabic dialects outcast by Arab philologers as vulgar or ungrammatical, but if this is kept in view it seems safe to treat it as a derivative of classical Arabic.

It is not, however, necessary to make any assumption in order to be able to recognize that no other language of which we have any knowledge affords a more useful standard of reference for the comparison of Cairene grammar, without which it can hardly be made intelligible. Mr. Willmore, by ignoring classical Arabic almost wholly, deprives himself of what would have given him the means of elucidating much that he leaves obscure. He generally rejects the services of a guide, whose place is poorly supplied by a little casual assistance that he derives from Hebrew, Syriac, or Amharic.

He is naturally perfectly right in dissociating the dialect from the written language by rigidly excluding forms of the latter which do not occur in the former. Want of recognition of the obvious fact that the dialect must be treated as thoroughly distinct has long prevailed; it is only lately that the necessity for a proper division has been appreciated, or, at least, has been acted upon. But he appears to tend to the other side, and a bias against the written language pervades his work. What else could induce him to say that words like hâlan, dâiman, dawāman, marāran do not in reality belong to the dialect of Cairo?[1] They are in universal use, not only in Cairo, but throughout Egypt. But they belong also to the written language, and preserve the sign of inflection. So, too, do a good many more nouns not mentioned in the list where the words cited are given (e.g., abadan, târatan, taqrîban, ghāliban, jiddan), whose use is also general. We are therefore told they are borrowed from it. The participles with preformative mu, in some cases the typical form, whose existence destroys attractive analogies with Hebrew, are kept, likewise, well in the background.

[1] § 63, p. 54, remark.

The book commences with an account of speech sounds. Comparing this with the same section of Spitta's work, one perceives that the latter is more elaborate. Some differences of observation will be noticed on examination. Spitta divides his vowel sounds into *a, i, u* groups; Mr. Willmore into *a, e, i, o, u*. Why his treatment of the vowel sounds precedes that of the consonants, since the former are influenced by the latter far more than the latter by the former, is not quite evident. The syllable is not dealt with specially; some remarks on it are found under double consonants. We do not see the very peculiar transformation of jîm to shîn in 'wish' (wajh) noticed on the chapter on transformation of letters. With respect to the pronunciation of vowels we may enquire whether the long *a* (*â*) of khâliṣ, *entirely,* has the same sound as that of nâr, *fire,* or râb, *it curdled.* We think that in the former word its sound is far deeper than in the last two.

It is true that *i* followed by 'ain has the sound of the French *eu* in the word li'b, *game* (§ 5, p. 4). But it has not this sound under the same circumstances in fi'l, *deed,* bi't, *I sold,* simi', *he heard*; at least we are convinced we have never heard feu'l, beu't, simeu'. The rule at § 5 seems, therefore, to require modification. Also we agree that the vowel following the *t* of 'yistiwi,' *it is ripe,* sounds like a French *ü* (§ 5, p. 4). To lay down as a rule from this that *w* following *i* converts it into the French *ü* does not, however, seem quite admissible. First, because to do so requires an assumption that the original sound of the vowel following the *t* in the above word is *i*. It might be reasonably maintained that this vowel is original *a*. But a stronger reason is that *w* following *i* does not appear to always give it this *ü* sound, e.g., diwî, riwâiyah, siwâr, in none of which has the *i* this sound. Mr. Willmore tells us that the final consonants of ab, akh, and some other words of this sort are doubled, but not in the construct form (§ 24, p. 23). A doubled consonant closing a syllable would be pronounced in exactly the same way as a single one: its duplication could only be apparent when it is followed by a 'helping' vowel. We venture to doubt that these words are always

pronounced abbe, etc., and think that the statement referred to cannot be accepted without reservation.

There is a great deal more in Mr. Willmore's phonetics that requires careful consideration. We will only briefly refer to the long lists of words spelt in Arab dictionaries with *t*, *d*, *s*, and *z*, which are pronounced in the dialect of Cairo *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṣ*, or *ẓ*. Leaving out of consideration one or two (tawa, p. 12; almaz, p. 15) which are not spelt in any ordinary Arabic dictionary as represented, the correctness of the rendering of the pronunciation of some of the others, such as ṣagar, ṣarr, ẓâr, etc., instead of sagar, etc., might be tested by some one on the spot to see whether the consonants are really transmuted in the manner indicated, or, as we are inclined to think, a thickening of the vowel has not produced the idea that the consonants have changed.

The spelling of Arabic words appears, generally speaking, good throughout the book. The helping or semi-vowels are not as a rule represented. They can easily be supplied by the reader himself, but it is hard to explain the reason of the omission of the sign for hamzah qat' before a vowel (p. 22, note 2), or to understand how the presence of this consonant can be divined when it is not indicated. When mara (passim) is written, how is anyone to know that it must be pronounced mar'a ?

One finds a few words of which the spelling seems open to question, such as (p. 375) a'ūd (? qa'ūd), (p. 377) bamya (? bāmya), (p. 370) maḥgūr, etc. (? mahgūr), (p. 378) ṭuriyah (? ṭūriyah), possibly misprints, (p. 335, § 591 and often elsewhere) zeye bardu (? zeye ba'ḍuh), (p. 270 and passim) quṣâd (? quṣṣâd).

The conjunction wa, *and*, appears frequently as *u*. It may be doubted whether this is a strictly accurate representation of any form which it assumes.

A few remarks may be made on the Accidence which follows. Some of its general rules might have been laid down with more emphasis, and a clearer distinction might have been drawn between them and what may conveniently be looked upon as exceptions. To illustrate this, reference

may be made to the article dealing with the formation of the relative adjective. It will be seen that only one of the forms mentioned in § 44 is described as "but sparingly used" (remark *d*). But surely others of the forms given are also extremely rare; for example, that which is formed by the addition of âti. It would be possible also to give some fuller information with respect to the application of the other terminations and the conditions under which they are used, besides some idea as to the relative frequence of their occurrence. Again, a number of broken plurals are formed so frequently from certain forms of singular that they may be considered as the regular plurals of words in these forms. These might well have been pointed out for the assistance of the learner (§ 91). The rules for the formation of quadriliterals (§ 83, p. 80), etc., appear far simpler when given in the usual way than as they are stated.

The formation of nouns from roots is not explained in a way that would make it very clear to anyone without previous knowledge (v. §§ 228, 131, which treat of the matter). Full justice does not seem to be done to this part of the subject.

Attention may be drawn to a few rules that occur in this part of the book.

§ 40. "The indefinite [article] wâḥid agrees in gender and number with its noun." Spitta (§ 114, *b*, p. 252) by no means corroborates the universality of this rule. He appears to make the agreement of wâḥid with a feminine the exception ("gewohnlich beim Femin. nicht verändert"). In §§ 64–67 the correctness of the rule relative to the forms assumed by nouns ending in *a* to which a noun in the genitive is annexed depends on whether the words ending in *â*, which it is stated do not undergo any change when followed by a word in the genitive, can properly be written phonetically as ending with a long *a*.

But we know that in the great majority of cases this spelling does not represent their pronunciation in the dialect. Mr. Willmore tells us so himself (remark *a*, p. 56). The rule, then, appears of no service at all: the form in which it

could be given is obvious, but the author's aversion to the classical language seems to prevent him stating it in an intelligible manner.

It must be remarked that if the rule stated in § 66 is correct, ruyasit (ru'asit) Maṣr, Khulafit Maṣr will be regularly formed combinations and, as far as we understand the rule, ruyasâ (ru'asâ) Maṣr, Khulafâ Maṣr would not be admissible. But with the suffixed personal pronoun, according to § 121, remark *b*, p. 105, one can say either ruyasâya and Khulafâhum or ruyasâti and Khulafâthum, but ruyasiti and Khulafithum would not be allowable. Such a remarkable usage of the dialect certainly requires corroboration.

§ 73, note 1. Mr. Willmore informs us that Spitta is mistaken in stating that widn, *ear*, has a dual form, and also in giving abbahen, ummahen, as the duals of 'abb' and 'umm.' We cannot pretend to say which is right.

With regard to a statement in § 79 to the effect that almost all nouns ending in *îya* make their plurals in *ât*, the exceptions to this rule seem so numerous that we think it can hardly be accepted. As far as the writer's personal experience enables him to judge, very many common words such as, e.g., ma'addîyah, zarbîya, qaḍîya, would not admit of a plural being formed in this manner: indeed, it seems difficult to call to mind many substantives of Arabic form ending in *îya* except such as denote the abstract idea of the primitive noun, that usually make their plurals in the manner described.

In the chapter on the pronoun we find (§ 112, remark *b*), "with the negative particles *ma* and *sh* ana becomes manish" (manîsh as well). This is correct, but turning to § 120 we find that precisely the same form, *manish*, is regarded as a combination of the verbal suffix with negative particles! The statement in this latter paragraph, that the suffixes have with the negative particles the forms which they assume as objects of the verb, is, we submit, altogether a mistaken one. It is hardly necessary to spend time in demonstrating the fact that the suffixes are not attached to the negative particle, as Mr. Willmore himself, in the

first of the extracts cited, has contradicted the theory which he gives in the second. One of the most extraordinary statements in the Accidence is that which makes intaẓar to be a verb of the form inbarak (§ 173, p. 146). As one cannot believe that Mr. Willmore would seriously wish to derive this form from a stem 'taẓar,' it must be looked upon as a slip; but upon it an exception is made to a rule to which we are unable to call to mind any exception, namely, that the sense of verbs of the form inbarak is never active. A mistake of this sort is enough to shake one's confidence in the whole book.

The chapters on the pronoun and verb are very full and will be read with interest.

General rules are laid down with regard to the vocalization of the aorist of most forms of the simple verb. This is, we believe, the first time that any system with respect to it has been demonstrated. Spitta (p. 207) was unable to fully establish one. In spite of somewhat numerous exceptions, Mr. Willmore's rules seem very useful, and great credit is due to him for his successful investigation of this difficult matter.

It may be noted that Spitta gives us examples of itfi'il as well as itfa'al; we understand Mr. Willmore to admit only of itfa'al (v. § 168, p. 141). The former mentions it'izim, itfihim (Spitta, p. 199), which the latter renders it'azam, itfaham (Vocab., pp. 141, 142).

For the aorist of waqaf Spitta gives jyqaf (yîqaf) (p. 223, near foot) as a possible form; we do not find this form (which we never remember having heard, and are certain must be somewhat rare if it still exists) in Mr. Willmore's book (§ 192, p. 166).

A suggestion may here be hazarded on the writer's own responsibility that the assimilation of the preformative with the initial waw of verbs which have that letter for their first radical, does occasionally give rise to the sound *au* = *o* nearly, in their imperatives and aorists. Thus we think Au'â (ô'â)[1] will be heard as often as ûâ, tauqaf as well as tûqaf.

[1] See Mr. Willmore, p. 87 vocab., for ô'â.

Besides this, those who can hear the dialect spoken may consider whether the vowel sound of the preformative of the aorist in other cases is not *e* as frequently as *i*. The rule given by Mr. Willmore (§ 140) that the vowel of the preformative syllable persons of the aorist other than the 1st pers. sing. is *i*, although subsequently modified, appears to us too absolute even for strong verbs.

Neither of these views is supported by Spitta or by Mr. Willmore, so they must be put forward with due diffidence.

Coming to the prepositions, doubt may be expressed as to the correctness of the classification of lamma among them. Presumably, in some such expressions as ruḥt lammâ[1] . . . l bait, it is considered to have the function of a preposition. The construction here seems to be elliptical, and we think lamma ought to be regarded as an adverb. At any rate, if it is a preposition it is an undeveloped one. It cannot surely take the pronominal suffixes. As 'ala represents the literary ila (§ 242, note), something more than 'on,' 'against,' should be given for its meaning.

There are excellent lists of adverbs and conjunctions. An addition that might perhaps be made to the former is the interrogative particle 'a.' Although Spitta (p. 168) hardly seems justified in thinking that this 'a' appears in äzai, ezai (which by the bye is generally pronounced izzey or ezzey), since the first part of that compound is surely nothing more than the interrogative pronoun 'ai' (ey), yet unless recollection is wholly unreliable 'a' affixed to the negative particle 'ma' does occur frequently in such phrases as ama aqul lak, *Do not I tell you.*

Appendix A, on Naḥwi, contains one or two visible errors. It is needless to particularly mention each one. With regard to provincial pronunciation we wonder whether Mr. Willmore is quite correct in entirely excluding the pronunciation of jîm as *j*. Spitta emphatically agrees with him (p. 5), but he does not seem to have had very much experience of the

[1] No example of the use of lamma as a preposition seems to be given.

provinces. The writer believes he has heard jîm pronounced as *j* in Upper Egypt by peasants not 'Bedwins,' but he has to depend on his memory and he cannot assert positively that this is the case. He is able, however, to vouch for the transformation of jîm into *d* in the speech of some natives of the southern provinces, generally Copts. They pronounce jebel, debel, etc. This peculiarity is well known to Egyptians; it appears to arise from an inability to pronounce the letter, and may therefore be looked upon more as a defect of speech than as dialectical variation. It may be mentioned since the letter to which the jîm is changed is remarkable if its original pronunciation by their fellows is *g*.

In his Syntax Mr. Willmore has possibly found himself hampered by his destination of his book for two purposes, that of a practical manual and that of a grammar for the use of students. The standpoint from which the syntax is viewed seems rather that of showing how English expressions may be rendered into Cairene Arabic than of explaining the relations expressed in that language by the combination of its words in speech and the manner of the construction of its sentences. The arrangement of this part of the book certainly does not compare favourably with that of Spitta's grammar. One does not find Spitta's orderly sequence, his careful subdivision of his topic into sections, the subject of each of which is thoroughly discussed under its proper heading with a rigid exclusion of irrelevant matter. One misses also his lucid explanations of broad general principles. A grasp of the spirit of the language is essential in order to make the intricate and difficult syntax anything more than a hopeless puzzle. More consideration of the principles of the grammar of the literary language would have facilitated the exposition of many things that are left far from clear.

Some of the rules given appear to be unduly minute, and to make distinctions the validity of which seems extremely doubtful; in other cases matters which are really important are hardly noticed, or receive what seems inadequate attention. Instances of the former are such as the rule in

§ 282, that the second noun of two nouns in the vocative, "*especially if denoting a high office,*" may take the definite article instead of the interjection being repeated. Or the rule as to the particular concord of the verb with the word ġhanam, of which we learn in § 461, remark *b*: "With the words 'askar, *soldiers, troops,* and ġhanam, *sheep,* the verb is put in the fem. singular. . . . . Il 'askar gum may be also said, but not il ġhanam gum." Examples of this kind could be multiplied; it is not necessary to add to them. They show the character of the rules referred to.

On the other hand, no separate section of the syntax deals with the relation between subject and predicate. The only mention that is made of the nominal predicate at all seems to be in the chapter on the adjective. It is there generally dealt with at the same time as the attributive adjective. The adverbial relation is also hardly sufficiently discussed. What relates to it is divided between the chapter on verbs, transitive and intransitive, and that on the noun, but there is little information given that makes the practice of the language with respect to the adverbial use of nouns clear.

What is said about the relative pronouns also does not clearly explain the peculiar principles of their use, and comes partly under the heading Possessives and Suffixes, partly under Relative Pronoun.

Some of the rules of Syntax appear rather loosely worded, and statements which are demonstrably not accurate occur. A few specimens of these may be noticed.

In § 248 (*b*) we are told that the definite article is used in Arabic where not expressed in English "with names (nouns) followed by a demonstrative pronoun." Anyone reading this would draw the obvious inference that with nouns preceded by a demonstrative pronoun the practice is as in English. This is, of course, not intended, as it is not the case.

In § 277 Mr. Willmore says that a noun immediately following a predicate and limiting or specifying its action may be regarded as an accusative of extent, and gives for an

example Kabîr es sinn, saying in a note that the noun in literary Arabic takes the sign of the accusative. That the note is absolutely erroneous, as far as this example is concerned, is quite beyond dispute; no deep knowledge of literary Arabic is required to be aware that 'sinn' would be in the genitive.

Again, we are informed, in § 288, that in the sentence Shufte wâḥid dirâ'u maksūrah there is an ellipse of the relative pronoun illi, etc. But we know from the usage of Arabic and, indeed, of all Semitic languages that this sentence ought not to be regarded as elliptical.

In § 430 the statement that "the relative *is not expressed* when the antecedent is indefinite" is, we think, hardly the right way of saying that relative sentences are annexed to an immediately preceding indefinite substantive without the aid of a conjunctive noun. If this be thought hypercritical there can, at any rate, be little doubt that the direct inference to be drawn from § 433, viz., that mâ, which is a relative pronoun, may have an indefinite antecedent, is irreconcilable with the rule in § 430 just referred to. We should like to know an example of the use of mâ with an expressed antecedent definite or indefinite. Apparently in cases like Kaffit ma 'andu (§ 433, *c*) Mr. Willmore looks on Kaffit as the antecedent of ma!

It is quite evident that the real distinction between ma and illî has not been apprehended by him, so it is hardly to be wondered that he fails to make it clear.

After this we are not surprised to see that mâ "may take the pronominal suffixes" (p. 270, line 1), an example of which, we suppose, is that given below—'ala qadde mâhum 'auzîn. This sort of assertion does not require serious refutation.

In §§ 263, 426, ḥagit eh is classed as an instance of the partitive genitive, doubtless on the strength of the *t* in ḥagit. With this we must express dissent, based on the meaning of the phrase, which will admit of two interpretations, but not, in our opinion, of the one given.

About râkhar we are told (§ 330, remark *d*) that "it

always agrees with the subject of the sentence." This hardly seems right. We take from Spitta, § 125 (*a*), râḵhar rabaṭûh, where it agrees with the object. Without this example we should have been sure that 'râḵhar' could and often does stand in apposition to and agree with the object or with any substantive.

§ 376 tells us that even adjectives used as adverbs will sometimes take the pronominal suffixes. A little later, in § 390, we read that pronominal suffixes are "rarely appended to adjectives, and then only of course when they are used as substantives."

From this it follows that in the example given in the first paragraph referred to ('beyinhu ḵhayif') beyin must be regarded as used as a substantive, and also from the terms of that paragraph that beyin is used as an adverb in this sentence.

It is hardly necessary to argue that beyin is not, in this case, an adjective used as a substantive; the only way in which it can be made out to be an adverb, as far as we can see, is that in English we *can* translate it by 'apparently.' But the correct equivalent of the phrase, which shows its construction, is '[it is] apparent that he is afraid.' That beyin is an adjective, the predicate of a suppressed subject, appears to us not open to question. And we are not able to admit that the example is an instance of the annexation of a pronominal suffix to an adjective. Such a construction is, we believe, impossible from the relation expressed by the attachment of these suffixes to a noun, due to the fact that they are by nature defined.

A reasonable interpretation can be found on the theory of the phrase being a contraction of beyin innahu ḵhayif, which Arabic grammar would lead one to expect, and the facility of the assimilation of *n*'s will support.

All through the chapter on verbs, transitive and intransitive, we notice no distinction between the direct object of a verb and its adverbial complement. Thus, in § 550 we gather that in the expression ana fiḍilte maḥallî, maḥallî is regarded as 'the object' of fiḍilte. Similarly, in the

examples § 554 (*c*) malît el kûz moiya, moiya is the second object of malît. It must be said that a note after this paragraph informs us that this object might be regarded as a "mere complement." Of course all depends on what is meant by the term object. If it is used in its ordinary meaning of "the word which stands for the object of the action described by the verb," as appears to be done, then surely neither maḥalli nor moiyah are the objects of their verbs.

If 'object' is intended to include all limiting adjuncts of a verb, we see no difficulty in saying that Ramaḍân is the object of Ṣâm in the expression Ṣâm Ramaḍân. But in this case a verb may have more than two objects, and the character of the various relations they express ought to be explained.

We have not been able to discover anything about the noun used to indicate the condition of the subject or object of a verb, the 'ḥâl' of Arabic. It is quite impossible to discuss all the rules of syntax in a moderate space, and would be futile. There are a great many with which we by no means agree, and consider as either misleading or wrong in principle.

A useful list of examples of the use of the various prepositions, and another of stock expressions in use on the occurrence of common events and the usual replies to them, will both be found of interest.

There remains to be mentioned a difference between Mr. Willmore and Spitta relative to the concord of the verb. The former, if we understand him rightly, makes the concord depend on the question of the definition or indefinition of the subject rather than its position with respect to the verb, which he regards as a subsidiary condition. The latter does not adopt this view.

Spitta, in his chapter on reflexives, mentions the well-known instance of the use of the pronominal suffixes to denote the reflexive pronouns as direct objects of the verb khalla. Mr. Willmore seems to have overlooked this.

We ought to be informed of the source from which the

exercises on syntax have been derived. The same remark applies to the examples throughout the book. Spitta gives us a description of the way in which his "Sprachjagd" was conducted. He assures us definitely that all the data on which his grammar is based are taken from the spontaneous speech of natives, collected in a manner which he describes. He tells us the origin of his longer prose pieces. Mr. Willmore ought to give similar information about the collection of his material. We do not find that he does so. In the absence of any it is not possible to feel the same confidence in Mr. Willmore's exercises as we can feel in those of Spitta.

We do not think that Mr. Willmore's prose contains words and combinations which are not in use. But the phraseology of some of the pieces strikes one as rather strange. Long sentences strung together with leinn, which occur very often, hardly appear typically idiomatic; the tendency of Cairene speech is, we believe, to break up sentences and to avoid complex construction.

An abnormal frequency of explanations of simple terms prefaced by ya'ni suggests conversation to a foreigner rather than from one native to another. After reading some of the pieces we are left with the impression that a native talking naturally would hardly have told the story in this way. Possibly this impression is mistaken. A satisfactory account of the manner in which the exercises were obtained, and a certainty that if they have been taken down from the mouths of native speakers sufficient precautions were taken to ensure their having been delivered in a wholly natural style, would give a guarantee of their reliability.

In conclusion, we may say that Mr. Willmore's book, by its comprehensiveness and its elaboration, claims a foremost place as a standard authority. Such a book must necessarily be submitted to the most searching examination before it attains the position which it will reach provided that it is proved to be thoroughly reliable.

The comments which we have made in the foregoing remarks concern matters that are not, we think, without some importance, but are far secondary to the accuracy of

its data. With respect to this, we have been only able to point out one or two differences between Mr. Willmore and the only recognized authority that is available, and to make a remark or two on our own responsibility, which we put forward with a full knowledge of the unreliability of memory. The test of the accuracy of the representation of the dialect, which is the most important part of the book, must be made by those living in Egypt who have opportunities for comparison with the actual speech they hear. If the result is, as we believe it will be, to establish its general trustworthiness on matters of fact, then any slight imperfections that it may contain in respect to their co-ordination and arrangement will become of very minor moment.

A. R. GUEST.

ARABIC MANUAL. (Luzac, 1901.)

This is another work on colloquial Arabic, by Mr. F. E. Crow, late H.B.M. Vice-Consul at Beirut, dealing with the Syrian dialect. It is not intended to be in any way exhaustive, but merely to serve as a practical manual for the use of visitors to Syria and Palestine. For this purpose it will doubtless be useful. It consists of a sketch of Arabic grammar followed by an excellent and comprehensive vocabulary of words in common use. The Arabic of the grammar and vocabulary is that of Beirut. As a rule, the vocabulary gives the plurals of nouns, and indicates also the formation of the tenses of the verbs, a most desirable aid to those for whom it is intended, the necessity of which is frequently overlooked in guides of the kind. One wonders why the plurals have not been given in every single case, and for what reason they are occasionally omitted.

Following the vocabulary is a series of dialogues in the Damascus dialect. These dialogues appear to be well chosen and to deal with subjects that the ordinary traveller will be likely to require.

It should be said that the European character is used throughout. Altogether, Mr. Crow's book seems to be well adapted to the purpose for which it is intended, and it will also not be without interest to those who wish to take a general view of the present dialects of Syria.

A. R. G.

Ein Sühngedicht der Bonpo. Edited by Dr. Berthold Laufer. Reprinted from vol. xlvi of the Denkschriften der Kaiserliche Academie der Wissenschaften in Wien. (Wien, 1900.)

The work of Csoma de Körös is bearing fruit now, not only in the interest felt by Sanskritists in the Buddhist works of Tibet, but in the labours of a few scholars who are devoting themselves to its indigenous literature. Of this we have a proof in *Ein Sühngedicht der Bonpo*, edited by Dr. B. Laufer from MS. 52 in the Schlagintweit Collection at the Bodleian, treating of the sacrifice to be offered by man, as tiller of the soil, to the nature deities, whose haunts are troubled by his works. Its date and author are unknown, but a reference to the 'Land of the Three Valleys' and certain dialect forms point to West Tibet as its home. By a process that combines minute statistics with sympathetic imagination, Dr. Laufer shows how the poem, though containing only about 300 lines, is not all the work of one period. A metrical analysis resolves the verses into those consisting respectively of two, three, or four dissyllabic feet followed by one accented syllable, as e.g.

"yúl la | mí ma | mkhán,"

which is the normal verse.

The occurrence of many irregular verses he explains as due sometimes to names of deities which do not fit the metre, occasionally to a desire to give dignity by a full rounding of the verse, but most frequently to an extra syllable connected with monosyllabic pronominal words or

affixes, especially the word *der*. For the facts we have statistics; the human element comes in the explanation. It appears that the MS. was not copied, but written from dictation, and may perhaps be a school exercise, even verbal directions given by the dictator being sometimes inserted in the text. The metre demands condensation and fulness of meaning, and the teacher tries to obviate the obscurity thus produced by adding particles to indicate the construction. For instance, the couplet

" klu gñan sa bdag sgrog
klu gñen sa bdag thar"

becomes enlarged for the pupil's help into

" klu gñan sa bdag gi sgrog yaṅ
klu gñen sa bdag gi thar ram phye."

Many of these lengthened lines form a helpful commentary to the text, and while the textual critic must separate them the translator will use the help they afford. We get a vivid picture of the patient teacher, also a West Tibetan, and the puzzled or inattentive pupil putting down at random the remarks of the teacher or the words of the text. We are even allowed to conjecture that the addition at the end, quite at variance with the metrical scheme of the rest, is an exercise in style by the pupil. Dr. Laufer is careful to suggest this only as a hypothesis, but it is one which may well be true. Rhyme is not uncommon, and alliteration is often used.

Three kinds of verse are distinguished. The single line, which Dr. Laufer calls *Typical*, which is repeated in different places to serve as *leit-motif*; the *Parallel* verse, such as

" sgrog tu bcags nas *h*dug
nad kyi bciṅs nas *h*dug";

and the *Corresponding* verse, which repeats part of a previously expressed whole to bring in a new thought. The first brings the leading idea of the poem and its logical conclusion, the second gives form and colour to single thoughts, and the third weaves the parts into a whole. It

is this variety of artistic handling, combined with directness, that gives the poem its charm.

Sections on phonetics, morphology, syntax, and lexicography deal in a full and scholarly manner with the fresh knowledge gained from the text. Among them we may note variations in Sandhi, the spelling *ro* for *rva*, which shows its pronunciation, and the use of *ba* after another determinative with a noun of relationship, which is also the subject of the sentence.

The poem falls into two parts, the picture of the primitive world and its contest with man.

It begins with the creation. "In the first season of the world naught was. In the chaos that has no beginning were created the elements in their turn. Moisture and water arose: from the earth, stirred up by the water, arose moisture and lakes. Then the lakes overflowed and formed many a spring, and in these lay the Nāga cities." The eight Nāga kings arose, Ananta, Takṣaka, etc., and Nāgas of the four castes, with the Caṇḍāla caste in addition. Then arose the kings of the gñan, rulers of the regions, and among others the Four Raging Brothers, the Four destroyed by sin, and the Four gñan of the year. To them were added the Earth-potentates, among whom we notice the Lord of Stones, with a pig's head, the Lord of Water, with the head of a water dragon, the Lord of Wood, with a panther's head, and the Flamingo, Lord of the Wind, while their followers were scorpions with long stings, ants with flat bodies, golden-eyed fishes, shell-white butterflies, and other creatures. "Fearlessly they dwelt in wood, fearlessly they dwelt in rock, fearlessly they dwelt on the earth." Then the land had a name, but no man dwelt therein. But in the land of Skos the King and Queen had two sons, the Elder and the Younger Brother, who worked evil. "They took the land in possession; they turned it into ploughland; they cleft rocks and built castles; they cut off water and collected it in tanks; they felled wood and burnt it on the hearth." Such sinful deeds did they bring to pass, and hated Earth-potentates, Nāgas, and gñan, and destroyed

their followers. "Then in wrath the Nāga host spread abroad like a lake; the gñan host was violent as the wind; the Earth-potentates' host crashed down like a rock," and brought upon the sons of Skos, the Elder and the Younger Brother, disease, crippling, deafness, and deformity. And a witch consulted by the King and Queen of Skos said that in such transgressions as these she had no power to help. Meanwhile the Nāgas, gñan, and Earth-potentates cried out for a loosing of their fetters, and the Skos King and Queen prepared a feast of reconciliation, to which they called the Thaṅ po and the Winged Beings (mythical beings of uncertain nature), and these demanded the presence of the Boṅ worshippers belonging to Nāgas and gñan. These came and received rich gifts, with drugs to heal their ills. Among other preparations the King and Queen "drew on white Chinese paper the land and the castles, and the shapes of Nāgas, gñan, and Earth-potentates, as large as life. Three days they heaped up gifts, and three nights with hymns and blessings gave them to the injured deities. They mended the severed bodies of the ants with red cotton, and the wings of the butterflies with blue Nāga silk. Then the sons of Skos were anointed with nectar, and healed of their diseases"; and the poem ends with the words—

"The fruitful earth is reconciled,
The crooked is made straight:
In the Three Valleys of Lahul contentment reigns . . . .
May Earth-potentates, Nāgas, and gñan be at ease,
For Earth-potentates, Nāgas, gñan, and the offerers of gifts are reconciled."

In addition to the interest of folklore and the increase of our small knowledge of the Boṅ religion, the unusual simplicity and directness of this short poem make it, especially with the help of the German translation Dr. Laufer has provided, an excellent book for the beginner in Tibetan. Its style is not the artificial one produced by translating Buddhist Sanskrit, but a genuine product of the country.

Its merits are those of the best ballad poetry, and we may hope to see in it the firstfruits of a literature valuable both for its intrinsic beauty and its human interest, while it promises well for Tibetan scholarship that its pioneers keep before them so high an ideal of scholarly work as is here visible.

C. M. Ridding.

The first part of vol. iv of the *Mittheilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, zweite Hälfte, Westasiatische Studien* (1901), is devoted to the conclusion of Mr. Wilhelm Padel's article on recent laws concerning landed property. This is followed by an article on the study of Turkish *Grundbuchwesen* by Count von Mulinen. Two other articles, the first by Dr. B. Meissner, the second by P. Léon Pourrière (written in French), deal with the Arabic dialects of Irāq and Aleppo, and are of considerable interest. Both begin with a survey of the peculiarities of the dialects in question, and are supplemented by a number of proverbs with translation and philological notes. There are many instances in the Qorān where the term *mathal* is applied to sayings and sentences of every kind, and Dr. Meissner was therefore well advised not to omit anything which seemed worthy of notice. It is altogether greatly to the credit of the *Mittheilungen* that they pay so much attention to Arabic dialectology, a field not sufficiently cultivated in this country. The lack of a centre to train young scholars in this branch becomes more marked every year. Dr. Barthold concludes his very useful essay on the writings by Russian students on Western Asiatic literature. Professor Brockelmann publishes an ancient Arab recension of the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, and Dr. Foy contributes a study on the oldest Turkish texts in Gothic transcription.

THE LAMENT OF BĀBĀ ṬĀHIR, BEING THE RUBĀ'IYĀT OF BĀBĀ ṬĀHIR, HAMADĀNĪ ('URYĀN). The Persian text edited, annotated, and translated by EDWARD HERON-ALLEN, and rendered into English verse by ELIZABETH CURTIS BRENTON. pp. xxii and 86. (London: Quaritch, 1902.)

The importance and extent of the literature of the Persian dialects has hitherto scarcely been adequately appreciated; and, so far as we can judge from a careful examination of the older documents bearing on Persian literary history, this literature was in early times, especially during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries of our era, much more important and extensive. Verses in dialect, which are, unfortunately, but seldom wholly intelligible to us, are constantly cited in historical works, treatises on prosody and rhyme, and the like, with evident approval and consideration, as productions worthy of serious attention; and we read of extensive works both in prose and verse, such as the *Marzubán-náma* and *Niki-náma* of Marzubán, the son of Rustam, the son of Sharwín Parím, a scion of one of the noble families of Ṭabaristán who lived towards the end of the tenth century of our era, composed entirely in one or other of the Persian dialects.

Of all these dialect-poems, however, few are at the present day much known in Persia outside their own districts save those of Bábá Ṭáhir. Concerning this mysterious individual but little is known, and the oldest and fullest account of him which I have met with occurs in the unique Schefer MS. of a contemporary history of the Seljúqs entitled *Ráḥatu'ṣ-Ṣudúr wa Áyatu's-Surúr*, now No. 1,314 of the *Supplément persan* in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Of this valuable and interesting history, which was composed in A.H. 599 (A.D. 1202–3), and of which this MS. was transcribed in A.H. 635 (A.D. 1238), I intend to publish a full account in the next two numbers of this Journal. This will include the text (f. 43^{b} of the MS.) of the passage

concerning Bábá Ṭáhir, of which the translation runs as follows :—

"I have heard that when Sulṭán Ṭughril Beg came to Hamadán, there were there three aged and saintly men, Bábá Ṭáhir, Bábá Ja'far, and Shaykh Ḥamshá. Hard by the Gate of Hamadán is a hill called Khiḍr, on which they abode. The Sulṭán's glance fell upon them; he halted his army, dismounted, and approached them with his Minister, Abú Naṣr al-Kunduri, and kissed their hands. Bábá Ṭáhir, who was somewhat crazy in his manner, said to him, 'O Turk, what wilt thou do with God's people?' 'Whatever thou commandest,' replied the Sulṭán. Bábá said, 'Do rather that which God commands: "*Verily God enjoineth justice and well-doing*"' (Qur'án, xvi, 92). The Sulṭán wept and said, 'I will do so.' Bábá took his hand, saying, 'Dost thou accept this from me?' 'Yes,' answered the Sulṭán. Bábá had on his finger the top of a broken ewer (*ibríq*), from which he had for years performed his ablutions. This he removed, and placed it on the Sulṭán's finger, saying, 'Thus do I confide to thy hand the empire of the world: be just!' And the Sulṭán always treasured this amongst his amulets, and when a battle was impending he would place it on his finger. Such was the purity of his faith and the sincerity of his belief; for in the Religion of Muḥammad there was none more pious than he, nor more vigilant."

Now this meeting must have taken place about A.H. 447 (= A.D. 1055–6: cf. Houtsma's ed. of al-Bundárí's History of the Seljúqs, pp. 12, 13, and 15), and thus, though the date of Bábá Ṭáhir's death (A.H. 410) given by Riḍa-qulí Khán in his excellent *Riyáḍu'l-'Árifín* (lith. Tihrán, A.H. 1305; p. 102) is evidently a mistake, the poet belongs without doubt to the early Seljúq period, so that his simple and plaintive quatrains—his "lament," as Mr. Heron-Allen appropriately terms them—which are still widely sung and recited in Persia, are nearly nine hundred years old.

These quatrains were published with a French translation

and notes by M. Clément Huart in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1885 (ser. VIII, vol. vi, pp. 502–545); and Mr. Heron-Allen, who is already well known to students of Persian literature by his contributions to the extensive literature connected with 'Umar Khayyám, and more particularly by his final settlement of the vexed question as to how far Fitzgerald's famous rendering of the Quatrains represents the Persian original,[1] has now, making use of all the available materials to perfect and complete the work of his illustrious predecessor, republished them with an Introduction (pp. i–xxiv), an English verse rendering by Mrs. Elizabeth Curtis Brenton (pp. 1–15), notes and variants on the text (pp. 19–63), and a literal prose translation (pp. 67–86). The whole makes a pleasant and readable volume, which will be welcomed by all those who are interested in Persian literature; and if it has the effect of directing greater attention to the poetry of the Persian dialects, a field hitherto but scantily explored, it will render a great service to the cause of Oriental letters.

E. G. B.

DIE LITTERATUREN DES OSTENS IN EINZELDARSTELLUNGEN. Band vi: Gesch. d. Pers. Litt., von Dr. PAUL HORN; Gesch. d. Arab. Litt., von Dr. C. BROCKELMANN. pp. 228 and 265. (Leipzig, 1901.)

This volume is the first of the above-mentioned series (which deals also with the East European literatures) treating of the literatures of Asia; and since it comprises in one compact and readable book accounts of two of the most important and interesting branches of Muḥammadan letters, each written by a scholar of distinction in a style which happily combines the scientific and the popular, it should meet with a warm welcome from all Orientalists.

[1] *Edward Fitzgerald's Rubâ'iyât of Omar Khayyâm, with their original Persian sources, collated from his own MSS. and literally translated*, by Edward Heron-Allen (London: Quaritch, 1899). The author's conclusions are summarized on pp. xi–xii of the Preface.

The first half of the volume (which is entirely independent of the second, both as regards pagination, subject-matter, preface, and index, though one cover contains the two parts) deals with Persian literature from the Avestic period till the present day. The first chapter (pp. 1–33) deals with the Avesta; the second (pp. 34–44) with the Old Persian (Achæmenian) and Pahlawí remains; the third (pp. 45–81) with the beginnings of Modern Persian literature down to the time of Firdawsí; the fourth (pp. 81–114) with Firdawsí and his predecessor Daqíqí, together with some of his successors; the fifth (pp. 114–145) with Ḥáfiẓ, Jámí, and the lyric poets, including the moderns Qá'áni and Shaybání, who died only eleven or twelve years ago, and some of the older satirists, quatrain-writers, etc.; the sixth (pp. 145–176) with the mystics, moralists, and didactic poets; the seventh (pp. 177–193) with the romanticists, notably Niẓámí and Jámí; the eighth (pp. 194–201) with the panegyrists and court poets; the ninth (pp. 201–212) with the Drama, that is to say the *ta'ziyas*, or Muḥarram Passion-Plays, and the quite modern comedies of Mírzá Ja'far Qáraja-dághí; and the tenth (pp. 212–222) with Persian prose down to modern times. It will be observed from this epitome of the contents that Dr. Horn has arranged his materials according to style and treatment rather than chronologically, but the materials have been handled in a manner which leaves nothing to be desired in a work like this, which is primarily intended for the general reader rather than the professed Orientalist, while Dr. Horn's high reputation as a Persian scholar, and the eminent services which he has rendered to the study of Persian philology and literature, are a sufficient guarantee of the excellence and accuracy of the work. The only criticisms which could be made on it are that Persian prose hardly receives the attention that it deserves; that the diaries of the late Sháh can hardly be taken as representative of all the best modern prose writing; that the early Sámánid poets (of whom our very slight knowledge rests ultimately almost entirely on 'Awfí's *Lubábu'l-Albáb*) receive a disproportionately large share of attention; and that hardly any

mention is made of the important and extensive literature which, though written in Arabic, was produced by Persians, and which, therefore, if we understand the term "Literary History" in a wide sense, believing that the special characteristics of a people are displayed not merely in their language but in their thought, ought to be considered to some extent even in a History of Persian Literature. Yet these criticisms apply to all existing works of the same character, and the force of the last is to a large extent removed by the fact that to Arabic literature in its wider sense, as including all that has been written from the earliest times to our own day in the Arabic language, the second and larger half of this volume is devoted.

In this second part Dr. Carl Brockelmann, whose more technical, and, alas! still incomplete *Arabische Litteraturgeschichte* (Weimar, 1897-) has been so precious an aid to all students of Muḥammadan literature, follows in general arrangement the lines laid down in that earlier and more elaborate work. The material is divided as follows into eight books, each of which is subdivided into numerous chapters. The first book deals with the pre-Islámic literature, which is, as is well known, almost entirely poetical; the second with the literature of the Arabs during the time of the Prophet and his immediate successors; the third with the same in the Umayyad period. With the triumph of the 'Abbásids and the consequent rise to power of non-Arabs, especially Persians, the literature produced in the Arabic language is no longer wholly or even chiefly Arabian, and hence it is no longer spoken of as "die arabische Nationallitteratur," but as "Islámic literature in the Arabic language." This literature forms the subject of Books iv–viii, of which the fourth book deals with what may be called the "Golden Age" of the 'Abbásid Caliphate (A.D. 750–1000); the fifth with the period of 'Abbásid decadence down to the Mongol invasion, fall of Baghdad, and destruction of the Caliphate (A.D. 1000–1258); the sixth with the period intervening between the events last mentioned and the conquest of Egypt by the Ottoman Sultan

Selím (A.D. 1258–1517); the seventh with the succeeding period down to Napoleon's invasion of Egypt (A.D. 1517–1798); and the eighth and last with the succeeding century, which brings us down almost to the present day.

Within the limits here imposed it is impossible to bestow on this interesting and valuable manual the fuller and more detailed notice which it so well merits, but it will certainly be read with equal pleasure and profit by all students of Islám, and by that wider circle of readers who desire to acquaint themselves with "the best that has been said and thought in the world."

E. G. B.

THE MAJJHIMA-NIKĀYA. Vol. ii (1898). Vol. iii, Part i (1899); Part ii (1900); Part iii (conclusion, 1902). Edited for the Pali Text Society by ROBERT CHALMERS, C.B. With Indices to the three volumes by MABEL BODE, Ph.D.

DIE REDEN GOTAMO BUDDHO'S AUS DER MITTLEREN SAMMLUNG (MAJJHIMANIKĀYO) DES PĀLI-KANONS. Zum ersten Mal übersetzt von KARL EUGEN NEUMANN. II^ter Band. (Leipzig: Wilhelm Friedrich, 1900.)

This year the Pali Text Society fitly celebrates its coming of age by completing its publication of this wonderful old book. It wants but the appearance of a few volumes for the whole of the Sutta Pitaka to be fully presented in scholarly collation and in Roman type. This is now the twelfth year since the Pali Text Society brought out the late V. Trenckner's great *editio princeps* of the first half of the Majjhima, and the fifth year since the editor of the remaining seventy-six Suttas began to fill up his intervals of strenuous leisure from professional work with the disinterested labour of finishing Trenckner's task. The debt that scholars of Pali and of Buddhism owe to Mr. Chalmers's conscientious workmanship, so unfalteringly carried through, cannot easily be estimated, the more so in that he is adding to their indebtedness by

preparing an edition of Buddhaghosa's Commentary, the Papañca Sūdanī, the greater part of which is so far transcribed that I have been able, with the editor's generous permission, to have access to a great part of it.

That in a lengthy foreign text the typographical errors should be so few and unimportant is a noteworthy feature. Such slips as *bhūtaṃ tucchaṃ* for *taccha*ṃ (as opposed to *rittaṃ tucchaṃ* in the preceding line) in ii, 171, and *saññaṃ* for *suññaṃ* in ii, 263, the reader need not stumble over. *Kathaṃ*, however, in ii, 35, l. 18, has been misinterpreted. But among the MSS. themselves there is now and then a partial consensus of apparent error, as, for instance, in iii, 245, where the Siamese version as well as Buddhaghosa write *abhinanditāni*, when we should look for the *anabhinanditāni* of the Copenhagen and Kandy MSS.

The editor, finally, seems to have hit the golden mean in the extent to which he has paragraphed and punctuated the text, aiding without worrying the student—*ettāvatā pi kho āvuso bhikkhuno bahu kataṃ hoti !*

Mrs. Bode's indices to the Majjhima will be hailed with grateful appreciation as an attempt to meet a great want. The time required hitherto for searching its pages for any one of the countless points of antiquarian or doctrinal interest scattered broadcast has ill-fitted into the normal span of life. It is only to be regretted that when so beneficent an aid was compiled, its range should not have been stretched yet a little further. I do not mean to say that a concordance of the Majjhima was feasible, but I do think that, had one more sheet of space been conceded to her disinterested labours, the help to a student would have been doubled. The indices of proper names and of similes would then have been really as exhaustive as they are intended to be. And that of subjects might have been made to exhaust the occurrences of the terms selected, instead of sampling the passages as has usually been the case. All rare words too, or, let us say, all that are not in Childers's Dictionary, might then have been included. For instance, names of rivers, mountains, and places of resort (at Sāvatthi, etc.) would have been useful to

some readers.[1] Had more space been available the similes would have included the beautiful and prominent parable of the creeper (*māluvā*, i, 306); that of the lamp (i, 295); of the dart (i, 429); that of the two chief apostles as parent and educator (*janetti, āpādetā*), recalling so forcibly the Christian parallel—I (Paul) have planted, Apollos watered —and the Christian divergence which completes it; that of Gotama of himself as Way-guide (maggakhāyī); those included in the striking allegory of the Vammīka-sutta, and about twenty others. Finally, we should have had such important references (doctrinally considered) as ii, 33, 36 under *attā*, iii, 42, 220 under *atammayatā*, i, 147–150 under *ñāṇaṃ* (°*dassanaṃ*), i, 167 (let alone several others) under *yogakkhemo*, i, 480 under *saccaṃ*. Unusual words like *attakāmarūpo* (i, 205; iii, 155), (*an*)*ālayo* (i, 49, 191; iii, 251), *apahattā* (i, 447), *bhūnahu* (i, 502), *amatagāmī* (i, 510), *allamattikāpuñjo* (iii, 94), *amosadhammo* (iii, 245), *abbūḷharā* (i, 414, 450), *tammayo* (i, 319), *ketubhī* (iii, 6), *passivedanā* (iii, 26), and many others would have found mention. And there would have been space for the insertion of terms of philosophical importance, or curious application, such as *parinibbāyati* of a well-trained horse (i, 446), *puttamatā* (i, 524), *aniccaṃ, anattaṃ, asmimāno, upadhi, nānattaṃ, vipassanā, samatho, sambodhi*, etc., etc. It will be thought perhaps captious to regret that the thoroughness observed in indexing the term *Tathāgato* has not been the rule throughout, but when one thinks of the splendid accessories to study enjoyed by students of the classics, of theology, and even of Sanskrit, one is apt to forget the gratitude due to ungrateful toil of this sort, and, with unreasonable impatience, to envy a younger generation who will find a concordance of at least the Five Nikāyas ready to hand.

Turning to the subject-matter of these seventy-six suttas, it may straightway be said that they contain no missing pillars of the essential structure of Buddhist doctrine. That

[1] Mallikā (devī), Subhūti and a few other personal names are omitted. Bako (*brāhmaṇo*) should be (*Brahmā*).

doctrine had, from the time of its first promulgation till the compilation of the Nikāyas, been so well elaborated, as far as it went, that almost any sample reveals the whole. Hercules stands revealed in the foot. They cannot, even as restatements and variants of this or that tenet, touch those of the first volume in breadth, grasp, and eloquence. There are indeed not wanting, in some of them, hints that seem to betray other compiling hands, later, less original. Out of the 15 vaggas of 10 suttas each, the 14th (Vibhanga-Vagga) includes two extra, that is, 12 suttas. Now the first 10 of these 12 suttas have a different form from the rest of the Majjhima. The subject is first presented as a brief 'argument' or statement (*uddesa*)[1]—a term quite familiar to Buddhaghosa, who applies it to the treatment in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. The exegesis (or *vibhaṅga*) then follows, supplied in four of the ten discourses by leading theras—a procedure which Gotama may conceivably have adopted as he grew old, to spare himself and to regulate the preaching of his future representatives. But of the two extra suttas (141–2), one—the Sacca-vibhaṅga—whereas in form it loosely resembles the other ten, is unique, if I mistake not, in taking as its text, so to speak, the fact that the Tathāgata had delivered his famous first sermon at Isipatana on the Four Truths. And the exposition contains the greater part of the concluding portion of the Mahā-saṭipaṭṭhāna-suttanta of the Dīgha-nikāya, which is omitted in the Saṭipaṭṭhāna-sutta of the Majjhima. The other—the Dakkhiṇā-vibhaṅga-sutta, with the episode of Ānanda for a second time pleading the cause of Mahāpajāpatī-Gotamī, the aunt and foster-mother of the Buddha—seems to belong, in its subject-matter, to the Vinaya.

But apart from these probably interpolated suttas, there are several lines of thought as well as terms which seem to break out in the last third of the Majjhima, but do not, so far as I can yet ascertain, form integral threads in the

[1] The two Kamma-vibhaṅga suttas (135–6) are only formally exceptions to this method.

tissue of the Dhamma. There is the prominence given to the subject of *āṇañjo* in Suttas 105, 106, 122, as one of the many modes of mental abstraction generally cultivated. The term had occurred as *āṇejjapatto* in the refrain of the self-controlled heart occurring in the Dīgha (i, 76) and in the Majjhima (i, 182, 278, 347, 522; iii, 36); also as *iñjitaṃ* in M. i, 454. But the relative value assigned to it, in those three suttas, as one of the many mental 'stations' of introspective doctrine is an exceptional feature, matched only in one passage of the Samyutta (ii, 82), and rendered the more significant in that the term is not even mentioned in the Dhamma-saṅgaṇi. Other instances of out-of-the-way treatment are (102nd Sutta) the regarding all fetches of abstraction, where a soul is postulated, as mere *sankhataṃ olārikaṃ* or grossly material. Gotama is represented, not as usual waving aside the current speculations as to the soul which were rife at Sāvatthi (and likely to infect the faithful), and thus getting on to more positive doctrine, but entering into the subject, analyzing and criticizing, more like a doctor of a church than its founder. Another feature, suggestive of later workmanship, is the exhaustive enumeration of categories of *ḍhātuyo* put into the mouth of Gotama in the Bahudhātuka-sutta (115th). Another curious feature is the way in which, in the Bāla-paṇḍita and Devadūta-suttas (129, 130; cf. A. i, 138), Gotama is made to depart from pure ethics and treat his bhikshus at Sāvatthi to details of retribution after death with a picturesqueness worthy of a mediæval friar or a village curé. Again, in Suttas 135–6 he is represented as dogmatizing about specific rebirths following on specific karmas, and on the order of effectuation in the result of this or that karma. Elsewhere, special exercises in meditation are represented as availing to determine the conditions of future life, e.g. the four Brahma-vihāras as the way to rebirth in the Brahmaloka — 'that low (*hīno*) sphere' as Gotama termed (ii, 195, 207; cf. 120th Sutta) the highest heaven of his countrymen's conception.

Three suttas — 94, 108, and 124 — deal with episodes

subsequent to Gotama's death, but, of course, this does not prove them later than the rest as compilations. The discussion by Gotama (128th Sutta) of the difficulties encountered by Anuruddha and his two brethren in the practice of Jhāna is interesting rather as the earliest (if partial) account of the process, than as suggesting later work. So, too, the windy speculations of Anuruddha himself, in the preceding sutta, discoursing in his turn, are interesting rather as contrasting with the usually more solid teaching of his Master than as indicating decadent interpolation. Once more, in the Anupada-sutta (111), the analysis of consciousness into different *dhammā* or 'states of mind' as it enters on successive stages of rapt meditation and abstraction is interesting rather as the prototype of the method followed in the first Kaṇḍaṃ of the Dhamma-saṅgaṇi than as betraying approximation in date to the latter work.

Space does not allow me to dwell on the ways in which these suttas help to body out the leading characters and doctrines of early Buddhism, as well as introduce fresh personages. A few words on each must suffice. Of the great central figure, the slight biographical touches vouchsafed show him as aged. King Pasenadi, in his glowing tribute of homage, recounted in the Dhamma-cetiya-sutta (89), speaks of both Gotama and himself as octogenarians.[1] Subha the Brahmin is a *māṇava* when first meeting the Buddha (99), and still a *māṇava* after the teacher's death (Dīgha, i, 204). Paternal solicitude seems to break through the Buddha's passionless detachment in the Cūḷa-rāhulovāda-sutta (147), when, having watched his only son's dawning arahatship, he fires him to supreme attainment with a final ray of inspiration. We see him, too, preparing the way for Sāriputta by extolling in detail his great qualities (111, 141), and, watchful at the same time over the spiritual and moral purity of the thera himself, urging on him daily self-examination—*paccavekkhitvā paccavekkhitvā* (iii, 297; cf. i, 415). And we note, in the penultimate Vagga (140th Sutta), that so well known were the characteristic features of his

[1] So Gotama of himself, i, 82.

teaching that a young man of good birth, whom the Dhamma had converted at second-hand, recognized the Master by his discourse when they two met casually to pass the night under the same roof. Turning back to the 86th Sutta, however, which gives us the authorized version of the account of Gotama's bearding the desperate bandit Angulimāla and converting him, we have an event attributed elsewhere to the fifty-sixth year of the Buddha's life.

It may also be seen, as the Majjhima draws to a close, that the proportion of the discourses said to have been uttered at Sāvatthi and the Kosalan country generally is even greater than that which obtains for the whole collection, viz. $\frac{31}{46}$ in vol. iii as against $\frac{84}{152}$. Judging by the Majjhima, the Jetavana of Sāvatthi had become the focus of the new Buddhist school. Here it is that we meet again with young Subha of Tudi, with Jānussoṇi and his gorgeous white equipage, professing fresh but apparently unfruitful adherence to the Tathāgata after each interview, as well as with other brahmins foregathering from other districts, such as Esukāri, and those who give the learned youth Assalāyana no peace till he consents to try a 'throw' of dialectic with the famous Kshatriyan teacher. Elsewhere in Kosala we meet again with the Bhāradvājas, including Sangārava, with Vāseṭṭha, as well as with the distinguished Cankī, Pasenadi's chaplain, who is said by Buddhaghosa to have convened a congress of brahmins every six months at Ukkaṭṭha to keep pure their genealogical records (*jāti*), and every six months at Icchānankala to revise the orally registered mantras.

Rājagaha of Magadha appears as a sub-headquarters of the Buddhist Order. The only new brahmin personage of that town to which this half of the Majjhima introduces us—Dhānañjāni, the ranchman—goes to justify the low esteem in which Magadhese brahmins were held,[1] for he has the reputation of being a double swindler in his official

[1] See Weber, *Lit. Gesch.*, 2nd ed., pp. 83, [redacted]ldenberg, "Buddha," 1st ed., p. 400.

capacity as tithe-collector, fleecing his fellow-brahmin grain-growers, and stinting the court on the plea that the crops were scanty. So at least the Commentator explains. Of itinerant clerics—paribbājakas—who flocked to both places we meet for the second time with leaders like Sakuludāyi (77, 79; cf. A. iv, 30, 185), and for the first time with the personality of Sumana, nicknamed Uggāhamāna, son of Maṇḍikā the samaṇā, who is quoted in Sum. i, 32, and with that of Vekhanassa, the institutes of whose Order are referred to in Manu vi, 21 (see Bühler's Introd., S.B.E., xxv, p. xxvii). An interesting feature in the otherwise insignificant grouping effected by the Vaggas is that, in the 8th and 10th, dealing respectively with instances of questions put by paribbājakas and brahmins, we can contrast the ideas habitual to either section of Indian society. The brahmins are interested in correct externals and birth-privileges; gentlemanly in deportment and without originality, they are living intellectually on the social capital of their traditions *piṭakasampadāya* (ii, 169). The paribbājakas, freed from trammels of property and caste, but without the substitution of any sounder intellectual discipline, let their imagination spread, etiolated and distorted, among mythical speculations.

Among the Sangha itself it is interesting to meet here with another early account of that cheerful missionary Puṇṇa (Pūrṇa) of the Çrōṇāparāntakas (Burnouf, *Lotus*, i, 250 foll.; *Div.* 38 foll.; cf. S. iv, 61). And we get a pleasing record of a college lecture catechetically delivered to women students in the Royal Park at Sāvatthi, a daily institution which a certain thera, Nandaka, whose turn it was to teach, wished to shirk, but was not suffered to by the Master. The lecture (146th Sutta) is on the central tenets of the faith, and the answers of the students do credit to their teaching. But the curt dismissal by the reproved teacher and the approving Master—"Go, sisters; time is up!"—is suggestive.

One more scene I must touch on is the deathbed of the Order's great patron, Anāthapiṇḍika (143). Visited by Ānanda and Sāriputta, he is honoured by an examination

into the detachment of his mind from all worldly grasping such as it was customary to hold only with dying *religieux*.

On the central doctrines of Buddhist philosophy—and for present purposes I would formulate them as follows: (1) justification of the instinct to avoid Ill; (2) rejection of the logical tenability of postulating a super-phenomenal ego, as being incompatible with the universality of Ill; (3) belief in moral causation; (4) belief in the possibility of so moulding mind and character that Ill loses all power in this life or any other,—on these doctrines the present volumes throw additional light most useful for comparative study. As to the first point, for instance, in its more positive aspect, the view taken by Gotama of the way to attain to absolute happiness, namely, by cultivating a state of mind whence the *search* for it has been eliminated (79th Sutta), may be compared with the doctrine in Sutta 75, that the lower pleasure is discarded only by the realization of its substitute as still more pleasurable. Again, as to the second point, along with frequent insistence on the anti-soul formulæ—*n'etaṃ mama*, etc., and *suññaṃ idaṃ attena*, etc.—a special feature is the use of words compounded of inflections of the first person singular,[1] with the view of emphasizing not only the better insight, but also the ethical superiority claimed by the Buddhist position. Self-reference—the holding up of one's self as an entity over against other entities, whether souls, world, or gods—was fatal to the discernment of impermanence. 'Ego-mania' (*Ichsucht*) was fatal to truly disinterested culture of life and conduct. Connecting points 2 and 3, we notice that, whereas Gotama's strong convictions with regard to what might now be called the moral conservation of energy lead him to define his Dhamma as a theory of causation (ii, p. 32), the problem of reconciling the denial of soul with the acceptance of personal 'karma' puzzled then as it may puzzle now. We again meet with the criticism (iii, 19; cf. i, 8, 258)—If *all* constituents of

[1] *Ahamkāra-mamamkāra-mānānusayo* (iii, 18, 32; cf. i, 486); *(a)tamnaya(tā)* (iii, 42, 220; cf. i, 319); *asmimāno* (i, 139), etc. Cf. A. 1, 132.

personality be empty of self, whom can deeds done without self affect? As before, Gotama does not explain. He merely demonstrates that, whatever be the solution, a permanent subject of mental phenomena could not logically be predicated of man as we here and now know him. This difficulty of reconciling a belief in moral retribution with actions as *anattakatāni* may have driven many followers to his chief aversion—that 'net for fish'—the anti-causationist Makkhali Gosāla (A. i, 33, 286), who possibly was also a disbeliever in soul. And it is not surprising that Gotama drew all earnest adherents away from considerations of 'my' actions, 'my' attainments, 'my' personal fate, to the cultivation of a purely *objectified* moral consciousness.

This brings me to a final word respecting point 4. Whether or not it may be held to betray later compilation, nothing in these volumes, especially in the last, is so thrown into relief as the importance in Buddhist ethics of cultivating psychological analysis—an examination, that is to say, into the nature of sense-consciousness. To become morally strong, the student was not, as some taught (152nd Sutta) to ignore sense-experience, but to break it up into its constituent processes and resultants, so as to divert those complex impacts of the external world from kindling delusion and passion, and convert them into the cool judgments of intellect. Of the last thirty-four Suttas no less than fifteen are concerned with this question. The 111th also, the Anupada-Sutta, in paying tribute to Sāriputta's proficiency in introspection, shows that the factors of the states of consciousness in the Dhamma-saṅgaṇi are to be understood as so many *consecutive* moments of consciousness. And the discourse which betrayed Gotama to the disciple who knew him not was not an exposition of the central Truth-tenets, but mainly an analysis of sense-experience!

Meanwhile Dr. Neumann has published the second third of his translation of the Majjhima, and given fresh proof of his rare powers of style and wealth of diction. A foreigner must speak with diffidence on such a matter, remembering

the enhancement of ideas,—to quote George Eliot—the glamour of unfamiliarity conferring dignity on subjects presented in another language. But the vivid colour and graphic force of the translation, combined with a sufficient but not excessive dash of archaism, can hardly fail to impress strongly any reader. If the literary standard is maintained to the end, the work should rank, as to style, with the great translations of world-literature.

Dr. Neumann, on the other hand, for the setting out of what he conceives to be some point in the original, seems at times, I venture to think, to flit too lightly among terms. To quote one instance out of many, to render *ussāho* by 'gelten lassen' and *chando* by 'billigen' is an uncalled-for laxity. The Commentator (if one may mention him!) seems at all events to hold that the normal meanings of *vāyamati* and *kattukamyatā* are good enough (ii, 174). Then, again, as to *paripuṇṇa-sankappā*. In vol. i (p. 304) of his translation this was rendered *wird voller Willensregungen*. Surely the point is just the opposite—the student in question becomes irrationally content, ceases to aspire higher. In the 146th Sutta it is clear that the women-students have successfully graduated, or 'fulfilled their intention.' And I shall be curious to see, in his last volume, whether the phrase *attakāmarūpā viharanti* in Sutta 128 will be again rendered (as in Sutta 31) 'selbstzufrieden scheinen'—seem self-contented. Is it not more probable (I speak without access to this part of the Commentary) that the theras are *supposed* to be engaged in pantheistic meditation, and that the meaning is 'seem to be aspiring or longing after the Ātman'? Cf. the expressions in *Bṛih. Up.*, 4. 3. 21, and 4. 4. 6. Returning to the volume under consideration, I do not hold that *pacchimā janatā* means 'posterity' in Sutta 83 any more than in Sutta 4. Gotama is mindful of the effect of his actions on the weaker among his disciples—*pacchime mama sāvake*,[1] or *istis fratribus meis minimis*, as Christ would have said. Again, when, in Sutta 100, the brahmin youth

[1] Com. on A. i, p. 61.

asks the question, rather flippantly, if there are gods, the *ṭhānaso* of Gotama's very qualified and guarded remarks is not, I think, properly rendered by *deutlich*, 'clearly.' If the use of the word in M. i, 395, with that in A. iii, 238, be compared, it will appear that the sense is probably 'speaking off-hand.' The question is put hastily with levity, and Gotama does not condescend to discuss it.

C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(January, February, March, 1902.)

I. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

I. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Band lv, Heft 1.

Grierson (G.). Notes on Āhom.

Kugler (F. X.). Astronomische und meteorologische Finsternisse.

Fraenkel (S.). Miscellen zum Koran.

Steinschneider (M.). Eine arabische Pharmakopie des xiii Jahrhunderts von Abu'l-Muna und die Quellen derselben.

Littmann (E.). Eine neuarabische Posse aus Damascus.

Fraenkel (S.). Bemerkungen zu syrischen Texten.

Lehmann (C. F.). Die neugefundene Stelen inschrift. Rusas ii, von Chaldia.

Mills (L. H.). Pahlavi Yasna X, with all the MSS. collated.

Speyer (J. S.). Ein alter Fehler in der Überlieferung der Bhagavadgītā.

Oldenberg (H.). Zur englischen Übersetzung des Kama-sūtra.

Simon (R.). Quellen zur indischen Musik.

Praetorius (F.). Die Femininbildung der Nomina auf *ān* im Syrischen.

Pischel (R.). Die Inschrift von Piprāvā.

II. Vienna Oriental Journal. Vol. xvi, No. 1.

Nöldeke (Th.). Zum Mittelpersischen.
Zachariae (Th.). Die Nachträge zu dem synonymischen Wörterbuch des Hemacandra.
Hess (J. J.). Bemerkungen zu Doughty's Travels in Arabia Deserta.
Negelein (J. von). Erklärung einer Veda Stelle.
Kirste (J.). Zur Interpretation des Veda.

II. Obituary Notices.

Elias John Wilkinson Gibb.

Born June 3, 1857. Died December 5, 1901.

Amongst the many sad losses of a year conspicuously associated with public and private mourning, one of the most irreparable, not only to our Society but to Oriental learning, is that of Mr. E. J. W. Gibb, one of the finest Turkish scholars whom Europe has ever produced, who died after a short illness of about three weeks at his London house, 15, Chepstow Villas, Bayswater, on Thursday, December 5, 1901.

Mr. Gibb was born at Glasgow on June 3, 1857, and was educated in the same city, first at Park School under Dr. Collier, the author of the *History of England*, and afterwards at Glasgow University. His taste and aptitude for linguistic studies manifested themselves at an early age, and it was perhaps the charming stories of the *Thousand and One Nights* which first inspired him with that deep love for, and interest in, the East which characterized the whole of his mature life. I first heard of his proficiency in Turkish about 1878 (some five years before I made his personal acquaintance) from the late Sir James Redhouse, to whom I had written for advice as to my own studies; and a year later (in 1879) his first published work, an English translation of the account given by Sa'du'd-Dín of the Capture of Constantinople in the great history entitled

Táju't-Tawárikh, appeared. This was followed in 1882 by his *Ottoman Poems*, wherein he first fixed and applied those principles of rendering Oriental into English verse on which his later and maturer work was based. An admirable enunciation of these principles will be found at pp. ix–x of the Preface to the first (at present the only published) volume of his great *History of Ottoman Poetry* (Luzac, 1900). Briefly stated, his opinion was that to make an adequate translation of an Oriental poem it was not sufficient to give a bald prose rendering, no matter how correct, nor even to construct an English metrical paraphrase; but that, in the words of the late Mr. J. A. Symonds, "a good translation should resemble a plaster-cast, the English being *plaqué* upon the original, so as to reproduce its exact form." To this principle, as applied by Mr. John Payne to the translation of Oriental verse into English, Mr. Gibb gave his full allegiance; and though there is much room for discussion and difference of opinion on the general question (for even the poets of Asia, when rendering Arabic verses into Persian, or *vice versâ*, have not felt bound to preserve the metre or verse-form of the original, though the same system of prosody holds good for both languages, while it is foreign to the genius of European verse), it is probable that few have succeeded so well as he did in faithfully rendering into a European language both the meaning and the form of Oriental poetry.

It was in the Summer of 1883, a year after I had visited Constantinople for the first time, that I first made the personal acquaintance of Mr. Gibb. Both of us were working at that period at Turkish, Persian, and Arabic, and both of us held strongly that the best and fullest knowledge of the East must be sought from the people of the East. We therefore arranged to spend some six weeks together in London, working at the subjects of our common interest, and cultivating the society of some of those well-read and intelligent natives of Western Asia who are at all times to be found in the Metropolis, though their number at that time happened to be unusually large. Notable amongst

them was that wonderful old man, Mírzá Muḥammad Báqir of Bawánát in Fárs, of whom I have given a slight sketch in the Introductory Chapter of my *Year amongst the Persians*. From this period, to which I look back as one of the happiest and most interesting in my life, dates my friendship with that most illustrious yet most modest scholar of whose fruitful life and premature death it is my sad duty to write the record.

In 1884 Mr. Gibb published a translation of the Turkish *Story of Jewād*, and in 1886 a translation of the *Forty Vezīrs*. A year later he printed for private circulation a small edition (50 copies) of the twelfth-century French romance of *Aucassin and Nicholete*, accompanied by a tasteful and scholarly English rendering, and at later dates he contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* the article on *Turkish Literature*, and two of the most important chapters in the *History of Turkey* published in the "Stories of the Nations" series. To his crowning work, the *History of Ottoman Poetry*, of which the first out of the projected five volumes was published in 1900 by Messrs. Luzac, I have already alluded. It was the earnest desire of his widow and his parents that the publication of this great work, the mature product of his rare learning and most diligent labour, should, if possible, be continued, and to me they have entrusted the honourable but difficult task of seeing through the press the four remaining volumes. In the *Athenæum* of January 13 of this current year I have described with sufficient fulness the state in which the manuscript was left, and that description I will not here repeat. Suffice it to say that it was nearly complete, only a few chapters in the last volume (e.g. that dealing with the work and influence of Kemál Bey, one of the founders of the Modern School of Ottoman literature) being unwritten; and that the orderly and methodical arrangement of the materials has enormously facilitated a task which, difficult as it is, would otherwise have proved almost impossible. I may add that the second volume, which was practically ready for press, has now undergone final revision, and been

placed in the hands of the careful and skilful printers Messrs. E. J. Brill, of Leyden; that some 80 pages are already in type, and that the volume will, I trust, be published in the course of this year, and will be followed as quickly as possible by the remaining volumes.

By his will Mr. Gibb has left to the British Museum his very valuable collection of Turkish and other Oriental manuscripts, which comprises some 324 volumes, and contains many extremely rare and several unique works. Of this collection a summary account is given in the number of the *Athenæum* to which I have already referred, and, should circumstances permit, I hope perhaps to describe them more fully in another number of the *Journal*. The destination of the printed Oriental books, which are also of great value, is not yet determined; but, since the chief desire of Mr. Gibb's widow and parents is that his name may be perpetuated and his work continued, it is probable that they also will be generously bestowed where they are likely to be of the greatest use to those who shall hereafter follow in the steps of him who gathered them together with such taste, judgment, and trouble.

Death is hardest to understand, and sorrow most difficult to bear, when he whom we mourn dies not at a ripe old age, his work accomplished and his labour completed, but is cut off in the very meridian of life, with faculties fully matured and energy still undiminished. We can only repeat the faith so beautifully expressed by Browning in that magnificent poem *A Grammarian's Funeral*:—

"Oh, if we draw a circle premature,
Heedless of far gain,
Greedy for quick returns of profit, sure
Bad is our bargain!
Was it not great? did not he throw on God
(He loves the burthen)—
God's task to make the heavenly period
Perfect the earthen?"

E. G. B.

III. Notes and News.

Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh.

In my article entitled "Kusinārā or Kuśinagara" (*ante*, p. 153) I stated that the great *stūpa* near Lauṛiyā in the Campāran or Motihārī district is called Nandangaṛh, not Navandgaṛh, as given by Cunningham, and that the name is derived by the villagers from the word *nanad*, 'husband's sister.' Since the publication of my article I have ascertained from Mr. J. H. Bernard, I.C.S., Magistrate of Campāran, that both these statements, which were given on the authority of Bābū P. C. Mukherjī, are correct.

According to the local legend Rājā Janak lived at Cānkīgaṛh, eleven miles north of Lauṛiyā (*ante*, p. 157). His sister was married in Lauṛiyā, and inasmuch as she was the *nanad* of the Rājā's consort, the site of her dwelling was called Nandangaṛh. Philologists may find a difficulty in deriving Nandan from *nanad*, but popular etymologists are not troubled by philological scruples.

In my article the word *nanad* is misprinted *nand*.

Vincent A. Smith.

Cheltenham, March 17, 1902.

Thirteenth Congress of Orientalists.

The Thirteenth Oriental Congress will be held this year at Hamburg from the 4th to the 10th of September. The Central Committee consists of the following:—

President: Herr Bürgermeister Dr. Mönckeberg.
Vice-Presidents: Herr Senior Dr. Behrmann and Herr Professor Dr. Brinckmann.
Treasurer: Herr Albrecht O'Swald.
General Secretary: Herr Dr. F. Sieveking.
Assistant Secretaries: Herr Dr. Max Schramm and Herr Assessor Dr. Kiesselbach.

The Congress will be divided into the following sections:—

1. Linguistic: General Indo-Germanic Section.
2. Indian; Iranian.
3. Far East.
4. Central and Eastern Asia.
5. General Semitic Section.
6. Islam.
7. Egyptian and African Languages.
8. Communication between the East and the West—
   (*a*) In olden times.
   (*b*) In the Middle Ages, modern times (inclusive of Byzantine Studies).
9. Colonial Section.

Intending members should address the General Secretary, Herr Dr. F. Sieveking, 2, Börsenbrücke, Hamburg.

Subscription to the Congress, £1. Tickets of membership can be obtained now from the Treasurer, Herr A. O'Swald, Grosse Bleichen 22, Hamburg.

IV. Additions to the Library.

Presented by the India Office.

McCrindle (J.). Ancient India as described in Classical Literature. 8vo. *Westminster*, 1901.

Presented by the Ministère de l'Instruction Publique française.

Kern (H.). Histoire du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde. (Musée Guimet.) 8vo. *Paris*, 1901.

Presented by the Société Finno-Ougrienne.

Ramstedt (G. J.). Bergtscheremissische Sprachstudien. 8vo. *Helsingfors*, 1902.

Presented by the Netherlands Government.

Brandes (Dr. J.). Beschrijving des Javaansche, Balineesche en Sakasche HSS. in de Nalatenschap van Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk. Stuk 1. 4vo. *Batavia*, 1901.

Presented by l'École des langues orientales vivantes.

Courant (M.). Supplément à la Bibliographie Coréenne. 8vo. *Paris*, 1901.

Cordier (H.). L'Imprimerie Sino-Européenne en Chine. 8vo. *Paris*, 1901.

Delafosse (M.). Essai de Manuel Pratique de la langue Mandé ou Mandingue. 8vo. *Paris*, 1901.

Presented by the Author.

Sen (D. C.). Bangabhasha Sahitya, a History of Bengali Language and Literature. 12mo. *Calcutta*, 1901.

Johnstone (P. de Lacy). Muhammad and his Power. 8vo. *Edinburgh*, 1901.

Sarkar (Professor Jadunath). The India of Aurangzib compared with the India of Akbar. 8vo. *Calcutta*, 1901.

Ghose (N. N.). Memoirs of Maharaja Nubkissen Bahadur. 8vo. *Calcutta*, 1901.

Tripāṭhi (M. S.). A Sketch of the Vedanta Philosophy, to which is prefixed the Life of Sujna Gokulaji Zālā, a typical Vedantīn. 8vo. *Bombay*, 1901.

Strong (Major-General D. M.). The Doctrine of the Perfect One. Pamphlet.

——— The Udāna. 8vo. *London*, 1902.

Aiyer (V. G.). The Chronology of Ancient India. 8vo. *Madras*, 1901.

Presented by Dr. Cust.

A bound set of the Society's Journals from 1890 to 1900.

Presented by the Publishers.

Thimm (C. A.). Hindūstānī Self-Taught. 8vo. *London*, 1902.

Barth (J.). Diwān des Umeir ibn Schujeim al-Quṭāmī. 4to. *Leiden*, 1902.

Lefmann (Dr. S.). Lalita Vistara, Leben und Lehre des Sākya-Buddha. Teil i: Text. 8vo. *Halle*, 1902.

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XVII.—*The Georgian Version of the Story of the Loves of Vis and Ramîn.* By OLIVER WARDROP.

THE Persian poem of Wis and Ramîn, by Fahraldin Asád Al Astarabadi Al Fakhri Al Gurgani, was published at Calcutta in 1864–65 by Captain W. Nassau Lees, LL.D.; an exhaustive account of it, by K. H. Graf, will be found on pp. 375–433 of vol. xxiii of Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1869.

In 1884, "Visramiani," in the Georgian language, edited by Prince Ilia Chavchavadze, Al. Sarajishvili, and P. Umicashvili, was printed at Tiflis (pp. xii and 477, 8vo). The edition is a model of careful editing. Extracts of the work had already been printed by D. Chubinov in his Chrestomathy, with occasional variants of trifling importance. No other printed versions exist in Georgian. All the MSS. extant were used for the 1884 edition; none of them is older than the seventeenth century; doubtless a very large number of MSS. were destroyed by the clergy, especially in the eighteenth century, when the Catholicos Antoni burned nearly all the secular literature which failed to satisfy his taste.

"Visramiani" is attributed to Sargis T'hmogveli, who flourished in the reign of Queen T'hamara. This would

make the date about 1200, or a few years earlier. Rust'haveli, in the "Man in the Panther's Skin," refers to the story of Vis and Ramîn in the following lines :—

182. "Such grief neither Ramin nor Vis saw."
1071. "P'hatman was dying for lack of him, like Ramin without Vis."

Even if Sargis be not the author of the Georgian version, the style, vocabulary, and grammatical forms are not later than those of the period of T'hamara. The book reads like an original work, and purely Georgian expressions and allusions are freely used; there are even occasional references to the Christian religion—

"The king himself was a fire-worshipper, and all his kingdom. This king was before the coming of Christ" (ch. ii).
"When the priest plays a two-stringed instrument what can the deacon do but dance?" (ch. xxiii).

The story begins in the following manner :—

Ch. I. *The Beginning of the Story of Vis and Ramin.*

In the land of Khvarasan and Adrabadagan there was a great and mighty Sultan, Tughlurbeg, lord of many hosts, powerful, glorious, sovereign of all Persia. Only the city of Aspaan was lacking to his kingdom.

All his nobles and great men assembled and said: "Inasmuch as you, mighty and greatly renowned Sultan, possess your throne and kingdom in power and glory, and this is His will and choice that all Islam should be obedient to your command and should swear by your sun, now we counsel your Majesty to do this: to assemble your armies and march against the city of Aspaan. Whoever is not obedient to your sway, and does not seek peace, shall he not be straightway subdued? and henceforth if any dare

to disregard your commands, let your unrelenting wrath fall upon him, and so let your will and desire be accomplished."

The king hearkened to them, he summoned his three kingdoms. Then he divided his armies, and sent one to Kirman, one to Musul, one to Havaz; some he sent to the provinces of Somkhiti (i.e. Armenia), some to Greece. And all, from everywhere, returned victorious and triumphant.

Then came an ambassador from Arslan-Khan in order to arrange a matrimonial alliance, and he brought countless gifts. At the same time there came an ambassador from the King of the Greeks, and presented gifts of beautiful raiment, and among those gifts was a jewel, a red jacinth, weighing six and twenty drams. At Aspaan he donned the raiment sent by the King of the Greeks, and all Moslems did him homage, both foreign monarchs and his own nobles; and he was extolled by all, because of the honours, gifts, and embassies he had from all monarchs.

And this Sultan had such servants and slaves that on the face of the whole earth there were none like unto them. Among them was a renowned, generous, wise-minded man, complete in manhood, fearless, prudent, cheerful, faultless in speech, brave and a seeker after wisdom, perfect in all virtues, handsome; he knew well the art of healing; a lover of all men, a man of God, and he was lord of a great land. Besides all these virtues, he was a seeker after strange stories and poetry.

When the Sultan had taken the city of Aspaan he left his army and departed, leaving Ibdal-Melik vizier in Aspaan. While (Ibdal) was on a journey he saw a man of Jorjan, and the man pleased him, and began to tell stories of what he had seen. At night he was by his side, and in drinking Ibdal enquired: "Dost thou not know that there is a story of Vis and Ramin? I greatly wish to hear their story, and for a long time I have sought it: I have heard of their virtues."

P'hakhp'hur replied: "I know it all, and I have heard of their virtues and their royal character, for it is a good, pleasant story, told by wise men, and composed in the

P'halauri (i.e. Pehlevi) tongue; but since nobody knows P'halauri very well, no one can translate it. Now, if thou commandest me, I will try to translate their story into Persian."

Ibdal-Melik-Abunasar thanked him for this, and gave him hope of reward. Then P'hakhp'hur spoke thus: "Since it is so, and their story is naturally liked, and it is desired that I should tell it, I will narrate[1] it and translate it. Since their name is great in the land, my name too will by this means remain in the land."

Accepting this as it stands, it would seem as if the Georgian translator had used a modern Persian text made from a Pehlevi original in the reign of Tughlurbeg, between 1042 and 1055 A.D. But the text of the passage is very corrupt, and there is ground for suspicion that it may have been prefixed to the story by a scribe of much later date.

In writing this paper my object is to appeal to students for information as to the probable source of the Georgian version. Several hypotheses may be considered.

1. That it is a translation of the poem of Al Gurgani. Against this are the following serious objections:—

(*a*) A translation from a poem would certainly have been in poetical form. The Georgian language lends itself to rhythm and rhyme to an extraordinary degree; narrative verse is perhaps easier to write than prose.

(*b*) The resemblance between the Georgian prose and the Persian verse is not sufficiently great to justify the supposition; at most it would only give ground for the hypothesis that the two were drawn from the same prose source.

2. That it is merely an adaptation of the Persian poem.

3. That it is a translation or adaptation of a Persian prose translation of the old Pehlevi romance. This is the opinion which, subject to advice from scholars, I am inclined to adopt.

[1] Literally, "in a measured (or metrical) form."

4. That it should be a direct translation from Pehlevi into Georgian seems improbable, even if the first chapter be admitted to be a forgery. Yet something can be said on behalf of this view. There is little doubt that Pehlevi was understood in ancient Georgia, and while the style of the Georgian version seems to point to the fact that it could not have been made later than the T'hamarian age, it is impossible from internal evidence to assert positively that it may not have been of much earlier date.

In order to supply readers with materials for coming to a decision it seems to me that it will be well to print here passages selected from various parts of a complete English manuscript translation recently made.

Ch. II. *The Story of Vis and of Ramin and his elder brother Shah Moabad.*

There was once a great and mighty king of Adrabagan and ruler of all the provinces and countries, lord of great treasures. He held Khorasan, Turkistan, Eraq, Adrabadagan, Koistan, Khuarazm; he was lord of lands and seas and famous over all Persia. Many kings he had under him happy and secure, and in those days there was no man disobedient to his word. The king himself was a fire-worshipper, and all his kingdom. This king was before the coming of Christ, and his name was Shah Moabad. He had a brother called Zard, and he was Shah Moabad's vizier.

As is the custom with the Persians, they made a great assembly and celebrated the New Year (Navroz) with such magnificence that it cannot be conceived by the mind of man. Let us tell somewhat of the pomp of their Bairam-Navroz celebration. On that day came the kings who were his vassals, and the magnates with their wives and children, to rejoice and to do homage: men of Shiraz, Aspaan, Eraq, Jorjan, Gelan, Ardavel, and Bardavel; Shahp'hur of Gelan and Zard himself, brother and vizier of Shah Moabad, and the nobles of the whole land, with their womenfolk, went

to Shah Moabad to Khuarasan, to the city of Marav (Merv). They came forth, and each ordered his footman to set up tents and apartments in the field. "Adorn the plains," said they. All this grandeur excelled the power of imagination. They came to the plain, they brought wall carpets, the footmen and other servants adorned the orchards and filled them with household goods and treasures. They hurried on the elephants and camels bearing loads of treasures. Whatever was befitting to His Majesty that they sent to him.

He called the monarchs and the nobles: whoever was worthy to sit down, seated himself, and as for the others who were there, they stood each with his staff in his hand. They invited the queens and the dames to sit down honourably, they led in many kinds of skilful maiden minstrels, on the one hand the lovers of the rose (i.e. nightingales) warbled on the rose, and on the other hand the singers sang their songs. The wives of the monarchs, and the dames, fair as sun and moon, sat down. Two beautiful ruby tints there were among the ladies, one of the face and the other of the wine. They burned aloes, musk, and amber, and the fragrance thereof made as great a smoke as a cloud, and its colour was like the hair of the dames. Their wealth and fortune, treasure and riches, were heavier than a mountain, and the sorrow among them was lighter than chaff. And from all lands folk came to look at the ladies, to gaze at their brides. There were the fairest among the new brides, and in gaining them much blood will be spilt. There was Sharo Mahdukht of Adrabadgan, Manosh of Asp'hburgan, Naslakit'h of Dehistan, Dinirges and Zarniges, maids from the roots of the mountains, Shirin and Gurges of Aspaan, two sunlike beauties, Abanozn, Abanoed, two pretty damsels, daughters of scribes, the wife and Shakarlab the daughter of Iasaman the vizier, and Abanosh of Eraq, the tender Adragun and Gulguno, Shainam and Khaibla of Shiraz, and Shah Moabad's wives; there were Chinese, Turkis, Barbarians, Greeks, noblemen's daughters, and Khuarazmi was the lady

of these queens.[1] Each was more beautiful than the other. No one can fittingly tell forth their praise, in face and form they were faultless in all points. All were seated before King Moabad.

The monarch Shah Moabad was a lover of women; he gazed, he rejoiced, he gave gifts, and bade the minstrels sing; some he made to joust in the lists, some to sport with spears, and the lovely damsels to sway to and fro in the round dance.

For a week they made merry with great rejoicing. He gave away all the jewels, pearls, and treasures which had been used in their drinking and rejoicing at the feast. He satisfied great and small, none there was neglected. Thereupon Shahro, the elder born, with smiling face jested with Shah Moabad. When Shah Moabad heard the words of Shahro he spoke thus:—

"Ah, rose, thou that smiling speakest! May I ever see thee merry! Since in the days of thine old age thou art such a ravisher of hearts, what must thou have been in the time of thy youth! Since thou art thus when thou art a half-faded rose, how could those who erstwhile saw thee live or have reason! Now that my heart is darkened and I am without hope, do not cut me off from thy race; wed me to thy daughter, for the fruit is like the seed, and thy daughter is like thee. My fate and future will then be more blessed when of thy race a sun like thee shall shine in my palace. And if I find a sun on earth I shall not need a sun in heaven."

Thus in reply spoke Shahro the fair: "O most sovereign of sovereigns! Nothing better could befall us than to have thee for son-in-law if God had been merciful and had given me a daughter; but, by thy sun, I have no daughter, otherwise I would have told thee. Hitherto no girl child has been born to me, and if now one shall be given to me without fail I shall tell you."[2]

[1] Perhaps "the Khuarazmian ladies excelled all the foreigners in beauty." The whole passage appears to be very corrupt.

[2] Throughout the work the second person singular and second person plural are used irregularly.

Then Shah Moabad made her swear: "Swear unto me that if a daughter be given thee she shall wed none save me."

The wife of Qaran, the mother of Viro, made a solemn vow with an oath: "If a daughter be given me I shall wed her to thee, and she shall be thy wife."

Shahro's husband was called Qaran. But Shahro was of nobler birth than Qaran; she was of the race of King Jimshed, who was the fifth king after Adam.

They mixed musk and rose-water and therewith they wrote down the oath, and they made a contract together: "If a daughter be given to Shahro, Shah Moabad's wife shall she be."

Behold what sorrow they both were to see: He is to wed the unborn, and the mother betroths the unborn.

Ch. VIII. *Here is the great Battle between Moabad and Viro.*

When from the east came forth the sun, whose vizier is the moon and whose throne is the morning, both hosts formed early in battle array and both monarchs in pomp came forth before their armies to battle. On both sides began the beating of copper drums, the cry of the trumpets, the voice of the clarion; it was, so to say, the noise of devils, for whoever heard that din everyone at the sound became a foeman to another. It was such a clatter that old corpses which had crumbled to earth would have trembled in the ground for fear of it.

They hurled themselves one upon another, and the shock was like autumn wind casting down the leaves from the tree. Two armed men by the clash of such an encounter were cut down, and from both sides drum and trumpet shrieked: "Haste ye, O ye ravishers of life!" The trumpet evidently knew of their death, it wept for them even beforehand. The sharp swords in the hands of the warriors smiled like lightning on their souls. The heroes in the plain were like lions, and in the mountains like fierce panthers, and even they who were experienced, they in the

battle became mad, of a truth they were mad and full of hate, so that they feared neither fire nor water, neither sword, lance, scourge, nor arrow, neither lions nor elephants. In that battle there were heroes such that they sacrificed their sweet souls for glory and did not fear death. They only feared shame and flight. The air was like a forest with the multitude of lances and standards, the earth was like a cedar-grove with the many kinds of flags; on some the lion sits, on some a peacock, on some a vulture, on some an eagle. The earth was suddenly become dust, it rose to heaven and poured down upon the heads of the soldiers. Many youths became like old men and black horses grew grey. Cowards and brave men were recognized by this, that the cowards were melancholy and the brave were gay. The face of the brave was like the flower of a pomegranate, of the cowardly like a scorpion with yellowness.

The two armies met like two mountains of steel falling together. Between them, like messengers, the arrows of poplar with eagles' plumes came and went steely-faced; such beloved messengers were they that they penetrated even to the heart and to the eyes, no other place would please them, and into whatever abode such a messenger came he carried off with him the master and host. The battle became so keen that they saw eternity clearly. Brother became careless of brother, and in that hour none had helper or succourer save his own right arm. Whoever had a powerful arm used his sword as it seemed good to him. The warriors seemed tongueless amid the wind of battle and the noise of the trumpet. Nothing else was heard. Sometimes a sword clove chain armour like water, into the eyes of some an arrow stole like sleep, into the hearts of some a lance crept like love; halberts penetrated the heads of some—the merry halbert sought to learn from the brain in what part of a man's form God had implanted the soul; the sword entered by one path and the spirit came forth by the same path. The steel swords were like a blue cloud, but it rained, and the shower which came forth from it was red. In the battle the arrow was like a sempstress, for it sewed the bodies to the saddle.

Until evening the two armies prolonged the battle. In the melly one was like a leopard and one a wild goat. Qaran, the father of the well-beloved Vis, was slain by his foes, and round about him were slain a hundred and thirty nobles, braves of Viro. There rained, so to say, drops of rain that was death. So many men were slain that heap upon heap of corpses lay piled, and round about them flowed streams of blood.

When Viro saw his father Qaran slain, and so many nobles lying devoted beside him, he called to his magnates:—

"Brothers! in a battle sloth is monstrous and a shame to brave men. Are you not ashamed that so many of your race are massacred for the enemy to rejoice over? Have you no shame for the sake of Qaran, whose white beard has been crimsoned by blood? and that such a monarch lies miserably slain? Is there no avenger of blood among so many warriors? The sun of heroism and glory-seeking is set, for no one seeks any longer fame or heroism. I have not yet sought to avenge his blood, and have not rejoiced myself over the enemies. Now night is falling and it will soon be dark. The soldiers retreat. Since morning you have shown great bravery and waged battle, now I will attack, and let your prowess help me and aid me to seek to avenge my father's blood. And be ye all like dragons in the search for blood and in boldness, so that I may not bring shame on my race. Now are the days of death from my sword. Fate and the world I despise. I will be delivered from shame and from the rotten Moabad, and I will rejoice the soul of my father by slaying him."

When he had spoken thus, he fell upon them together with his nobles, men at arms, and chosen troops; like fire he burned and there was no help for him (or, he was not master of himself). Moabad's soldiers were like a flood rushing down a mountain slope, for they could no longer conceal themselves. Their caress was lance, sword, and arrow. In slaying one another, friend was worse than foe, father became heedless of his son, son of his father, and friend of his friend. Whoever met another spared not to

slay. It became so dark that nothing could be seen before the eyes. Brother slew brother and father son. The lances were like spits, instead of roast meat there were men, and the earth, from the flow of blood, was like a winepress. Death was, as 't were, a powerful wind which scattered men's heads like leaves from a tree; the heads of the warriors were like balls in the playing-field (*maidan*), and their forms like felled trees in a thick wood. When the sun set it seemed as if Moabad's fate set with the sun, and fate had cut off hope of the monarchy of Moabad.

Moabad fled even unto Ispaan and Khuarasan. And when his soldiers saw him flee all fled. The chief of his soldiers were slain, and if darkness had not come on Moabad himself could not have escaped. But Viro and his nobles no longer pursued. They thought since Moabad was fled he would not fight them any more again as long as he lived.

His idea was one thing and God's decree was otherwise.

When Viro saw that Moabad had fled he rejoiced, and lo! he had not alighted from his horse before the Delamis and Gelanis and the Kiamanis (var. Kirmanis, Gelanelis, and Iamanelis), countless as sand, wild goats, rain, and the leaves of trees, fell upon Viro. Viro's soldiers and the outlanders, whoever was foreign, all fled without fighting the Gelanis and the Delamis, because they were marvellously many and their leaders were renowned for valour. When Viro knew of their coming and of the flight of his soldiers he was astonished at the deed of Fate, which is inconstant, its bitterness and joy are a pair, like the brightness of day and the darkness of night. In this fleeting world grief is more than joy, and the heart of the wise and prudent is timid in Fate's hands. When Fate had rejoiced over Moabad, the same Fate frowned on his foes. With a sweaty and dusty face Viro stood, his bloody sword he did not sheath, with a few soldiers he directed himself against the king of the Delamis in battle with naked sword.

When Moabad heard this news, how Viro had gone against the Delamis and the Gelanis, at the same moment he turned back, and since he felt no fatigue he went so

swiftly that the wind could not overtake his dust. He came with his army to Gorab, where was the house and dwelling of Vis.

Ch. XXVIII (extract). *Moabad lights a fire for Vis to swear by.*

"There is nought better than this, that thou shouldst swear to me; it will save from suspicion and reproach, and will bind the tongue of everyone who slanders thee. Now will I light a great fire, I will make smoke of aloes and musk; swear to me by this fire, before all the nobles and soldiers, pass through the midst of it, so that at the moment when thou swearest to me thou mayst become pure in soul from sin. After this, none will dare to reproach thee nor speak an unpleasing word. Then thou shalt be my soul and fate (or world), I shall love thee like my life, I shall give thee my kingdom besides and show forth thy purity."

Vis replied: "Do so. Thou shalt purify and I too shall be purified by this. As long as thou suspectest in thy heart that I am not pure, thou harmest thy soul and all religion. It is better to see sin and hide it than not to see it and speak slander."

Then Shahinshah called together all the servants of fire, his nobles and armies, and sacrificed on the altar great possessions, so that of each it is impossible to tell the quantity—gold, jewels, pearls, villages. Thence they caused a little fire to be taken, in the *moedan* (public square) they lighted with it a great mountain of fire, so that its heat reached unto heaven and its flame was like a fair woman in a linen smock walking delicately. The greatness of the fire lighted up the whole land, and it was consumed by the heat, as a lover is consumed by absence, and its smoke darkened the air of heaven. And none knew for what reason Shahinshah had lighted such a fire, and it mounted so high that its flame warmed the moon. There stood

together before the fire the nobles of Khuarasan. Vis saw that fearful fire from Moabad's tower, and said to Ramin :—

"Behold the deed of that man, how he has lighted a great fire for us and wishes to burn us in it! Now, before he burn us, come let us both steal hence. We shall cause Mobad's[1] heart to burn in this same fire. Moabad said to me yesterday: 'Swear that thou hast not had Ramin.' And I began to discourse and cheated him. Now they have lighted a great fire before the citizens and soldiers, and he will make me walk in this fire, he will bring me to shame before these men, and thus he said to me: 'Thou shalt go in naked before these men, that none may slander thee with Ramin.' . . . . "

Ch. XLII (extract). *Wedding of Ramin and Gul.*

. . . . Ramin held Gul by the hand. She poured a hundred vessels full of jewels and pearls at Ramin's feet (var. Ramin poured at (his father-in-law) Rap'hed's feet), she seated him on a golden throne. Whoever of their kinsfolk were magnates and nobles they called them all and made merry. In confirmation of the deed Ramin swore solemnly by their (? local) oaths, by God and fire, that: "As long as the earth endures, and Geon (i.e. Gihon) flows a stream, as long as fish are found in the sea, or the sun and moon have brilliance, as long as night is dark, as long as wind blows on the mountains, and beasts feed in the plains, I living shall seek none save Gul, I shall desire no other wife nor friend, nor shall I mention the sorceress Vis as if I had ever loved her. As long as I live Gul shall be my heart.[2] I have separated myself from other love, and am weary of it. The rose,[2] a rose in name, is mine—my wife—and Gorab is mine abode. As long as I have the rose I shall not smell a violet, as long as there is a moon I shall not esteem the light of the stars."

[1] The Shahinshah's name is inconsistently spelt—Mobad, Moabad, Movabad, Muvabad, Muabad. Cf. Khvarasan, Adrabagan, etc., in Ch. I.

[2] A play upon words—*guli* means a heart in Georgian, a rose in Persian.

CH. XLVIII (extract). *The First Letter of Vis to Ramin.*

A letter was written from the sorrow-stricken Vis to the merry and light-hearted Ramin. Instead of paper was used Chinese vellum (*petraconi*), for ink T'humbut'hian (Tibetan) musk, an Egyptian reed (*calami*), rosewater from Nisib, and inkhorns of Saman aloe (? 'aloe of the plains,' reading *samindoruli*), the scribe himself a Kaj-like (i.e. possessed of supernatural cunning) finder of words, his words were mingled with sugar and pearls. . . . .

CH. LXXXIX (last chapter). *Ramin's Accession and Death.*

When they told Ramin of this death (of Moabad) by mischance, and how the dragon had swallowed unexpectedly the sun of the world, he showed much outward grief, he made mourning and lamentation for the dead. But in secret he gave God great thanks that He had done thus, and had not brought about a war in which the blood of the poor would have been shed. Moabad was dead, Ramin's desire was fulfilled. He did homage to God and indited a song of praise. . . . . (Here follows an account of Ramin's reign until the death of Vis.) He summoned his eldest son, Khorshed, the grandees and the troops. And he set Khorshed on the royal throne, placed the crown on his head, girt a sword about his loins, blessed him as king, and called his name Khuasrov. Thus he spoke: "Eighty and three years have I been a happy monarch. Now have I given thee my property and the throne, for ruling beseems and befits thee too. God make thee happy! Thou art a young man and thy fate is young too. Bring not shame upon Vis, thy mother, nor upon me. Do what thou hast seen me do, that I may not judge thee when God asks me in that other world. Have a care of divine things, be zealous for justice." He confided to him his crown, throne, kingdom, troops, and treasures. He came not forth from Vis's sepulchre till the time of his death, nor opened the door, and no man saw him.

For lack of space, these extracts must suffice. They will, perhaps, furnish material for some opinion as to the probable date of the Georgian text. As a story, "Visramiani" has great merits, and would be read by any cultivated reader with keen interest. Apart from the vivid sketches of ancient life and manners, there is everywhere apparent a strong sense of humour which prevents even the lyrical passages from becoming tedious.

ART. XVIII.—*Description of Persia and Mesopotamia in the year* 1340 A.D. *from the Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb of Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfi, with a summary of the contents of that work.* By G. LE STRANGE.

(*Continued from p.* 266, *April Number*, 1902.)

Chapter 10. *Kurdistān.*

Contents: Alānī, 167*q*; Alīshtar and Bahār, 167*r*; Khuftiyān, 167*s*; Darband Tāj Khātūn and Darband Zangī, 167*t*; Darbīl, 167*u*; Dīnavar, 167*v*; Sulṭānābād Jamjamāl, 167*w*; Shahrazūr, 167*y*; Kirmānshāh, 168*a*; Kirind and Khūshān, 168*f*; Kanguvar, 168*h*; Māyidasht, 168*k*; Harsīn, 168*l*; Vasṭām, 168*m*.

The description of Kurdistān given by Mustawfi (which Ḥājji Khalfah has copied almost verbatim into his *Jihān Numā*) presents a number of small problems which I find myself unable satisfactorily to solve. Kurdistān, or the Land of the Kurds, is not mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers, and it appears to have been first erected into a separate government under the Saljūḳs, who, in the time of Sulaymān Shah, divided it off from the rest of the Jibāl Province, which they called Persian ʻIrāḳ, as explained in Chapter 2. Sulaymān Shāh, under whose rule Kurdistān appears to have flourished greatly, surnamed Abūh (or

Ayūh) was the nephew of Sultan Sinjar, who had appointed him governor of this province, and Sulaymān Shāh at a later date—that is, from 554 to 556 (1159 to 1161 A.D.)—became for a short time the Saljūḳ Sultan of the Two 'Irāḳs, and chief of his house.

Alānī (thus in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 450, though some MSS. read Alābī) was one of the chief towns of the province of Kurdistān, but no trace of it is to be discovered on the present maps, it is mentioned apparently by no other geographer, and is not marked in the Itinerary. At Alīshtar (the next town named by Mustawfi) there was an ancient Fire-temple called Ardahish (or Arakhash), and Alīshtar [**1**] would appear to have been some town in the well-known plain of this name, still so marked on our maps. This town is possibly that given in Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 259), and others, as lying ten farsakhs south-west of Nihāvand, being twelve leagues north of Sābūrkhwāst. The older geographers, however, spell the name Lāshtar, and the MSS. of the *Nuzhat* give every variety of reading for this name—such as Alīsht, Al-Bashr (so in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 450), Alīshar and Basht—so that the identification given above is more than doubtful; and in regard to the Fire-temple I am at a loss for any further references.[1]

The town of Bahār [**2**], with its castle, which Ḥamd-Allah reports to have been the capital of Kurdistān in the days of Sulaymān Shāh, lies some eight miles to the north of Hamadān. Khuftiyān (given as Khunyān, Huḳhān, Jufbān, and Khaysān, with diverse other readings in the MSS., the form Ḥaḳshiyān being printed in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 450) is difficult to identify; it was a fine castle, according to Ḥamd-Allah, that stood on the bank of the Zāb river (but

[1] On his march from Tustar to Shīrāz, Timur, according to 'Alī of Yazd (i, 600), after crossing the Āb-Shīrīn, camped on the Plain of Lāshtar, and two days later coming to the river of the Sha'b Bavvān valley, halted at Basht. Both places will be found on the modern map, and naturally suggest themselves as possible alternatives, one or other, for the town of Kurdistān mentioned by Ḥamd-Allah; but unfortunately both would appear to be out of the question, and too far south (being well within the boundary of Fārs) ever to have been counted as of Kurdistān. The *Jihān Numā*, as usual, merely copies the *Nuzhat* without comment.

whether Upper or Lower Zab is not stated), being surrounded by many villages.

The towns of Darband (Pass of) Tāj Khātūn and Darband Zangī, also, are neither of them marked on the map; Darband Tāshī Khātūn, however, is frequently referred to by 'Alī of Yazd (i, 585, 599, 640) in his account of the marches of Timur through Kurdistān. Dirbīl, or Dizbīl, 'a medium-sized town,' likewise is not found either on the map or in the works of the earlier Arab geographers; the spelling, however, is most uncertain, the MSS. giving Darsīl, Wazpal, etc., with some other variants.

Dīnavar, the ruins of which have been described by De Morgan (*Mission en Perse*, ii, 95, 96), was still, when Mustawfi wrote, a fine town, and produced excellent corn crops. The ruins of Jamjamāl [**3**] are marked on the maps as lying due east of Kirmānshāh and south of Bīsūtūn [**7**], this position (for there are other villages of the same name) being confirmed by the distances given in the Itinerary (Route ii); and our author states that this place, called more especially Sulṭānābād Jamjamāl, was at one time the capital of Kurdistān, and that it was founded by Sultan Uljaytū the Mongol. The city of Shahrazūr [**4**] is to be identified with the ruins at Yāsīn Tappah, in the present plain of Shahrazūr. The town was known to the Persians as Nīm-Rāh—'Half-way'—that is, lying half-way between the ancient Fire-temple at Madāin and the Temple on the Adharbayjān frontier at Satūrīḳ (already mentioned above in Chapter 2), which Sir H. Rawlinson has identified with Shīz of the Arab geographers (see J.R.G.S., x, 65).

Kirmānshāh, which the Arabs called Ḳirmīsīn, was celebrated for the sculptures in the neighbouring mountain of Bīsūtūn. Kirind [**5**] and Kūshān were two villages at the head of the Hulwān pass; the name of Kūshān has now apparently disappeared from the maps, though Kirind remains; and this latter in the time of Mustawfi was the less important place of the two. Kanguvār, which the Arabs called Ḳaṣr-al-Luṣūṣ—'Robbers' Castle'—according to our author had been built with stones taken from the ancient

site at Bīsūtūn. Māyidasht, or Māhidasht, is still the name of the great plain watered by the Kirind river; and Harsīn [6], the name of a castle and town, lies some miles south-east of Kirmānshāh. Finally, Vasṭām [7], or Basṭām, is apparently the hamlet near the present Ṭāḳ-i-Bustān, at the foot of the Bīsūtūn hill, for it is described as a large village lying over against the great Achæmenian sculptures, which represent, according to the Persians, King Khusrū Parvīz and his horse Shabdīz, with Queen Shīrīn, and these Mustawfi carefully describes in his account of the Bīsūtūn mountain (L. 203*f*).

Chapter 11. *Khūzistān.*

Contents: Tustar, 168*p*; Ahwāz, 169*c*; Tarb, 169*e*; Junday Shāpūr, 169*g*; Ḥawīzah, 169*j*; Dizfūl, 169*l*; Daskarah, 169*q*; Rāmhurmuz, 169*r*; Sūs, 169*t*; Ṭarāzak, 169*w*; 'Askar Mukram, 169*x*; Masruḳān, 170*a*.

Before noticing the towns in this province it will be well to summarize such information as is given by Ḥamd-Allah about the rivers which flow out to the Persian Gulf by separate mouths or through the tidal estuaries of the Shaṭṭ-al-'Arab. The chief stream of Khūzistān is the Kārūn, which Mustawfi and the older geographers call the Dujayl (or Little Tigris) of Tustar. This had its source in the Zardah Kūh—'the Yellow Mountains'—of Great Lur, where also the Zandah-rūd of Isfahān had its head-waters (L. 204*q*, and see Chapter 2). The Dujayl river, after many windings, flowed down past Tustar to 'Askar Mukram and Ahwāz, where it was joined by the Dizfūl river, and their united streams poured into the broad estuary of the Shaṭṭ-al-'Arab (L. 214*e*), which went out to the Persian Gulf. The Dizfūl river, which joined the Kārūn below 'Askar Mukram, was formed by the united streams of the Kazkī river and the Āb-i-Ḳaw'ah (or Ḳar'ah), which last, flowing down from

Burūjird (see above, Chapter 2), was also named the Sīlākhūr (L. 215*u*). Further to the westward came the Karkhah, also called the river of Sūs; this rose in the Alvand mountains; it was soon joined by the river Kūlkū, also by the stream from Khurramābād, and thence flowing down past Sūs to the Ḥawīzah country came to the tidal estuary of the Kārūn, by which its waters, uniting with the overflow of the Tigris and Euphrates, finally reached the sea (L. 216*w*, also *Jihān Numā*, p. 286).

The boundary between Khūzistān and Fārs was formed by the river Ṭāb, which is the name that Mustawfi and all the Arab geographers give to the river called at present the Jarrāhī; the modern Ṭāb river (flowing past Hindiyān) being presumably the mediæval Āb-i-Shīrīn, but there is some confusion in the present nomenclature. The Ṭāb river (of Mustawfi and the Arab geographers) rose in the Saram hills in Luristān, it was soon joined by the waters of the Āb-i-Masin which came down from the Sumayram mountains, and the united streams some distance below the point of junction were crossed by the great bridge of Rakān near Arrajān. After watering the Rīshahr districts the Ṭāb finally flowed out to the sea (L. 218*s*, *u*); and these places will all be more particularly mentioned in Chapter 12 on Fārs.

Khūzistān was coterminous on the north with Kurdistān, these two Provinces coming in between Arabian and Persian 'Irāḳ, though Ṣaymarah, counted as of the latter (see Chapter 2), must have been very near the frontier of 'Irāḳ 'Arabī. When Mustawfi wrote the capital of the Khūzistān Province was Tustar, already then commonly called Shustar, famous for the great weir across the Kārūn, which at the city gate divided the stream into three parts, called respectively the Canals of Dasht-Ābād, of Dū-Dānik, and of Chahār-Dānik (Two Sixths and Four Sixths). Ahwāz has already been noticed in my paper on Ibn Serapion (p. 311). The town of Turb (or Tūb according to some MSS.), on the sea-shore, I cannot identify, but apparently it occupied more or less the position of Bāsiyān, so frequently

mentioned by the earlier geographers. The ruins of Junday Shāpūr [**1**] exist at the village of Shāhābād, lying half-way between Dizfūl and Tustar; the town was famous for its sugar-canes, as also was Ḥawīzah [**2**], lying to the east of the lower Kārūn, which town, Mustawfi writes, was inhabited mainly by Sabæans. Dizfūl—'Bridge of the Diz river'—was anciently called Andāmish, from the name of the bridge of forty-two arches which here crossed the Diz river. This Bridge of Andāmish is mentioned by Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 259) and other earlier geographers whom Yāḳūt (i, 372) has quoted (see also Ibn Serapion, p. 312, and 'Alī of Yazd, i, 589); its remains still exist (De Bode, *Luristān*, ii, 163).

Daskarah (or Dastgīr) was on the 'Irāḳ border, according to Yāḳūt (ii, 575), and possessed a strong castle, but its exact position is difficult to fix. Rāmhurmuz [**3**], the name of which, says Mustawfi, was already corrupted to Rāmiz, lay near the frontier of Fārs; Sūs [**4**], 'the most ancient city of Khūzistān,' was famous for the tomb of the prophet Daniel, and its ruins stand near the Karkhah river some few miles south-south-west of Dizfūl (De Bode, ii, 186). For Sūs some of the MSS. give the spelling Sūsīn, but probably from the scribe having confused this Sūs with the town of a similar name in Luristān, already mentioned in Chapter 2. Ṭarāzak (or Ṭarārak, as given in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 284) cannot unfortunately be identified; it was famous for its excellent sugar-canes. 'Askar Mukram [**5**], the ruins of which are at Band-i-Ḳīr (see I.S. 312), Mustawfi reports was also known by the Persian name of Lashkar or 'Camp'; and somewhere higher up on the Masruḳān stream [**6**] was the town of this same name, the site of which has apparently disappeared from the modern maps.

Chapter 12. *Fārs.*

Contents: Shīrāz, 170*u*; Coasts of Abu Zuhayr and of 'Umārah, 171*w*; Būshkānāt, 171*y*; Tawwaj, 171*z*; Khabr, 172*a*; Khatīzīn, 172*b*; Khunayfghān, 172*c*; Ramzavān, Dādhīn, and Davān, 172*f*; Sarvistān and Kūbanjān, 172*g*; Sīrāf, Najīram, and Khūrshī, 172*h*; Ṣimkān and Hīrak, 172*k*; Fīrūzābād, 172*o*; Karzīn, Ḳīr, and Abzar, 172*w*; Kāriyān and Karān of Īrāhistān, 172*y*; Kavār, 173*b*; Lāghir and Kaharjān, 173*e*; Mandastān, 173*g*; Mīmand, 173*k*; Hūmū and Hamjān Kabrīn, 173*l*; Huzū and Tānah, 173*n*; Iṣṭakhr and its three Castles, 173*o*; Abraj, 174*f*; Abarḳūh, 174*g*; Farāghah, 174*m*; Isfandān and Ḳumistān, 174*o*; Iḳlīd and Uzjān, 174*p*; Surmaḳ, 174*q*; Bavvān and Marūst, 174*s*; Bayḍā, 174*t*; Ḥarīr, Abādah, and Sabzivār, 174*w*; Ḥafrak and Ḳālī, 174*x*; Khurramah, 174*y*; Rāmjird, 174*z*; Māyin, 175*a* and *j*; Ṣāhik and Harāt, 175*b*; Ḳuṭruh, Ḳumishah, and the Castle of Ḳūlinjān, 175*c*; Kāmfīrūz, 175*e*; Kirbāl, 175*f*; Kamīn and Ḳārin, 175*g*; Kallār and Kūrad, 175*h*; Yazdikhwāst, Dih Girdū, Shūristān, and Abādah, 175*l*; Dih Mūrd and Rādhān, 175*m*; Jahram and Khūrshah Castle, 175*o*; Juvaym of Abu Aḥmad and Samīrān Castle, 175*q*; Fasā, Shaḳḳ Rūdbār, and Mīshānān, 175*s*; Nashāvar, 175*x*; Kāzirūn, 176*a*; Shāpūr City, 176*h*; Anbūrān and Bāsht Ḳūṭā, 176*o*; Bilād Shāpūr, 176*q*; Tīr Murdān and Jūbkān, 176*r*; The Jīlūyah Mountains, 176*u*; Jirrah, 176*w*; Gumbadh Mallaghān and Pul-Būlū, 176*y*; Khisht and Kumārij, 177*a*; Khullār, 177*b*; Khumayjān and Dih 'Alī, 177*c*; Salḥat, 177*e*; Ṣarām and Bāzrank, 177*f*; Ghundījān, 177*h*; Nawbandajān and Ḳal'ah Safīd, 177*j*; Sha'b Bavvān, 177*n*; Ḳubād Khurrah and Arrajān, 177*t*; Bustānak, 177*y*; Rīshahr, 177*z*; Hindījān, Khabs, and Furzuk, 178*d*; Jannābā, 178*e*; Jallādjān and Hayvūdīn, 178*f*; Mahrūbān, 178*g*; Sīnīz, 178*l*. The Sixteen Castles of Fārs, namely: Ḳal'ah Isfandiyār, or Isfīd Diz, 178*p*; the Castles of Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis), 178*u*; the Castle of Iṣṭakhr Vār, 179*a*; Abādah, 179*b*; Diz Abraj or Iraj, 179*c*; Tīz or Tabar, 179*d*; Tīr-i-Khudā, 179*g*; Khūrshah, 179*h*; Khurramah, 179*l*; Khuwādān, 179*m*; Khuvār and Ramzavān, 179*n*; Sahārah, 179*o*; Samīrān, 179*p*; Kārzīn, 179*q*; and Gunbad-Mallaghān, 179*r*. The Pasture-lands called Marghzār,

namely: Āvard or Ūrd, 179*u*; Dasht Rūn, 179*w*; Dasht Arzan, 179*z*; Sīkān, 180*b*; Bahz or Bahmān, 180*c*; Bīd Mashkān, 180*d*; Bayḍā and Shīdān, 180*e*; Ḳālī, 180*h*; Kālān, 180*k*; Kāmfīrūz, 180*m*; Kamīn, 180*n*; and Narkis, 180*o*. The Islands of the Persian Gulf, namely, Ḳays, 180*r*; Abrūn, 181*d*; Abarkumān, 181*e*; and Khārik, 181*f*.

In the time of the Īl-Khān dynasty Fārs had come to be a much smaller province than it had been during the Caliphate, and as described by the Arab geographers. In the pages of Ḥamd-Allah Fārs has lost the whole of the Yazd district on the north-east, this under the Mongols being given to Persian 'Irāḳ; while the eastern districts round Dārābjird, having taken the name of Shabānkārah, had been formed into a separate province, which under this title will be noticed in the following chapter. A long and interesting account is given by Ḥamd-Allah of Shīrāz, the capital of the Fārs province since the Moslem conquest; the nine gates in its walls are enumerated, and its various mosques and shrines are described in some detail. Ḥamd-Allah notes further that the territory immediately adjacent to the city was called its Ḥūmah (often written *Jūmah* or *Jawmah*), a word that may be translated 'domain.' Two leagues distant from Shīrāz was the mountain called Kūh-i-Dārak, on which the winter snow was stored in pits for use in the hot weather (L. 203*y*); while three farsakhs to the south of Shīrāz was a castle known as Ḳal'ah-i-Tīz (other readings in the MSS. give Bīr, Tabr, Tīr, Tashīr, etc.), which crowned a solitary hill, on the summit of which was a spring of water (L. 179*d*). Also in the Shīrāz district was the Castle of Khuvār (L. 179*n*), and this place is mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 104) as a small town of the Ardashīr Khurrah district. Yāḳūt (i, 199; ii, 480), who copies the account, adds no particulars, and evidently cannot give more exactly the position. Shīrāz has no river, but its waters drain eastward to the salt lake of Māhalūyah (L. 226*c*), which is some twelve leagues in circuit, and lies in the plain a few miles from the city on the left hand of the road to Sarvistān.

The shores of the lake were used for salt-pans, and much salt was exported from Shīrāz to outlying places.

The sea-coast districts of Fārs, known as the A'māl-i-Sīf, were divided between the Sīf—'Coast'—of the Banī Zuhayr and the Sīf of 'Umārah. The positions of these districts are given by Iṣṭakhrī (pp. 140, 141) and by Yāḳūt (iii, 217), the former region lying near Sīrāf and the latter near the Kirmān border, over against the Island of Ḳays. The Būshkānāt district, according to the *Fārs Nāmah* (f. 86*a*), lay twelve leagues from Ghundijān towards Najīram. Tavvaj, often spelt Tawwaz [**1**], had been a celebrated commercial town in early days, but when Mustawfi wrote it was already in ruins. Apparently no traces of it now exist; it stood, however, near the lower course of the Shāpūr river, called the Tawwaj-Āb, and according to Iṣṭakhrī (pp. 128, 133) lay about half-way between Kāzirūn and Jannābah [**40**].

Khabr [**2**], somewhat over fifty miles south-east of Shīrāz, exists, and was famous for its castle, called Ḳal'ah Tīr-i-Khudā—'God's Arrow' (L. 179*g*). The region of Khatīzīn (which some MSS. give as Khayriz or Khatūhar) I am not able to identify; the districts of Ramzavān and Dādhīn lay south of Jirrah. Davān plain, according to the *Fārs Nāmah* (f. 73*b*), lay six leagues north of Māyin [**17**]. Khunayfghān [**3**], which was commonly called Khanāfgān, was to the north of Fīrūzābād at the sources of the Burāzah river. Sarvistān is near the eastern end of the Māhalūyah Lake; but Kūhjān (or Kūbanjān in the *Fārs Nāmah*) has apparently disappeared from the map. Of Sīrāf, the celebrated port on the Persian Gulf, the ruins still exist, and have been described by Captain Stiffe (J.R.G.S., 1895, p. 166), and according to Iṣṭakhrī (p. 34) Najīram lay to the northward of it, Khūrshī (or Khūrāshī) being of its dependencies.

Ṣimkān [**4**] lies to the east of Fīrūzābād (cf. Stack, *Six Months in Persia*, ii, 232), and Hīrak was a large village near by. Of Fīrūzābād, anciently called Jūr, the chief town of the district of the same name, Ḥamd-Allah gives a long account, mentioning also its castle (L. 179*o*), called Ḳal'ah Shahārah, which crowned a height four leagues

from the city. The Fīrūzābād river was called the Āb-i-Burāzah[1] (L. 219*g*), a right bank affluent of the Āb-i-Zakān (L. 214*z*), which last is by far the most important stream in this part of Persia. The Zakān (or Zhakān; the MS. of the *Fārs Nāmah* always spells the name *Thakān*) is named by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 120) and other Arab geographers the Nahr Sakkān, and is the present Ḳārā Aghāch, which rises at some distance to the north-west of Shīrāz. It flows into the sea a little to the south of Najīram, and in its lower course is now known as the Mand river. The town of Kavār [**5**] is near its left bank (half-way between Shīrāz and Khabr already mentioned), and after passing Ṣimkān, not far from its right bank are the towns of Ḳīr, Kārzīn [**6**], and Abzar. Kāriyān [**7**] lies at some distance to the eastward of these places, and Lāghir [**8**] is mentioned by Mr. Stack (ii, 233), also by Mustawfi in his Itineraries (Route xxviii).

Kārzīn had a celebrated castle (L. 179*q*) on a hill overhanging the river bank. Kaharjān or Makarjān apparently lay near Lāghir, and about half-way between this last and Sīrāf, on the coast, was the town of Kūrān [**9**] in the Īrāhistān District, lying adjacent to the Zuhayr coast, mentioned in a previous paragraph and described by Iṣṭakhrī (pp. 106, 141, 454). The region of Māndistān was on the coast, and probably the name is connected with the present Mand river, as the lower part of the Ḳārā Aghāch (Āb-i-Zakān) is called. Mīmand [**10**] is the chief town of the Nāband district on the coast, to the east of Sīrāf, as mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 104), but I am unable to identify Hūmū or Hamjān Kabrīn; many MSS. give Harmūd and Hamjān Kīrtan, and the readings are more than doubtful. The port of Huzū was opposite the Island of Ḳays; this is the last stage in the Itinerary (Route xxviii) from Shīrāz to the coast; and Tānah (or Tābah) was a village near.

[1] This is the spelling of the *Fārs Nāmah* (f. 79*b*), who says it was so named after the great engineer Ḥakīm Burāzah of the days of King Ardashīr. The MSS. generally give the name as Barārah.

The city [**11**] of Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis) had been the capital of Fārs before the Moslem conquest. It lay on the banks of the Parvāb or Pulvār river (L. 218*r*), a left bank affluent of the Kur. In the neighbourhood of Persepolis was a cave in the mountain called Kūh-i-Nīsht (or Na'isht), where there were famous sculptures (L. 206*v*). Iṣṭakhr was celebrated for its three great castles, called the Sih-Gumbadhān—'Three Domes'—which crown the hill-tops to the north of the Marvdasht plain. These were known as the Ḳal'ah Iṣṭakhr, the Ḳal'ah Shikastah—'the Broken Castle'—and the Ḳal'ah Shankavān (L. 178*u*). Further, there was the Ḳal'ah Iṣṭakhr Yār, or Bār, probably on the hill above Persepolis (L. 179*a*), where ruins still exist. The remains of the three castles on the hill-tops to the westward, which were famous for their great cisterns, have some of them been visited and described by Morier (*Second Journey in Persia*, pp. 83, 86) and De Bode (*Luristān*, i, 117). Abraj, as the name is spelt in the *Fārs Nāmah*, often incorrectly written Īraj, appears from Iṣṭakhrī (p. 102) to have been near Māyin [**17**], and it stood at the base of a hill, on which was a strong castle called Diz Abraj or Īraj (L. 179*c*). Abarḳūh[1] is the well-known town on the frontier of Fārs [**12**] towards Yazd; and near it was Farāghah (written Marāghah in some MSS., also in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 266), which was celebrated for its cypresses. Uzjān, or Ujān, lies north of Māyīn. Not, however, to be found on the map are Isfandān (or Isfīdān) and Ḳumistān (or Ḳuhistān), these being all copied into the *Jihān Numā* (p. 266), and near Ḳumistān in

[1] According to Ḥamd-Allah (L. 174*g*) Abarḳūh was remarkable for the fact that no Jew could survive for more than forty days who settled here. Hence these people were not found among the population of the town. Further in Abarḳūh stood the tomb of the celebrated saint surnamed Ṭāūs-al-Ḥaramayn—'Peacock of the Two Sanctuaries,' viz. Mecca and Medina—and it was a known fact that his shrine would never suffer itself to be covered by a roof. However often a roof was erected over the tomb, it was invariably destroyed by a supernatural power, lest the saint's bones should become the object of an idolatrous worship. The same phenomenon is said by Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 113) to be characteristic of the shrine of Ibn Ḥanbal at Baghdad; and Professor Goldziher has some interesting remarks on this subject in his *Muhammedanische Studien* (i, 257).

the mountain there was a mighty cave. Iḳlīd [**13**] and Surmaḳ [**14**] lie to the south-west of Abarḳūh. Bavvān (with variants Tavān or Tūmān) and Marūst (possibly Marvdasht) were two villages in the great Persepolis plain, which itself bore the latter name; in the upper, western, part of the Marvdasht plain lay the city of Bayḍā [**15**], celebrated for its pasture-lands.

The town of Abādah stood on the northern side of Lake Bakhtigān, and there was a celebrated castle here (L. 179*b*). This town is frequently mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 131) and other Arab geographers; it was also known as the village of 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān. Ḥafrak is the district near the junction of the Pulvār river with the Kur, and Ḥarīr was near Lake Bakhtigān. Sabzivār and Ḳālī (or Fālī) appear to have been famous meadow-lands or Marghzār near the Pulvār river (L. 180*b*). Kharramah [**16**], also celebrated for its castle (L. 179*b*), is a town to the east of Shīrāz near the Bakhtigān Lake at the place where the river Kur flows in. Rāmjird is the district higher up the river Kur — above the plain of Marvdasht — and Māyin [**17**] is the capital town of Rāmjird.

These districts were all watered by the Kur, of which Mustawfi gives a long account (L. 216*a*). This river rose above Kallār [**22**], was joined on its right bank by a stream from Sha'b Bavvān, and lower down on the left bank near Persepolis by the Āb-i-Parvāb or Pulvār river (L. 218*r*). In its lower reaches the Kur river was crossed by a number of weirs, each serving to raise a head of water for irrigation purposes. The first dam or weir was that called the Band-i-Mujarrad, an ancient foundation, which was repaired under the Saljūḳs by their Atabeg, or Governor, in Fārs, the celebrated Fakhr-ad-Dawlah Chāūlī (spelt Jāūlī by Ibn-al-Athir, x, 202), who then gave it the name of Fakhristān. Below this was the 'Aḍudī or Band-i-Amir (*Bendemir* of the poet Moore, in *Lalla Rookh*), built by 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, and marked in the Itineraries (Route xxxii); this served to raise the waters for irrigating the two districts of Upper and Lower Kirbāl. The lowest of the dams was the

Fuller's Weir—Band-i-Ḳaṣṣār—at no great distance above the point where the Kur flowed out to the Lake of Bakhtigān. This was the largest of the salt lakes of Fārs, and when Mustawfi wrote was surrounded by populous districts and towns, among which occur the names of Ḥarīr, Abādah, Khayrah, Nayrīz, and Ṣāhik (L. 225*y*). The north-western part of the lake was known as the Buḥayrah Bāsafhūyah (L. 226*e*), and it was celebrated for its fish. Ṣāhik (or Chāhik) and Harāt [**19**] lay at some distance from the eastern borders of the Bakhtigān Lake, and Ḳuṭruh [**20**] is to the south-east.

The most northern town of Fārs towards Isfahān is Ḳūmishah, protected by the Castle of Ḳūlanjān. The district of Kām Fīrūz lay on the banks of the Kur river (south of Rāmjird), being celebrated for its lion-haunted forests; and the two districts of Kirbāl, as already said, were on the lower reaches of the same river near the Fuller's Weir (Band-i-Ḳaṣṣār). Kamīn [**21**] lies north of Iṣṭakhr, near the Pulvār river, and Ḳārin was a town near it. Kallār and Kūrad [**22**] were on the upper waters of the Kur river, and their positions are fixed by Muḳaddasī (p. 458) in his Itinerary, being five farsakhs north of Kām-Fīrūz. Yazdi-khwāst [**23**] and Dih Girdū [**24**] lie on the road to Isfahān, and in this connection Abādah [**25**] (which still exists, and is not to be confounded with the town of the same name on Lake Bakhtigān) is mentioned, lying to the east of Dih Girdū. Shūristān, according to the *Fārs Nāmah*, lay half-way between this northern Abādah and Yazdikhwāst, while Dih Mūrd—'Myrtle Village'—called by the Arab geographers Ḳariyat-al-Ās or Būdanjān, stood by the shore of Lake Bakhtigān, half-way between the southern Abādah and Ṣāhik. Rādhān, according to Iṣṭakhrī (p. 102), lay half-way between Ṣāhik and Shahr-i-Bābak.

In the south-eastern part of Fārs, the town of Jahram [**26**] is well known, and was famous in the time of Mustawfi for the strong castle, lying five leagues away on a hill-top, called Ḳal'ah Khūrashah (L. 179*h*). Juvaym [**27**] of

Abu Aḥmad[1] lies south-east of Jahram, and its castle too was famous, being known as the Ḳal'ah Samīrān or Shamīrān (L. 179*p*). The city of Fasā lies north of Jahram, on the border of Shabānkārah; Shaḳḳ Rūdbār and Mīshānān (or Pīshkānāt in some MSS.) were of its dependencies, and the castle called Ḳal'ah Khavādān (L. 179*m*) was a strong place in the neighbouring district.

Kāzirūn lies west of Shīrāz, on the road down to the sea. Mustawfī gives a long account of the place, which had originally consisted of three towns. In the plain to the east of Kāzirūn is the lake which Mustawfī calls the Buḥayrah Mawz, but the reading of the name is doubtful, both in the *Nuzhat* MSS. and in the text of Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 193), from whom, apparently, he has taken the name of the lake. The ruins of the old city of Shāpūr [**28**] are to be seen at some distance west of Kāzirūn, and have been described by De Bode (*Lūristān*, i, 214) and others. Shāpūr city appears originally to have been known as Bishāvūr (for Bih-Sābūr). Mustawfī gives a long account of the place, and further describes the colossal statue of King Shāpūr, which may still be seen in the neighbouring cave. Anbūrān was a small town near Nawbanjān [**29**], and Bāsht Ḳūṭā (some MSS. give Māsht Fūṭā) a district in the mountains near, the whole of this neighbourhood being known under the name of Bilād Shāpūr, or the Shāpūr Country. Tīr Murdān [**30**] was an important place mentioned by Yāḳūt (i, 905), and it lay, according to 'Alī of Yazd (i, 607), beyond the Valley of Bavvān and west of Karkān, which is mentioned in the Itinerary (Route xxxiii); the place called Jūbkān (or Khūbigān) and other districts were in its neighbourhood.

The mountain region called Jabal Jīlūyah was on the Luristān border, and the name is probably connected with

[1] So named to distinguish it from Juvaym [**35**], one stage to the north-west of Shīrāz (see Route xxxiii). This last is sometimes (incorrectly) written Juvayn; and in this case must not be confounded either with the city of Juvayn in Sīstān to the north of Zaranj (see Route xvii), or with the Juvayn District of Khurāsān (see Chapter 17) lying between Jājarm and Sabzivār.

the Kurdish Zamm, or tribe, of Jīlūyah mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (pp. 98, 113). Mustawfi elsewhere (L. 206*g*) speaks of the mountains called Kūh Gīlūyah, and apparently a neighbouring range was the Kūh Kūshid lying between Fārs and 'Irāḳ, where of old had lived a dragon slain by King Kay Khusrū, who then built here the Fire-temple afterwards known as Dayr Kūshid (L. 206*o*). Probably of this district also was the mountain of Kūh Mūrjān (or Mūrkhān), in which was a cave, with dropping water, that was considered a talisman (L. 206*t*).

The Āb-i-Ratīn, which rose in the district of Khumāyijān, was an upper affluent of the Shāpūr or Bishāvūr river, the lower part of which was called the Āb-i-Tavvaj, where it passed the city of Tavvaj, or Tawwaz [**1**], before falling into the Persian Gulf (L. 219*a*, *f*). The Shāpūr river, up in the mountains, was joined on its left bank by the Āb-i-Jirrah, which, flowing down from the Māṣaram and Ghundijān districts, passes the city of Jirrah [**31**], which is some miles south-east of Kāzirūn. Before its junction with the Shāpūr river, the Jirrah river received from the south the combined waters of the Āb-i-Jarshīḳ and the Ikhshīn river, this last being famous for its stone bridge called the Ḳanṭarah Sabuk (L. 219*b*, *d*).

Gumbadh Mallaghān [**32**] lay about half-way between Nawbanjān and Arrajān, at the place now called Dū Gumbadān, where there are extensive ruins (De Bode, i, 258). It was famous for its castle, in the district of Pūl Būlū, which "was so strong a Ḳal'ah that a single man could hold it" (L. 179*r*). Khisht [**33**] and Kumārij [**34**] lie on the road down from Shīrāz to the coast, and not far from the banks of the Shāpūr river. Khullār [**35**], celebrated for its mill-stones, lies about half-way between Nawbanjān and Shīrāz; Khumāyijān, with Dīh 'Alī, being a district to the westward of Khullār. To the north, on the Lur frontier, came the districts of Sīṣhat (or Salḥat in some MSS.), also Bāzrank and Ṣarām, which last Yāḳūt (ii, 45) gives as Charām. Ghundijān, generally called Dasht Bārīn, was the region in the neighbourhood of Jirrah [**31**], and here stood the

castle called Ḳal'ah Dam Darān, or Ram Varān, for the name is variously given in the manuscripts (L. 179*n*).

Nawbanjān [**29**], more commonly called Nawbandagān, had been rebuilt by Atabeg Chāūlī; it was renowned for the great White Castle, and for the neighbouring valley called Sha'b Bavvān, always counted as one of the four earthly paradises, such was its fertility and beauty. Isfīd Diz, 'the White Castle,' also called Ḳal'ah Isfandiyār (L. 178*p*), after one of the heroes of ancient Persia, lies two leagues distant to the north-east of Nawbanjān, and occupies the summit of a table-mountain; it is accessible by one road only, being on all sides protected by precipices (Macdonald Kinneir, *Persian Empire*, p. 73). At the foot of the mountain fastness was a second smaller castle called Nishnāk (Nishkunān in some MSS.). Half a century after the time of Mustawfi, Ḳal'ah Safīd (as it was more generally called) became famous for the siege and sack which it suffered at the hands of Timur, as recorded by 'Alī of Yazd in the *Ẓafar Nāmah* (i, 600).

The Kūrah or district of Ḳubād Khurrah was one of the ancient divisions of Fārs, and according to Iṣṭakhrī (p. 125) it was that of which Kārzīn [**6**] was the capital, already mentioned, near the Zakān river, on the eastern border. Arrajān was the chief town of Fārs on the western side, towards Khūzistān. It is now a complete ruin, being replaced by Bihbahān, which appears to have been founded in the latter half of the fourteenth century A.D., after the time of Mustawfi, but prior to the date when Timur invaded Persia. In the account of his campaigns given in the *Ẓafar Nāmah* (i, 600), the city of Bihbahān only is mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd, though its river is called by him the Āb-i-Arghūn, that is to say, the Arrajān river, as confirmed by the statement of both Yāḳūt (i, 193) and Mustawfi, who write that Arrajān in their day was generally called Arraghān or Arghān. Its ruins lie not far from the bank of the (older) Ṭāb river, now known as the Jarrāhī (see above, Chapter 11), which separates Fārs from Khūzistān. At the crossing of the river was the celebrated bridge called

Pūl-i-Takān, which is described by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 134). The ruins of this bridge still exist, also those of a second bridge likewise described by the Arab geographers, and fully noticed in the travels of De Bode (*Lūristān*, i, 297), who, it may be remarked, was the first to identify Arrajān.

According to Ḥamd-Allah there were various castles of the Ismailian sect, known as the Assassins, in the hills above Arrajān. Such were Ḳal'ah Ṭayfūr and Diz Kalāt, this last being one league distant from the town of Rīshahr [**36**], otherwise called Rīṣhīr, which lay to the west of Arrajān. Būstānak [**37**] was the last stage in Fārs on the Khūzistān frontier, as given in the Itinerary (Route xxxiii). Hindijān exists, Ḥabs (also given as Jīs or Khabs) and Furzuk were near Arrajān, but the spelling of these names is not sure, and their exact position is uncertain. Jannābā [**40**], also called Ganbah, was a celebrated port on the Gulf, the ruins of which still exist; it was originally named Gandāb, or 'the back-water,' by the Persians. The river called the Āb-i-Shīrīn, which rose in the hills called Kūh-i-Dīnār, flowed out to the sea near Mahrubān and is the modern Ṭāb or Zuhrah river. Near Jannābā was the mouth of the Sītadkān or Shādhkān river, which flowed down from the Bāzrank hills (this district has been mentioned above) and the region of Kaharkān (L. 218*v*, *w*). According to Mustawfī, Jallādjān and Hayvūdīn (many MSS. give Hūdvīn) were districts near Arrajān; Mahrubān [**38**] was the port on the Gulf at the frontier of Khūzistān, Sīnīz [**39**] being the next port down the coast, eastward, and on the other side of the bay opposite Mahrubān.

The river Khwāndān, or Khūbdhān (L. 218*z*), was an affluent of the Nahr Shīrīn, which flows out to the sea near Mahrubān (the modern river Ṭāb, see above, Chapter 11). It rose in the Khūbdhān or Khwāndān hills near Nawbanjān [**29**], and in its lower course watered the district of Jallādjān already mentioned. There is, however, much confusion in the nomenclature of all these rivers of western Fārs; and this goes back to the descriptions of them given by Iṣṭakhrī and other of the Arab geographers, whose notices do not

tally with the streams as shown on our present maps. This is especially the case with the river called the Āb-i-Darkhīd (or Darkhuvayd), which flowed out of (some MSS. give it as flowing *into*) the Darkhīd Lake (L. 218*y*, 226*d*), which lay to the west of Nawbanjān. It was a large river and not easily fordable, but what stream it corresponds to on our modern maps is not very clear, though it may be that now known as the Āb-i-Shūr.

In regard to the celebrated castles of Fārs Ḥamd-Allah states that these had numbered over seventy in ancient times, but that most had gone to ruin with the lapse of time, and sixteen only in his day remained standing. All these have been mentioned in previous pages, when speaking of the various towns or districts to which each belonged, and it is needless to recapitulate them here, the list having been given in the table of contents to this chapter.

Ḥamd-Allah next enumerates the various Marghzārs, the celebrated pastures or meadow-lands of Fārs. That of Āvard (or Urd) was on the road between Isfahān and Shīrāz, near Kushk-i-Zard, two stages south of Yazdikhwāst (see Route xxvii); and the Marghzār of Dasht-i-Rūn (or Ravān) was one stage south of this again, near the Rubāṭ, or Caravanserai, of Salāḥ-ad-Dīn, whence it extended to the Shahriyār Bridge over the upper course of the Kur river. The Marghzār of Dasht Arzin lay near the lake of that name (L. 226*a*) on the road between Shīrāz and Kāzirūn; it was noted for the lions who haunted its thickets, and the same remark is added to the notice of the Marghzār of Shikān (Ushkān, Arashkān are other readings of the name) in the district of Juvaym of Abu Aḥmad; in the neighbourhood of which also was the Marghzār of Bahmān. The Marghzār of Bīd and Mashkān appears to have been near Tustar in Khūzistān; that of Bayḍā was near the town of that name in the Marvdasht plain. No position is given for the Marghzār of Shīdān close to which was 'the Lake of the Marghzār' (L. 226*e*), but this meadow-land was famous as being one of the four earthly paradises. The Meadows of Ḳālī (or Fālī or Fūl) were on the banks

of the Pulvār river, where also lay the Marghzār Kālān near the grave of the Mother of King Solomon, as the Moslems have named the Tomb of Cyrus; while further down the Pulvār river were the Kamīn meadow-lands. The Marghzār of Kām Fīrūz lay along the Kur river, where its thickets were haunted by lions; and lastly, the Marghzār-i-Narkis—'the Narcissus-Meadows'—were between Kāzirūn and Jirrah.

The Persian Gulf and its Islands are described by Mustawfi at the end of his chapter on Fārs, and also at a later page (L. 222*z*) when describing the Seas; further, he gives the distances between the chief islands in his Itinerary (Routes iv and xxviii). Some confusion, however, exists in the names given during the middle ages to the various islands. The Island of Khārik still bears this name, and lies some forty miles north-west of the modern Bushire. On the road to India, and eighty leagues further down the Gulf, came the Island of Alān (otherwise Lān or Allār), which by the distances must be the present Island of Shaykh Shu'ayb. According to Mustawfi and other geographers, between this and Ḳays came the two islands called Abrūn and Khayn, and the former is probably that now known as the Hindarabi Island.

The great emporium (Dawlat-Khānah) of Ḳays, as described by Mustawfi, was the most populous island of the Gulf, and lay four leagues from Huzū on the mainland, where the road coming down from Shīrāz reached the coast. From Ḳays the ships sailed for India, and at the narrows of the Gulf came the great island called Abrūkamānān (Abarkumān in some MSS. or Abarkāfān, with many other variants). Yāḳūt (iv, 342) calls this Lāft, or the Island of the Bani Kawān, and its name was spelt in a variety of different ways: but, undoubtedly, what is now known as the Long Island of Kishm (Jazīrah Ṭawīlah) is the place indicated. To the east of this came Hurmuz, which will be mentioned in Chapter 14 on Kirmān; and the *island* of Hurmuz was called Jirūn where the city of New Hurmuz came to be founded. A neighbouring island,

however, appears already from the earliest times to have borne the name of Urmūṣ or Urmūz, recalling the name of Hurmuz. It is mentioned by Ḥamd-Allah (L. 222*z*) and many of the earlier Arab geographers, as, for instance, Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 62), but what island this Urmūṣ now corresponds to is not very clear. The island of Jāsik may, from what Yāḳūt (i, 503) writes, be another name for the great Island of Kishm, and therefore a duplicate name. Besides Jāsik (or Khāsiḳ) Mustawfi mentions (L. 222*z*) the islands of Kand, Anāshāk, and Lāhur (in the MSS. given as Lādur or Lāwur, and possibly identical with Lān or Lār already given), but these I am unable satisfactorily to identify.

Chapter 13. *Shabānkārah.*

Contents: Avīg, 181*k*; Darkān, 181*m*; Iṣṭahbanān, 181*n*; Burk, Tārum, Khayrah, Nīrīz, and Mīshḳānāt, 181*p*; Dārābgird, 181*r*; Kurm and Rūbanz, 181*w*; Lār, 181*x*.

What became the province of Shabānkārah under the Mongols, had formed the eastern part of Fārs in the time of the Caliphate, as already stated in the previous chapter. The name Shabānkārah does not occur in the earlier geographers, but the district came in Mongol days to be called after the people who inhabited it, the Shabānkārah being a powerful family settled in these regions during the period of the Saljūḳ supremacy. They waged successful war against the Saljūḳ Atabegs — against the Amīr Chāūlī, mentioned in the previous chapter, in particular; and finally after the fall of the Saljūḳs these Shabānkārah were left masters of the whole western part of Fārs.

Nearly all the towns named by Ḥamd-Allah as of Shabānkārah may still be recognized on the present map. The capital of the district was Īg, or Avīg, a strong fortress, with the town of Darkān [1], or Zarkān, situated at no great distance from it, both places still existing, and further,

being mentioned by the earlier authorities. Iṣṭahbānān [**2**], which the Arab geographers write variously as Iṣṭabanāt, Iṣbahānat, and Iṣbahbadhāt, is now called Savanāt, lying a short distance north-west of Īg; Nīrīz [**3**] lies to the east of it, and Khayrah [**4**] between Savanāt and the shore of Lake Bakhtigān (see Route xxxi), which, in its south-eastern bay, forms the northern frontier of the Shabānkārah district, and is often called the Lake of Nīrīz. Burk represents the town the name of which is now generally pronounced Forg, and which the Arab geographers wrote Furj. There is, however, the evidence of Muḳaddasī (p. 428) that of old there were here two neighbouring towns, called Furj and Burk, and the latter site is now probably represented by the Castle of Bahram, described by Mr. Stack (*Six Months*, i, 156). Tārum [**5**] lies on the frontier to the east of Forg; the Mīshkānāt (or Māskināt) district being on the road between Khayrah and Nīrīz.

Dārābgird had been the chief town of eastern Fārs in earlier days; there was near this in the hills a famous pass, called Tang-i-Zīnah, commanded by a strong castle. The mountains of Dārābgird (L. 204*f*) were celebrated for the salt, of seven diverse colours, that was dug out of the mines here, and in the southern part of the country was the mountain called Kūh-i-Rastaḳ, "three leagues in height, like a snow-covered dome," where great serpents abounded (L. 204*g*). The towns of Kurm [**6**] and Rūbanz (generally spelt Rūnīz, in error, in the MSS.) lay on the road towards Fasā; the first still exists, and Rūbanz or Rūbanj was the chief town of the Khasū district mentioned by Muḳaddasī (p. 423), the town of Khasū, now to be found on the map, being identical in all probability with the older Rūbanj city. Lār, which is not mentioned by the older Arab geographers, appears to have been a foundation of the Shabānkārah. Mustawfi speaks of it merely as a district (*Vilāyat*), but his contemporary, Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 240), speaks of "the great city of Lār," celebrated for its five markets, and Ḥamd-Allah adds in his account that the people of Lār were mostly merchants who occupied themselves with sea voyages.

Chapter 14. *Kirmān.*

Contents: Guwāshīr or Bardasīr, 182*e*; Bam, 182*f*; Jīruft, 182*l*; Khabīṣ, 182*n*; Rīghān, 182*o*; Sirjān, 182*p*; Shahr-i-Bābak, 182*q*; Narmāshīr, 182*r*; Old and New Hurmuz, 182*t*.

The mediæval Guwāshīr or Bardasīr, as has been shown in a previous paper (J.R.A.S. for April, 1901, p. 284), represents the present city of Kirmān. Mustawfi quotes (in Arabic) an anecdote having reference to the first Moslem conquest of Kirmān, when its inhospitable climate was reported on to Ḥajjāj, the Viceroy of 'Irāḳ, by the Arab commander. The text is, of course, most unintelligibly transcribed in the Bombay lithographed edition and in most of the MSS.; it will be found, however, given in full by Mas'ūdi in his *Meadows of Gold* (v, 341). Among other matters Mustawfi speaks of the Old Mosque in Guwāshīr, dating from the time of the Omayyad Caliph Omar II; he also refers to the celebrated garden called the Bāgh-i-Sīrjānī laid out by the Amīr 'Alī Iliyās, who had removed the capital of the province from Sīrjān to Guwāshīr, and who also built the great Castle of the Hill. Further, within the city was also the mosque known as the Jāmi'-i-Tabrīzī, founded by Tūrān Shah the Saljūḳ, this being that used for the Friday Prayer when Mustawfi wrote.

The town of Bam is on the eastern borders of Kirmān; Jīruft, of which the ruins exist at the present Shahr-i-Daḳyānus (see J.R.G.S., 1855, p. 47), lying some distance to the south-west of it, being built on the river called the Dīv-rūd—'Demon-stream'—from its violent course (L. 219*e*), the stream now known as the Khalīl-rūd. Khabīṣ lies east of Kirmān city near the desert border, and Rīghān or Rīkān is south-east of Bam. Sīrjān, as I have shown in my paper above referred to, must probably be sought for at the ruins near Farīdūn. Sīrjān had been the older capital of the Kirmān province, but in the time of Mustawfi, though merely a provincial town, Sīrjān was still an important place

with a strong castle, and it only fell to ruin after the days of Timur. Shahr-i-Bābak still exists, in the north-western angle of the Kirmān province; while Narmāshīr stands on the desert border on the other side, south-east, towards Makrān.[1]

On the south coast of Kirmān lay the port of Hurmuz on the mainland (at the site now marked Minao on the map), but this place, as Mustawfi records, had already been abandoned in his day. The King of Hurmuz, Fakhr-ad-Dīn—or Ḳuṭb-ad-Dīn, as some MSS. give the name, following in this Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 230)—had migrated with his people on account of the attacks of brigands, and had established his capital for greater safety on the Island of Jirūn, one league distant from the shore (the present Ormuz Island).[2] This transfer of the capital would appear to have taken place in the year 715 (A.D. 1315), though nearly a century later, in the time of Timur, Old Hurmuz, according to 'Alī of Yazd (*Ẓafar Nāmah*, i, 789, 809), was still an important city. There were mountains in Kirmān (L. 206*h*) where, says Mustawfi, a stone capable of being burnt for firewood existed (doubtless lignite), and this was used for fuel in those parts. To the north-east of Hurmuz on the Balūch frontier were the mountains called the Kūh-i-Ḳafṣ, which are frequently mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers; also in Kirmān was the range named Kūh-i-Ḳārin, which are the mountains more properly called Jabal Bāriz by the older geographers, but which Yāḳūt (iv, 148) had already misnamed, being doubtless the authority used by Mustawfi (L. 205*x*, 206*e*, and cf. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 163, note *d*).

[1] The Bombay Lithograph gives Māshīz for Narmāshīr, but the latter reading is that of all the best MSS. and agrees with the statement that it was a town founded by Ardashīr Bābagān, for Māshīz is a modern place.

[2] The history of Hurmuz is obscure; the best account of its rulers that I have met with will be found in the *Majma'-al-Ansāb*, an historical work written about the year 743 (A.D. 1343). Of this work our Society possessed a MS., and another copy (Add. MS. 16,696) will be found in the British Museum Library. Dates are unfortunately very generally omitted in the *Majma'-al-Ansāb*, but it gives an account of the Kings of Hurmuz, as also of the Atabeg Chāūlī and others, who ruled in Fārs before the advent of the Sunḳūrī Atabegs, hence it is a valuable authority. For the present state of Hurmuz see the papers by Captain Stiffe in the *Geographical Magazine* for 1874, vol. i, p. 12, and the J.R.G.S., 1894, p. 160.

Chapter 15. *The Desert.*

Contents: Jarmaḳ, 183*b*; Sanīj and the two cities of Ṭabas, 183*c*; Kuhbinān, 183*d*; Nih, 183*e*.

The great salt desert of central Īrān, which is now generally known as the Kavīr (a name of uncertain etymology), is always referred to by Mustawfi by its Arabic name, Mafāzah, meaning 'the wilderness.' He describes it as extending from the village of Sūmghān — which the Mughāls called Āḳ Khwājah, lying a little south of Ḳazvīn — right across Persia in a south-easterly direction, and reaching nearly down to the sea of 'Omān at Hurmuz. The south-western limit of the desert was marked by the towns of Sāvah, Ḳum, Kāshān, Zavārah, Nāyin, Yazd, and thence along the Kirmān and Makrān border to the mountains above the coast. The north-eastern limit of the desert went by Ray along the borders of Ḳūmis and part of Khurāsān, then by Ḳūhistan and Zāvil down to Sīstān, and thence to the neighbourhood of Hurmuz.

In the middle of the Great Desert, half-way across on the road going from Nīshāpūr to Isfahān, lay the three villages of Jarmaḳ in an oasis where there were water springs. This oasis, the position of which is fixed by the Arab Itineraries, was visited in 1875 by Colonel Macgregor (*Khurāsān*, i, 91); its chief village is now called Khur, and the district is Bīyābānak—'Little waterless place'—by which name it was already known in the seventeenth century, being mentioned by Tavernier in his Travels (*Voyages*, *i*, 769; La Haye, 1718). The position of Sanīj is also fixed by the Arab Itineraries; it was on the Kirmān frontier, half-way between Narmāshīr and Zaranj. While there is no doubt about the position, there is some about the name, which in many MSS. of the Arab geographers may be read Safīd or Isfand in place of Sanīj (cf. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 228, note *r*), and the MSS. of the *Nuzhat* confirm the doubtful reading.

Ṭabas, on the Sīstān border, will be mentioned in the following chapter; Kuhbinān (the Cobinan of Marco Polo) is on the Kirmān side, and has been visited by Mr. Stack (*Six Months in Persia*, i, 231). Lastly, of the towns mentioned Nih is in Sīstān, as marked on the map. On the extreme north-western border of the Great Desert, not far from the high road going down from Ray to Ḳum, lay the mountains called Kūh-i-Kargas—'the Vulture Hills'—and according to Mustawfi (L. 206*e*) their recesses were the chosen home of the Ibex (*Wa'il*). The Vulture Hills are doubtless the present Siyāh-Kuh—'the Black Hills'—overlooking the Kavīr, some distance to the east of Ḳum.

Chapter 16. *Sijistān or Nimrūz, and Ḳuhistān.*

Contents: Zaranj, 183*g*; Turshīz, 183*m*; Kishmar, 183*o*; Tūn, 183*s*; Bajistān and Junābad, 183*x*; Dasht-Biyāḍ and Fāris, 184*b*; Birjand, 184*c*; Khūsf, 184*e*; Sākhis or Shakhīn, 184*f*; Zīrkūh, 184*g*; Ṭabas Masīnān, 184*h*; Ṭabas Kīlakī, 184*m*; Ḳāyin, 184*p*; Kal'ah Darah, 184*u*; Mumīnābād, 184*v*; Zāvil, 184*w*; Fīrūzkūh, 184*x*; Ghaznayn, 184*y*; Ṭarmīshah, 185*b*; Maymanah, 185*c*; Ḳarnayn, 185*d*.

Sīstān, by the Arabs written Sijistān, was of old called Nīmrūz, meaning 'Midday,' a name said to have been given to the province in regard to its position south of Khurāsān. Ḳuhistān—'the Mountain-land'—was the north-western part of this country, and in older times it was more often included in the Khurāsān government.

Zaranj, the capital, also known as Sīstān city, was a great place in the middle ages. It was completely destroyed by Timur half a century after the time of Mustawfi, and the extensive ruins of the old town, the name of Zaranj having long since been forgotten, lie some miles to the north-east of Nāṣirābād (or Naṣratābād), the modern capital of Sīstān, near the hamlets of Pishāvarān and Nād 'Alī. The city of Zaranj lay along the bank of the Siyāh-rūd—'the Black Canal'—a branch from the Helmund river. The

Āb-i-Hirmand, as Mustawfī spells the name (L. 216*s*), rises in the mountains of Ghūr, and after passing the fortress of Bust curves round northward to the city of Zaranj, flowing out finally into the Zirrah Lake from the eastward by many mouths and canals. From the north the Zirrah Lake received the water of the Āb-i-Farah, the river which passed the town of Farah, and which like the Helmund also rose in the mountains of Ghūr, in what is now north-western Afghanistān (L. 216*t*, 226*p*).

Turshīz was the chief city of the Ḳuhistān province, and near it was the village of Kishmar,[1] famous for the great cypress-trees planted by Zoroaster, as related by Firdūsī in the *Shāh Nāmah* (Turner-Macan, iv, 1067). Near Turshīz were four famous castles called Ḳal'ah Bardārud, Ḳal'ah Mīkāl (or Haykāl), Mujāhidābād, and Ātishgāh ('the Fire-temple'). No town called Turshīz exists, but a district now bears this name, and from the Itineraries given by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 284) and others Ṭurshīz, anciently called Ṭurthīth, or Ṭuraythīth, lay one day's march westward of Kundur. Hence the ruins of the city are probably those seen at Fīrūzābād, near the village of 'Abdulābād; and in any case Turshīz cannot be Sulṭānābād, the modern capital of the Turshīz district, for this lies *east* of Kundur.

Tūn is still one of the chief towns of Ḳuhistān, and according to Mustawfī was originally laid out on a Chinese plan, whatever that may signify. Bajistān [**1**], of which Yāḳūt (i, 497) also speaks, lies due north of Tūn; it is to be noted, however, that in the *Jahān Numā* (p. 326) and many of the *Nuzhat* MSS. this name is given as Tanjah, but probably in error. Junābād [**2**], generally called Gunābād, and which the Arab geographers write Yunābidh, lies north-east of Tūn; it was famous for its two castles, called Ḳal'ah Khwāshir and Darjān (or Darkhān). In the neighbourhood were the mountains called Kūh-i-Gunābād and Kūh-i-Zībad, which are said to be mentioned by Firdūsī (L. 206*n*). The district of Dasht-i-Biyāḍ lies south of Gunābād and

[1] In Ḳazvīnī (ii, 299) printed *Kishm* by mistake: but right in Yāḳūt (iv, 278).

east of Tūn; its chief town was Fāris [**3**], now generally called Ḳal'ah Kuhnah, or 'the Old Castle.' Birjand [**4**] lies at some distance to the south-east of Tūn, and to the west of Birjand is Khūsf [**5**], a name which the Arab geographers write Khawst; the position of Sākhis (Shāḥīn, Sāḥin, and Shakhīn are manuscript variants) appears to be unknown. Zīrkūh — 'the Foot-hills' — is the name of a district marked on the map as lying to the eastward of Ḳāyin; Mustawfi states that it had three towns, namely, Isfadan [**6**], Istind [**7**], and Shārakhs [**8**], all of which may still be found on the map.

During the middle ages there were two cities called Ṭabas, namely, Ṭabas Kīlakī [**9**], which in the Arab geographers is given as Ṭabas-at-Tamr—'Ṭabas of the Date'—and Ṭabas Masīnān [**10**], formerly known as Ṭabas-al-'Unnāb—'Ṭabas of the Jujube-tree.' From the distances given in the Arab Itineraries it would appear that Ṭabas Kīlakī (or Gīlakī) is the place still marked in our maps as Ṭabas, which lies on the desert border, and this agrees with what is said of the limits of the Mafāzah, or Great Desert, in the previous chapter. The position of Ṭabas Masīnān cannot be exactly fixed, but the evidence of Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 335) and the other Itineraries would place it about half-way between Tūn and the other (the present) Ṭabas, which last is often named Ṭabasayn. The city of Ḳāyin lies east of Tūn, and was noted as the central point of Ḳuhistān; the Castle of Darah [**11**] is south-east of Birjand, and Muminābād is the name of the mountainous district to the east of Birjand.

In regard to Zāvil, Mustawfi gives this as the name of a town with its surrounding district, and in the previous chapter he has mentioned Zāvil as lying on the north-western border of the great desert. The name does not occur in Yāḳūt or any of the earlier Arab geographers, but Monsieur B. de Meynard, in a note to his *Dictionnaire de la Perse* (p. 35), quoting the author of the *Mubārik Shāhī*, states that Zāvil was a district near Asfuzār (Sabzivār of Herat), and that it was watered by eighty streams on which stood water-mills. Fīrūzkūh—'Turquoise Mountain'—is

probably the ancient capital of Ghūr, which will be noticed in the next chapter, the exact position of which, in what is now north-western Afghanistān, is unknown. Ghaznayn, otherwise Ghaznah, needs no comment, but I am unable to identify the place written Ṭarmīshah (Ṭar'īt, Ṭarmast, etc., are variants given in the MSS.); possibly it is merely a mistake for, and duplicate of, Turshīz. Maymanah, which the Arab geographers called Yahūdīyah — 'Jew-town' — lies east of Bālā Murghāb, in the north-west of modern Afghanistān; and the city of Ḳarnayn, celebrated as the birthplace of Layth, the founder of the Ṣaffarids, lies in the desert one march to the north of Khāsh on the river Helmund, according to the distances given by Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 306).

(To be continued.)

ART. XIX.—*On the Mugdhāvabodhamauktika, and its evidence as to Old Gujarātī.* By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., I.C.S.

IN the year 1889 the late Mr. H. H. Dhruva published an edition of the *Mugdhāvabodhamauktika*, which he described as "a Grammar for Beginners of the Gujerati Language." He cannot have given much study to the work, for a perusal of it will show that it is not a Gujarātī Grammar at all. It is a very elementary Sanskrit Grammar, with the explanations written in an old form of Gujarātī. The date of the work is A.D. 1394, and all that is known of the author is that he was the pupil of Deva-sundara. His name is not given. As a Sanskrit Grammar the *Mugdhāvabodhamauktika* is of very small value. It deals more with what we should call syntax than with the formation of words. But, as the explanations are written in the vernacular, these incidentally afford information as to what was the condition of the language of Gujarat between the time of Hema-candra (fl. 1150 A.D.) and the time of Narsingh Mehṭā (fl. 1450 A.D.), with whom Gujarātī literature is commonly said to commence. I have therefore examined the text with some minuteness, and lay the results before the Royal Asiatic Society, as providing a valuable connecting link between the Gaurjara Apabhraṁśa of the Prakrit grammarian and modern Gujarātī. The close connection of this Old Gujarātī with the former is remarkable; and, though the materials are very incomplete, we are entitled to say that for the first time we have before us an unbroken chain of development between a Prakrit dialect and a modern Indian vernacular.

PHONETICS.

The original is carelessly printed. Great laxity is shown in the use of *anusvāra*, which is omitted *ad libitum*. When printed, it usually represents *anunāsika*. Possibly it sometimes represents *anusvāra*. As one cannot distinguish between the two uses of this sign, I have contented myself with uniformly transliterating it by ˜. Forms like *tã*, *jã*, should perhaps be written *taṁ*, *jaṁ*, respectively. I have silently corrected the numerous misprints in the use of *anusvāra*.

The letters *e* and *o* are no doubt often short, as in Apabhraṁśa. As the original makes no distinction in the quantity of these vowels, I have perforce left them unmarked.

Dr. Konow has drawn my attention to the fact that, in Marāṭhī, a single Prakrit *ṇ* remains cerebralized in the modern vernacular, but that a double cerebral *ṇṇ* becomes dentalized to *n*, thus following the example of Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī. The same rule obtains in Old Gujarātī. Thus, Apabhraṁśa *jāṇai*, Old Guj. *jāṇai*, he knows; but Ap. *paṇṇa*, Old Guj. *pāna*, a leaf; Ap. *aṇṇai*, Old Guj. *anai*, and.

The rule, of course, does not apply to tatsamas like *dāna*, a gift.

As in Apabhraṁśa, a conjunct *r* is optionally retained (Hc., iv, 398). Thus, *Caitra* or *Caitta*, N.P.; *prāmai*, he obtains.

As in Prakrit, the diphthongs *ai* and *au* occur only as compounds of *a* and *i*, and *a* and *u*, respectively. They are not the Sanskrit diphthongs, and are usually written as separate letters, thus *aï*, *aü*. I have followed Professor Jacobi's example in omitting the diæresis as a useless complication.

NOUNS.

Weak Noun in *a*.

Base, *dāna* (neut.), a gift; *Caitta* (masc.), N.P., Caitra.

Singular.

	Apabhraṁśa.	Old Gujarātī.	Modern Gujarātī.
Nom.	*dāṇa*	*dāna, dānā, Caitta*	*dān*
	dāṇu, Cettu	*dānũ, Caittu*	
Acc.	*dāṇa*	*dāna, dānā, Caitta*	*dān*
	dāṇu, Cettu	*dānũ, Caittu*	
		Also same as Dat.	Also same as Dat.
Instr.	*dāṇehĩ, dāṇẽ*	*dānĩ, dānĩ*	*dāne*
Dat.	*dāṇa-taṇẽ*, iv, 425, 345 [1]	*dāna-naĩ*	*dān-ne*
Abl.	*dāṇa-hu, -hiṁto, -suṁto, dāṇatto*	*dāna-tau, -hũtau, -thau, -thakau*	*dān-tho* (declined as adjective), *-thī*
Gen.	*dāṇa-taṇau*	*dāna-taṇau*	*dān-taṇo*
		dāna-nau	*dān-no*
		dāna-rahĩ, -rahaĩ	(cf. Mārwārī *dāṇ-ro*)
	dāṇa-kehĩ (dative), iv, 425, 345.	*dāna-kihĩ*	cf. *dān-kero*
Loc.	*dāṇi*	*dāni*	*dāne*
Obl. base	*dāṇaho, dāṇa*	*dāna*	*dān*

Plural.

I have met only one clear instance of the nominative plural. It is the same as the oblique base—*mora* in *mora nācaĩ*, peacocks dance. In Ap. it would be the same. In Mod. Guj. it would be *mor(-o)*. Cf., however, *je liṅga*

[1] References here and elsewhere are to Hema-candra's Grammar.

vibhakti vacana huī, te śatṛ pratyaya parai āṇīī, the terminations of gender, number, and case are added to the suffix *śatṛ*. Examples of the various cases—

Nominative.—(a) *candra ūgai*, the moon rises; *dāna dījai*, a gift is given; *śiṣya pūchai*, the disciple asks; *dharma-karaṇahāra jīva sukha prāmai*, an individual who acts virtuously obtains bliss; *loka dekhai*, the person sees.

(b) *Caittu loka-siū vāta karai*, Caitra converses with a person; *Maittu nācai*, Maitra dances; *anyādika-nau yogu hui*, the sense of 'other' or the like is indicated.; *puṁliṅga prathamā eka-vacanu hui*, it is the third person masculine singular. Neut. *dharmū sukha-nai kāraṇi hui*, virtue is for (i.e. leads to) happiness; *caittu-taṇaū dhanū gāmi chai*, Caitra's wealth is in the village.

Accusative.—(a) *vītarāga vāñchita dii*, the ascetic grants a boon; *vāta karai*, converses (see above); *tapa karai*, he performs austerities; *guru-taṇaū vacana haū sābhalaū*, I listen to the word of the preceptor; *artha pūchai*, he asks the meaning; *hala kheḍatau*, driving the plough (cf. below); *bīja vāvai*, he sows seed; *sukha prāmai*, he obtains happiness; *śiṣya haū sābhalaū*, I hear the disciple; *śāstra paṭhatau*, reading the scriptures.

(b) *Chaittu kaṭu karai*, Chaitra makes a straw mat; *saṁsāru tarai*, he passes over existence; *guri arthu kahatai*, while the preceptor is telling the meaning; *kisū kheḍatau, halu*, what is he driving? the plough (cf. above).

Instrumental.—(a) *jīva dharmīī saṁsāru tarai*, by virtue a living being crosses (the ocean of) existence (see below); *kiṇaī kījatau, sūtradhārīī*, by whom is it being made? by the architect (see below); *śiṣyiī paṭhītaū haū sābhalaū*, I listen to what is being read by the disciple; *ē grantha sukhiī paṭhāyai*, this book can be read with pleasure; *śrāvakiī deva pūjiu*, the god is worshipped by the votary; *gopālīī gāe dohītīe*, while the cows are being milked by Gopāla; *caitīī gāītai maittu nācai*, while (a song) is being sung by Caitra, Maitra dances.

(b) *kisiī tarai, dharmī*, by what does one cross? by virtue; *sūtradhārī kījatau prasāda, loka dekhai*, a person looks on while the palace is being built by the architect.

Dative. — *sukha-naĩ*, for bliss; *jeha vastu-naĩ parityāga sūcīi*, for what thing abandonment is indicated. Instead of *naĩ*, the word *kāraṇi* (the locative of *kāraṇa*), preceded by *nai* (the termination of the genitive put into the locative neuter to agree with *kāraṇi*), is commonly used. Thus, *vivekiu moksa-nai kāraṇi khapai*, the man of discrimination strives after salvation; *dharmu sukha-nai kāraṇi hui*, virtue is for (leads to) happiness. After a verb of giving the genitive termination *rahaĩ* is used to indicate the dative. Thus, *jeha-rahaĩ dāna dījai*, to whom a gift is given.

In the following instance the dative is used for the accusative:—*i-kāra-naĩ bolivai*, in saying the letter *i*.

Ablative.—*vṛkṣa-tau pāna paḍai*, the leaf falls from the tree. No examples are available of the other suffixes.

Genitive.—Examples of *taṇau* and of *nau* will be given under the head of adjectives. The suffixes *rahaĩ* and *rahĩ* occur frequently in the grammatical rules, as in *eha-rahaĩ*, of this; *a-varṇa-rahĩ*, (in the place) of a vowel of the *a*-set. No examples are available of *kihĩ*.

Locative.—*sampradāni*, in the dative; *caittu-taṇaũ dhanũ gāmi chai*, Caitra's wealth is in the village; *caittu gāmi vasai*, C. lives in the village; *śabda-nai chehi*, at the end of a word; *meghi varasatai mora nācaĩ*, while the clouds rain (loc. absolute), the peacocks dance.

In connection with the above, it may be pointed out that the suffix *naĩ* of the dative is really the instrumental masculine or neuter of the genitive termination *nau*, which, as we shall see, is capable of being declined in all its cases.

Strong Noun in *a*.

Base, *tārau* (masc.), a star; *sonaũ* (neut.), gold.

Singular.

	Apabhraṁśa.	Old Gujarātī.	Modern Gujarātī.
Nom.	*tārau, soṇṇaĩ*	*tārau, sonaũ*	*tāro, soṇũ*
Acc.	*tārau, soṇṇaĩ*	*tārau, sonaũ*	*tāro, soṇũ*
		Also same as Dat.	Also same as Dat.
Instr.	*tāraehĩ, tārẽ*	*tāraĩ*	*tāre*
Dat.	*tāraa-taṇẽ*	*tārā-naĩ*	*tārā-ne*
Abl.	*tāraa-hu, -hiṁto, -suṁto, tāraatto*	*tārā-tau, -hũtau, -thau, -thakau*	*tārā-tho, -thī*
Gen.	*tāraa-taṇau*	*tārā-taṇau, tārā-nau, tārā-rahĩ, -rahaĩ*	*tārā-tano, tārā-no (tārā-ro)*
	tāraa-kehĩ (dative)	*tārā-kihĩ*	*tārā-kero*
Loc.	*tārai*	*tārai*	*tāre*
Obl. base	*tāraaho, tāraa*	*tārā*	*tārā*

Plural.

In Old Gujarātī, the nom. plural masc. appears to end in *ā* and the neuter in *ã*. Cf. Apabhraṁśa *tāraa* and *soṇṇaāĩ*. The distinction between masc. and neut. is, however, very doubtful, and possibly both terminations are used indifferently. The plural oblique base is the same as the nominative. In Modern Gujarātī the forms for both the Nom. and the Obl. base are *tārā-(o)* and *sonã-(o)*, the addition of *o* being optional in each case. The only examples which I can give of the plural are *mūlagã kartā kriyā sucīyaĩ*, the original subject and action are indicated (here apparently *kartā* and *kriyā* agree with an adjective in the neuter plural, unless the termination is also used for

the masculine); *ātmanepada-taṇā nava vacana*, the nine persons of the ātmanepada; *ketalā*, how many (apparently masc.), and similar forms.

The following are examples of the use of some of the cases of the singular:—

Nominative.—*kriyā karivai ju mūligau hui, su kartā*, the originator in doing an action is the subject; *tārau ūgiu*, the star rose; *ihā̃ sonaũ suhūgaũ vīkāi*, gold is sold cheap here; *ātmanepada-naũ pahilaũ ekū-ja vacana hui*, the third person of the ātmanepada is only in the singular (*j* = Śaurasenī *jjeva*); *jeha-rahaĩ kriyā hetupaṇaũ na huĩ*, the actions of which do not become causality.

Accusative.—*sūtradhārī kīyataũ deharaũ loka dekhai*, a person looks at a temple being built by the architect.

Instrumental.—*karī leī deī ityādi bolivaĩ*, by saying 'having done,' 'having taken,' 'having given,' etcetera.

Locative.—*ju karai lii dii paḍhai hui ityādi bolivai*, in saying the person who does, takes, gives, reads, becomes, etcetera; *kriyā karivai ju mūligau hui, su kartā* (see Nom.).

Oblique base.—*varga-taṇā pahilā akṣara parai*, after the first letter of a *varga*.

No examples of the employment of the other cases are available.

Other Nouns.

Only sporadic examples of other nouns occur in the grammar. They are the following:—

Nominative singular.—*vivekiu mokṣa-nai kāraṇi khapai*, a man of discrimination strives for final beatitude; *karasaṇī hala kheḍatau bīja vāvai*, the cultivator, while driving his plough, sows seed; *guri arthu kahatai pramādīu ūghai*, while the preceptor is telling the meaning, Pramādī (or the lazy one) is drowsy.

Accusative singular.—*sūtradhārī kīyatī vāvī loka dekhai*, a person looks at a well being built by the architect.

Dative singular.—*jeha vastu-naĩ parityāga sūcīi*, for what thing abandonment is indicated.

Genitive singular.—*guru-tanaũ vacana*, the word of the preceptor.

Genitive plural.—*e bihui-nai yogi*, in the sense of these two.

Locative singular.—*guri*, loc. of *guru*, see Nom. sing. above.

Locative plural.—*gopālĩ gāe* (gen. sg. *gāi-nau*) *dohītĭe caittu aviu*, Caitra came while the cows were being milked by Gopāla (loc. plur. absolute).

Oblique singular.—*kartā* (nom. the same) *āgali*, before the subject.

ADJECTIVES.

The feminine of strong nouns or adjectives in *au* (neut. *aũ*) ends in *ī*. Thus, *puvvilau*, first; *puvvilī kriyā*, the first verb. So *kĭjatau* (masc.), *kĭjatī* (fem.), *kĭjataũ* (neut.), being done (pres. part. pass.). Adjectives are declined like substantives. Thus, *sonaũ suhũgaũ* (nom. neut.), cheap gold; *varga-taṇā trĭjā* (nom. masc. *trĭjau*) *akṣara-rahĩ padānti*, (in the place) of the third letter of a set at the end of a word (here the adjective in the oblique form agrees with a genitive); *liṅga chehilā* (oblique form) *śabda-taṇaũ hui*, the gender (of a dvandva compound) is that of the last word; *gāe dohītĭe*, while the cows are being milked (loc. plur. absolute).

The genitive in *taṇau* or *nau* is treated exactly like an adjective, and is declined throughout all cases and numbers in agreement with the noun which it qualifies. When, however, the case of the principal noun is formed by adding a suffix to the oblique form, the suffix is not repeated after the genitive, which thus only appears in the oblique form. When a genitive agrees with a noun in the instrumental or locative, it is itself put into the same case. Examples are—

Nom. sing. masc.—*eha-taṇau* or *eha-nau*, of this; *anyādika-nau yogu*, the sense of 'other' and the like; *je kartā-nau athavā karma-nau ādhāra huĩ, te adhikaraṇa*, those things which are the receptacle of the subject or of the object are the *adhikaraṇa*; *teha trĭjā akṣara parai hakāra-rahĩ trĭjā-nau sagau cauthau hui*, after these (above-mentioned) third

letters (of the *vargas*) the fourth letter (of the *varga*) is added (*sagata*) to the third one (in the place) of the letter *ha*.

Nom. sing. fem.—*kartā-nī apekṣā hui*, there is a reference to subject.

Nom. sing. neut.—*caittu-taṇaũ dhanũ*, the wealth of Caitra; *kauṇa-taṇaũ dhanũ*, whose wealth? *guru-taṇaũ vacana*, the word of the preceptor; *āpaṇā karma-naũ viśeṣaṇa*, a qualifier of its own object; *bhāva-nũ* (sic) *viśeṣaṇu* (sic), a qualifier of impersonality, an impersonal verbal adjective.

Loc. sing.—*teha-nai yogi*, in the sense of that; *jeha-nai kāraṇi*, for whose sake; *vivekiu mokṣa-nai kāraṇi khapai*, a man of discrimination strives for final beatitude; *dharmu sukha-nai kāraṇi hui*, virtue is for happiness; *ktwā-nai karmi dvitīyā*, in the object of (a word ending in) the suffix *ktwā* there is the accusative case; *śabda-nai chehi*, at the end of a word; *karasaṇī-nai viśeṣaṇi*, in the adjective qualifying the word *karasaṇi*.

Obl. form sing.—*pratyaya-nā kartā āgali*, before the subject of a suffix (here *kartā* is in the oblique form, which is the same as the nominative, being governed by *āgali*); *varga-taṇā trījā akṣara-rahī*, (in the place) of the third letter of a *varga*; *varga-taṇā pahilā akṣara parai*, after the first letter of a varga.

Nom. plur.—*ātmanepada-taṇā nava vacana*, the nine persons of the ātmanepada.

PRONOUNS.

The information regarding the personal pronouns is not complete. The pronoun of the first person is *haũ*, I. So Ap.; Mod. Guj. *hũ*. No instance of the pronoun of the second person occurs. It was probably *tuhũ*, as in Apabhraṁśa. In Mod. Guj. it is *tũ*. No other cases of either of these pronouns occur.

Instead of the genitive we have possessive pronouns, which are adjectives. These are *māharau* (Ap. *māharau*, Mod. Guj. *māro*), my; *amhārau* (Ap. *amhārau*, Mod. Guj.

amāro), our; *tāharau* (Ap. *tuhārau*, Mod. Guj. *tāro*), thy; *tamhārau* (Ap. *tumhārau*, Mod. Guj. *tamāro*), your.

'He,' 'that' is *su*, neut. *tā*. No instance of the feminine has been noted. The corresponding forms in Ap. are *su* (m.), *sa* (f.), *taṁ* (n.). In Mod. Guj. we have *te* (com. gen.). The nom. plural is *te* (? com. gen.). In Ap. it is *te* (m.), *tāo* (f.), *tāī* (n.). Mod. Guj. has *te*(*-o*) (com. gen.). Examples of these pronouns are—

Guru-taṇaũ vacana haũ sābhalaũ, I listen to the word of the preceptor.

Ju tarai su kartā, he who crosses (the ocean of existence) is the subject (of the sentence); so *ju dekhai su kartā*; *jā kīj̈ai tā karma*, that which is done is the object (of the sentence); *śiṣya śāstra paḍhī artha pūchai; ju pūchai su kartā, tihā̃ prathamā; kisū pūchai, artha; jā pūchai, tā karma, tihā̃ dvitīyā*, the disciple having read the holy book asks the meaning; he who asks is the subject and therefore in the nominative case. What is asked? the meaning. That which is asked is the object and therefore in the accusative case; *je liṅga vibhakti vacana huī, te śatṛ pratyaya paraī āṇīī*, the signs of gender, case, and number are put after the suffix *śatṛ*.

'This' is *e*, which is both masc. and neut., sing. and plur. In Ap. the forms are *eho* (m.), *eha* (f.), *ehu* (n.), sing.; *ei* (com. gen.), plur. In Mod. Guj. it is *e* for all genders and both numbers. There is a substantival oblique form, *eha*, for both sing. and plur. Examples are—

E grantha sukhīī paṭhāyai, this book can be read with pleasure; *e bihui-nai yogi*, in the sense of these two; *eha-nau*, of this; *eha-raha*ī, of this. From this oblique form, we may assume that the oblique form of *su* is *teha*.

The relative pronoun is *ju*, neut. *jā*. The feminine has not been noted. The corresponding Ap. forms are *ju*, *ja*, *jaṁ*, Mod. Guj. *je* (com. gen.). There is also an instrumental *jiṇaī* or *jīṇā* (this latter may possibly be an accusative), both used as substantives. The nom. plur. is *je*, with a neuter substantive *jihāī*. The substantival oblique form, both singular and plural, is *jeha*. Examples are—

Ju tarai; *jā pūchai*; as given above under *su*; *jiṇā karī karai lii dii ityādi yuktiī jihāī kahāī, anai jiṇā karī kartā kriyā sādhai, tā karaṇa,* the instrument is those things which are said (i.e. indicated) by the expression 'having done (by) what, he does, takes, or gives,' and 'having done (by) what, the subject accomplishes an action'; *jiṇaī mūlagā kartā kriyā sucīyaī*, by which the original subject and action are indicated. The dative sing. is *jeha-naī* or *jeha-nai kāraṇi*; the abl. *jeha-tau, -hūtau, -thau, -thakau*; *jeha-siū ityādi bolivai sahādi yogi tritīyā hui,* in saying 'with whom' and the like, in the sense of 'with' and the like, the third case is used. The genitive is *jeha-nau* or *jeha-rahaī*, with a loc. of gen. *jeha-nai*, and an obl. gen. *jeha-nā*. For the nom. plur. we have *je liṅga vibhakti vacana huī* as given under *su*.

The interrogative pronoun for masc. and fem. is *kauṇa* or *kuṇa*. Its instrumental singular is *kīṇaī* or *kaṇaī*, its abl. *kauṇa-tau*, its gen. *kiha-taṇau*, and its obl. base *kauṇa* or *kīṇā*. Compare Ap. *kavaṇu*, fem. *kavaṇa*, and Mod. Guj. *koṇ*, obl. *koṇā*. Examples are—

Kauṇa tarai, who passes over? *candra ūgai; kuṇa ūgai, candra,* the moon rises. Who rises? The moon; *kīṇaī kījatau*, by whom is (the palace) being made? *gāe kaṇaī dohītīe*, while the cows are being milked by whom? *vṛkṣa-tau pāna paḍai; kauṇa-tau paḍai*, the leaf falls from the tree. From what does it fall? *kīnā-siū*, with whom?

The neuter interrogative pronoun is *kisaū, kisū*, or *kisiu*; instr. *kisiī*; dat. *kisā-nai kāraṇi* or *kauṇa-nai kā°*; abl. *kauṇa-tau*; gen. *kauṇa-taṇau*; loc. *kisai*; loc. plur. fem. (see example below) *kisīe*. The forms with *kauṇa* refer to nouns having grammatically a masculine gender. Compare Ap. *kiṁ*, instr. *kiṇā*, abl. *kīsa*, gen. *kissā*. Mod. Guj. has *śuṁ*. Examples of this pronoun are—

Kisū pūchai, what does he ask? *kisū kheḍatau, halu*, what does he drive? the plough; *kisaū dekhai, prasāda*, what is he looking at? the palace; *gurī arthu kahatai, kisiu kahatai*, while the preceptor is telling the meaning. What is he telling? *kisiī tarai, dharmī*, by what does he cross; by

virtue; *kauṇa-nai kāraṇi, mokṣa-naĩ*, for the sake of what? for beatitude; *kisā-nai kāraṇi dharmu hui, sukha-naĩ*, for what (i.e. tending to what) is virtue? for happiness; *kauṇa-tau paḍai, vṛkṣa-tau*, from what does it fall? from the tree; *kisai ḥūtai, gāītai*, while what is going on? while singing is going on (loc. abs.); *gopālīĩ gāe dohītīe caittu aviu; kisai hũtai, gāe; gāe kisīe, dohītīe*, while the cows were being milked by Gopāla, Caitra came; while what were being dealt with? cows; while what was being done to the cows (lit. while the cows were what, loc. plur. fem. abs.)? while they were being milked.

The reflexive pronoun occurs only in the genitive. Thus, *āpaṇī* (fem. of *-ṇau*) *kriyā*, its own action; *āpaṇā karma-nau*, of its own object. Ap. has *appaṇau*. Mod. Guj. has *āpaṇo*, but it is used in the meaning of 'our' including the person addressed.

The only instance of an indefinite pronoun which I have noted is *amukau*, a certain person.

VERBS.

Conjugation is very superficially dealt with in the *Mugdhāvabodhamauktika*. No attempt is made to explain the formations of the various tenses. Only the personal terminations are given in Sanskrit, and that without any translation into the writer's vernacular. Participles and the like are treated more fully. From what is given we can gather the following concerning Old Gujarātī.

Present tense.—The only instance of the first person singular is *sābhalaũ*, I hear. The only other persons which occur are the third persons singular and plural. The termination of the third person singular is *ai*, or, after a vowel, *i*. That of the third person plural is *aĩ*, or, after a vowel, *ĩ*. There are several examples of the third singular. Thus—

(a) *Consonantal roots.*

āvai, he comes.
ũghaĩ, she is drowsy.
ūgai, (the moon) rises.
karai, he does.
khapai, he strives.
chai, it is.
jāṇai, he knows.
tarai, he passes over.
dekhai, he sees.
nācai, he dances.
paḍai, it falls.
paḍhai, he reads.
pūchai, he asks.
prāmai, he obtains.
vasai, he dwells.
vāvai, he sows.
sakai, he can.

(b) *Vocalic roots.*

hui, he becomes.
lii, he takes.
dii, he gives.

The following are examples of the third person plural: *nācaĩ*, they dance; *huĩ*, they become.

The following table compares the forms of Old Guj. with Ap. and Mod. Guj.:—

Apabhraṁśa.	Old Gujarātī.	Modern Gujarātī.	English.
naccaũ	*nācaũ*	*nācũ*	I dance
naccai	*nācai*	*nāce*	he dances
naccahĩ	*nācaĩ*	*nāce*	they dance

Future tense.—No example of the future occurs. We should expect a form such as *nācisaũ*, corresponding to the Mod. Guj. *nācīś* and the Ap. *naccisaũ*. The noun of agency in *-aṇahāra* can be used as an immediate future, as in *haũ kāli amukaũ karaṇahāra*, I shall do such and such a thing to-morrow.

Past tense.—This is formed as in all modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars from the past participle passive. All three constructions, the active, the personal passive, and the impersonal passive are used. Thus, *caittu aviu*, Caitra is

come; *śrāvakiṁ deva pūjiu*, the god was worshipped by the votary, i.e. the votary worshipped the god; *śrāvakiṁ deva pūjiuṁ*, by the votary, with reference to the god, worship was done, i.e. the votary worshipped the god.

Past conditional. — This is formed with the present participle, as in *jai haũ paḍhata tau ubhalaũ hũta*, if I had read I should have (?) understood. So also in Jaina Prakrit.

The passive voice is formed by adding *īy* to consonantal roots, and *ij* to vocalic ones. With the terminations *ai* and *aĩ* of the third person, *īyai* can become *īi*, and *īyaĩ īĩ*. The Ap. termination of the passive is *ijja*, or in Śaurasenī Ap. *īa*. This form of the passive is not used in modern standard Gujarātī. Examples are—

(a) *Consonantal roots.*

uccarīyai, it is pronounced.
kahīyai, it is said.
kahīi, it is said.
tarīi, it is passed over.
paṭhīi (not *paḍhīi*), it is read.
bolīyai, it is said.
sūcīyai, it is indicated.
sūcīi, it is indicated.
āṇīĩ, they are brought.
sūcīyaĩ, they are indicated.

(b) *Vocalic roots.*

dijai, it is given.
lijai, it is taken.
kijai, it is done.

Note that the root *kar*, do, is treated irregularly as if it were vocalic (Pr. *kijjai*).

A potential passive is formed by adding *ā* or *āy* to the root. So also in Mod. Guj. Examples are—

paṭhāyai (not *paḍhāyai*), it can be read.
bolāyai, it can be said, it is called.
vīkāi, it can be sold.
kahāĩ, they can be said.

Present participle.—This is formed by adding *atu* (weak form) or *atau* (strong form). I have only noted the weak form in the neuter (cf. the genitive termination *nũ* on p. 545). Thus, masc. *karatau*, fem. *karatī*, neut. *karatũ* or *karataũ*, doing. So in the passive, *kīj̈atau*, *-tī*, *-taũ*, being done. These are declined like adjectives, and locatives absolute are common. Examples are—

(a) *Active.*

karatau, doing.
kahatau, saying. Loc. abs. *kahatai*.
kheḍatau, driving (a plough).
ghaṭitau, happening.
paṭhatau, reading.
letau, taking.
varasatau, raining. Loc. abs. *varasatai*.
hutau or *hũtau*, becoming. Loc. abs. *hutai* or *hũtai*.

(b) *Passive.*

kīj̈atau, being done.
gāītau, being sung. Loc. abs. *gāītai*.
dohītau, being milked. Loc. plur. fem. abs. *dohītīe*.
paṭhītau, being read.
līj̈atau, being taken.

Examples of the use of these participles are—

Meghi varasatai mora nācaĩ, while the clouds rain the peacocks dance; *guri arthu kahatai pramādīu ũghai*, while the preceptor is telling the meaning, Pramādī is drowsy; *gopālīĩ gāe dohītīe caittu aviu*, while the cows were being milked by Gopāla, Caitra came; *śiṣya śāstra paṭhatau hau sābhalaũ*, I listen to the disciple reading the holy book; *śiṣyīĩ śāstra paṭhītaũ haũ sābhalaũ*, I listen to the holy book being read by the disciple; *caittīĩ gāītai maittu nācai*, Maitra dances while it is being sung (impersonal) by Caitra, i.e. while Caitra sings.

Past participle passive.—This usually ends in *iu*, as in Ap. The examples found are *aviu*, come; *giu*, went; *pūj̈iũ*

(neut.), worshipped; *ūṭhiu*, risen; *jāgiu*, awakened. The Sanskrit *supta(ka)* becomes, through the Ap. *suttau*, *sūtau*. No examples occur of those past participles which are usually irregular in Mod. Guj. In the last-named language the participle usually ends in *yo*, as in *uṭhyo*, risen.

The conjunctive participle ends in *ī* as in Mod. Guj., corresponding to the Ap. *-i* or *-iu*. Examples are *karī*, having done; *leī*, having taken; *dēī*, having given; *paḍhī*, having read. The verbs 'to know' and 'to be able' are construed with this participle, as in *karī jāṇai*, he knows how to do; *leī sakai*, he can take. So, the Ap. *iu* is by origin an infinitive.

Verbal noun.—This ends in *ivaũ* after consonantal and *vaũ* after vocalic roots. Thus, *karivaũ*, the act of doing; *levaũ*, the act of taking. The oblique forms, such as *karivā*, *levā*, are used as infinitives of purpose in sentences such as "the potter brings earth to make a pot" (in the original the example is only given in Sanskrit). The locative and instrumental are also very common.

The noun of agency is formed by adding *aṇahāra* to consonantal and *ṇahāra* to vocalic roots. Thus, *karaṇahāra*, a doer; *leṇahāra*, a taker. The Mod. Guj. forms would be *karanār*, *lenār*.

POSTPOSITIONS.

The following postpositions have been noted. They all govern nouns in the oblique form.

siũ, with.
mãhi, in.
āgali, before.
pāchali, behind.
parai or *pari*, after.

It will be seen that the last four are nouns in the locative.

MISCELLANEOUS PRONOMINAL FORMS.

īhã or *ihã̄*, here; *tihã̄*, there; *jihã̄*, where; *kihã̄*, where? *havaḍã̄*, now; *tavāraï*, then; *kavāraï*, when? *anerī-vāra*, at another time; *eka-vāra*, once; *sadaivai*, always.

im, in this manner; *tim*, in that manner; *jim*, how; *kim*, how?

isiu or *isau*, like this; *tisiu*, like that; *jisiu*, like what; *kisiu*, like what?

etalau, this much; *tetalau, jetalau, ketalau.*

etalā (plural), this many; *tetalā, jetalā, ketalā.*

evaḍau, this big; *tevaḍau, jevaḍau, kevaḍau.*

athau, facing in this direction; *tethau, jethau, kethau.*

The following is a list of words not mentioned in the preceding pages.

aīya, (?) thus.

ajī, even to-day, still, yet.

anai-kā̃ī, what else?

anareu (? *aneriu*), adj., like another, of another kind.

anerai dīsi, on another day (both words in loc.).

anerā-taṇau, belonging to another.

ahuṇa, during the present year.

ahuṇoka, belonging to the present year.

āgilu, adj., before, in front.

āju, to-day.

ājūṇu, of to-day, modern.

āvatai kāli, to-morrow (both words in loc.).

ihā̃-taṇau, belonging to here.

upari, above.

urahau, near, on this side.

ūpilu, adj., upper.

ūyatra, ascent (*udyātrā*).

ekū-ja, one only.

oliu (cf. *pailau*), facing towards one.

kanhai, near.

kā̃ī, somewhat (*kimapi*).

kāli, to-morrow, yesterday. Cf. *gii-kāli, āvatai-kāli.*

kālūṇa, of yesterday or to-morrow.

kuji-kā̃ī, who knows what, something or other.

kehāgamā-taṇau, adj., belonging to where.

gamā, in *kehāgamā, cihugamā, jimaṇāgamā*, and *ḍāvāgamā*, qq.v.

gāma-taṇau, of or belonging to a village, rustic.
gii-kāli, yesterday (both words in loc.).
cau, four.
cauthau, fourth.
cihugamā, in all directions, on all sides.
chehilu (obl. sg. *chehilā*), final, last.
ja, in *ekū-ja*, only one = Ap. *ji* (Hc. iv, 420).
jā, (1) rel. pron. neut. (*yat*); (2) as far as (*yāvat*).
jai, if. The correlative is *tai* or *tau*.
jaīya-lagaī (? also *jaī-la*°), from what time forth.
jimaṇāgamā, on the right hand.
ḍāvāgamā, on the left hand.
tā, (1) dem. pron. neut. (*tat*); (2) so far as (*tāvat*).
tai or *tau*, then. Correlative of *jai*.
taī-lagaī, from that time forth.
tau, see *tai*.
tau-kisiü, what then? of what use is it (*tataḥ kim*)?
trihu, the three.
trīẏau, third.
dīsi, on a day, in *anerai dīsi*, q.v.
navā, the nine.
pailau, facing away from one, cf. *oliu*.
paura, last year.
parāẏa, belonging to another.
parāru, the year before last (*parāri*).
parāroka, belonging to the year before last.
paroka, belonging to last year.
pahilau, first.
pācamau, fifth.
pāchilu, adj., behind.
pāṣai, postposition, without, except.
pāṣali, adv., on all sides.
pūrvilu or *puvvilau*, old, antique, former.
bāhiralau, adj., external.
bāhiri, adv., outside.
bihu or *bihui*, both.
bi-rūpa, doubled.
be or *bi*, two.

mauḍau, slow.
māhilu, adj., in the middle.
vahilau, quick, swift.
vegalu, distant.
sarasiu, like, resembling.
sāte, the seven.
hūũ, yes.
heṭhau, adj., facing downwards.
heṭhi, below.
heṭhilu, adj., beneath.

Art. XX.—*A Comparative Vocabulary of Malayan Dialects.*

By C. Otto Blagden.

I would beg to be allowed to correct the somewhat misleading description of MS. No. 29 of the Maxwell Bequest of Malay Books which was published in my provisional list of them printed in Part I of the Society's Journal for 1899. I was misled by the first few pages of the book, which consist of a rather elaborate list of languages, into supposing that the MS. contained vocabularies of all of them: having identified a few, I assumed, somewhat too hastily, that the rest were also represented there.

On looking over the book more carefully than was possible in the short time available when the provisional list was compiled, I find that it is indeed a comparative vocabulary, but does not include all that I had imagined, being, in fact, confined to five languages (or dialects) and Malay.

Among these five there are, in the first place, two dialects spoken by the Sĕmangs (Negritos) of the northern part of the Malay Peninsula, and in the MS. called respectively Sĕmang Bukit (سمڠ بوكيت), that is, Sĕmang of the Hills (or rather, I think, of a particular hill, the name of which is given but which I cannot quite make out or identify: it looks like برمبر or برمبر), and Sĕmang Paya (سمڠ ڤاي), Sĕmang of the Swamps or Low Country of اولو كريان (Ulu Kĕrian, I think, is meant).

As to these I need say nothing, except that I can identify them as genuine specimens of what they purport to be, having compared them with other specimens of the dialects of neighbouring tribes, which have been collected from time

to time by other persons; and, further, that I am on the look out for more material of that sort, and shall be glad to hear about it from anyone who possesses it.

The remaining three languages are in the MS. called—

(1) مكواه or مكواة (Măkuah or Măkuat ?).

(2) تولیهو or امبون تولیهو (Toleho (Tulihu ?) or Ambun Toleho: the Amboyna dialect of Toleho ?).

(3) مندورا or مندور (Mandura; properly Madura), further stated to have been obtained from one Sĕrang Yahia (سرڠ یحیا), a native of Kampong Mĕlaja (کمفوڠ ملاجا) in مندورا.

This last appears, from the form of certain words, to be Madurese, the language of the island of Madura and the eastern end of Java: the مكواه is rather a mystery and I have suspicions as to its genuineness, but in some words it seems to show affinity with certain languages of the eastern half of the Indian Archipelago, while the تولیهو is clearly somewhat closely allied to the Moluccan dialects of which specimens are given in Wallace's "Malay Archipelago." I am unable, however, to localize مكواه and تولیهو definitely, and do not remember to have come across their names anywhere.

I append a short list of test words extracted from the MS., which will, I imagine, enable some of your readers to identify them. There are sure to be several Dutch scholars who would be able to recognize them at a glance.

I have added the English equivalents of the Malay words, but, apart from that, I reproduce all the words as I find them in the MS. I do not attempt to transliterate them, because of the inherent uncertainty with regard to the vowels which the Arabic alphabet involves.

PAGE OF MS.		MALAY.	مكواه	توليهو	مندور
25	Black	هيتم	اوريبغاء	ميتئ	—
	White	فوته	اوتيلا (?)	فوتئ	فوتيه
27	World	دنيا بومي عالم	ايلافوه	دنياي	تونپا
	Land, country	تانه نكري بنوا	اِيتَا	اماني	نكرٔ
	Mainland	تانه بسر	تايا	نوسا ايلٔ	تانه راج
	Stone	باتو	ملوكو	هاتويه	باتوه
	Ironstone	باتو بسي	ملوكو يوما	هاتو تااي	بتوه بسيه
28	Gold	امس كنچنا	دالاما	هلاوني	—
	Silver	فيرق	ناريا [فاريا ?]	سلاكائيه	سلاكه
	Iron	بسي	يوما	تاءاي	بسيه
30	Island	فولو	ماكوه	نوساناء	فوله
32	Water	اير	ماجي	واايريه	اِيڠ
	Sea	لاوت	موريايي	ميئتيه	تاسيک
35	Wind	اڠين	ايفيوه	انينيه انين	[اڠين ?]
	Sea-wind	اڠين لاوت	ايفيوه يوكوفيله	انين لاوتيه	[اڠين ?] لاؤ

Page of MS.	MALAY.	مكواه	توليهو	مندور
36 Rain	هوجن	ايفوله	اولائيه	وُدچان
(35)			اولا	اوچن
37 Day	هاري	نِهوكو	فيتو	اريه
		[تِهوكو ?]		
Night	مالم	اوَهيو	اَتَتورويَه	—
Sun	متهاري	انچواه	ريبيا متائيه	مات اريه
	شمس			
Sunrise	متهاري كلوار	انچوانكوماك	ريبيامتاساء	كلوار اريه
38 Moon	بولن	مويري	هولئ	—
		مويرو (?)		
39 Star	بنتڠ	ايتوندو	ماريبيه	—
Fire	افي	مورو	اَوُ ويه	افويه
47 Cocoanut	كلاف	ايكوَلي	نيبيريه	پور
	پور		نياري	
Arecanut	فينڠ	ايفاكا	هووَي	—
Banana	فيسڠ	اِنيكا	كولي	كددڠ
81 Leaf	دون	ميتاكورو	لَوْيْري	—
84 Tiger	هريمو	حتبارة (?)	—	ماچن
Deer	روس	ايفاله	مجاڠن	منچاڠن
Horse	كودا	ايپوفو	اجارن	جارن
Dog	انجيڠ	ملافه	اسو	فاتيئ
Pig	بابي	ايكولوي	بنافڠ (?)	چِليڠ

Page of MS.	MALAY.	مكواه	توليهو	مندور
87 Bird	بورڠ اڠكس فقسي	مانوني	مانو ٢	مانوک
Fowl	ايم	ملاكو	مانو	اجم
92 Snake	اولر	اينواه	نيايْ	—
95 Fish	ايكن	ئهوفا	ايبانيه	چوکوْ
106 Worm	اولت	موڠكو	اوريه	اوْلة
Bee	لبه	كوتاء	كِيريه هنالي	تابون
Fly	لالت	ففيلي	لاريه	—
110 Wing	كفاء	نيفافا	ايهيتاريه	لَرْ (?)
Egg	تلور	نيوه چيه	تيروريه	—
113 Hair (of head)	رمبوت	ايكاراري	كيوريه	اوبوء
114 Eye	مات	ميتتؤ	ماتاي	—
Nose	هيدوڠ	ايڠول	ايرووي	ايلوڠ
Nostril	ليڠ هيدوڠ	مويت وفول	ايرواوكوني	—
Tooth	كيكي	مينوء	نِكتِتي (?)	—
Tooth, canine	كيكي اسوه	منينوء اوتيْ	نيكي اسو	—
115 Forearm	لڠن	مؤنو	ليمِ واكي	لچبفن
Hand	تاڠن	ايناروْ	ريماي	تانن
116 Breasts	سسو	مفلي	سسويه	—
Milk	ايرسسو	ماجي مفلي	سسو ايني	ايڠ [?]

PAGE OF MS.	MALAY.	مكواه	توليهو	مندور
	Belly	فروة	روكولي	تياي	تابوٗ
117	Thigh	فها	ايتارا	فاي	—
	Leg	كاكي	پاوو	اَيِنْ	سوكوٗ
	Foot				
	Ankle	مات كاكي	ايكوٗ نا پاوٗ	اين منتيرو ويه	مات سوكو
	Big toe	ايبو كاكي	ايكو پاو	اين هاتو ايل	جمبولن سوكوٗ
	Bone	تولغ	مكواه	رُوريبيه	بُلوغ
	Flesh	داكيغ ايسي	ايتاي	ايسيه	—
118	Blood	دره	ئِفومِيه	لاموري	—
119	Tears	اير مات	ميتوٗري	ماتاي وَري (?)	ايغ مات
124	Putrid	بوسوء	ونتاء	هو ؤ هيا	باچغ
126	Sick	ساكيت	ويريه اي	مسيريه	—
132	Dead	ماتي	اوهوكواه	ماتااي	—
138	To eat	ماكن سنتف	اوليا	اليه [انيه ?]	—
	To drink	مينوم	اوبوريبيا	نينو	—
	To wink	كيچب [سكليف مات]	اوتيله [اوفيله ?]	ريتي ماتاي	—
	To see	ليهت	ويياء	ناؤي [نناؤي?]	—
159	To come	داتغ ماري كماري	اهوروا	لاي	—

PAGE OF MS.	MALAY.	مكواه	توليهو	مندور
181 House	رومه	اينوفا	روماي	—
183 Door	فنتو	كوره	ميتنانورو	—
188 Cooking-pot	فريوء	مافو	اوريه وايه	—
Pot	بلاڠه	ايكلاكو	اوريئيه	—
			[اوريئيه ?]	
189 Cradle	بوايان	متابي	بوويه ٢	—
192 Heaven	شرڭ	اشكور	—	—
Hell	نراك	اوكاليري	—	—
199 Male	لاك	لوفنا	ملوناي	—
	جنتن			
Female	فرمفوان	انتيانا٥	مهيناي	—
	بتينا			
Husband	لاك	موهُلوفا٥	ئنملوناي	—
Wife	بني	نملوايلي	ئنمهيناي	—
Father	فاء	اتيتي	اماي	—
	بفا٥			
Mother	اما٥	امما	ايناي	—
	ايبو			
200 Son	انق لاك	مملوفنا	انق ملوناي	—
		منا ملوفنا		
Daughter	انق فرمفوان	مَمْتِيَنَا	انق مهيناي	—
		مَمنَتِيَنَا		

The numerals, unfortunately, are wanting, except for the تولیهو, where they are given as follows (p. 237 of MS.):—

One . . [? ایسکا] ایکا	Thirteen . . هوسیلاتیرو
Two . . . . . روا	Fourteen . . هوسیلاهانیه
Three [wanting: but see Thirteen].	Fifteen . . هوسیلاریما
Four . . [? هانیه] هالیه	Sixteen . . هوسیلانینا
Five . . . . . ریما	Seventeen . هوسیلاایتو
Six . . . . . نینا	Eighteen . . . هوسیلاورو
Seven . . . . . ڤیتو	Nineteen . . . هوسیلاسیا
Eight . . . . . ورو	Twenty . . . هوتوروا
Nine . . . . . سیا	Twenty-one [see below: Thirty].
Ten . . . . . هوسا	Twenty-two . . هوتوروَلروا
Eleven . . . هوسیلاریه	Twenty-three هوتوروالتیرو
Twelve . . . هوسیلارو	Thirty . هوتیرو [wrongly given as Twenty-one].

To complete the description of the book, I ought to add that it contains about 300 pages of some 23 lines each, so that if the lists had been completed, as intended, there would be about 6,000 words (or combinations of words) of each of the five languages in question and Malay.

The تولیهو dialect runs through the book from about the beginning nearly to the end, and is a very full vocabulary; the مکواه runs through two-thirds of the book, and is also pretty full, so far as it goes; while the مندور begins on p. 24 and goes on to p. 136, but is much less complete than the two preceding; and the Sĕmang dialects begin about the beginning, but are rather scrappy in places, and leave off about the middle of the book. There are many gaps in all the lists (except the Malay) and numberless repetitions.

The Malay list gives a good many synonyms, some of which are probably local or dialectic words: it might be worth the while of compilers of Malay dictionaries to look through it, but the spelling is rather unconventional.

The book is rather cleverly arranged according to subjects, beginning with abstract ideas of quality and the like and going on to material things grouped under such headings as 'earth,' 'water,' 'sky,' 'vegetables,' 'trees,' 'animals,' 'man,' etc., the specific terms being classified under the appropriate generic heads.

It is written throughout in the Arabic character—the Malay list carefully and neatly (though without strict regard to spelling), the rest (probably by several hands) badly; the Sĕmang dialects mostly in pencil, the others in ink. There is a table of contents at the beginning.

It was apparently the property of a Malay of Perak or Kĕdah (for the Kĕrian is the boundary stream between these states), and is well bound in a native dark red leather binding, stamped with a particularly good design. To the extent of about two-thirds, the book is made up of sheets of rough white paper, bearing on one half of the sheet the watermark "Ber^{do} Ghigliottj" [*sic*] under a design or trademark consisting of a Latin cross within a pear-shaped ornamental border, and on the other half "Varenna 1842" under a star of eight rays. Then follow some pages of white paper, smoother than the preceding, covered with a watermark of small wavy lines but no letters or figures. The rest is of blue paper, bearing on one half of the sheet a figure of Britannia within an oval border, which is surmounted by a royal crown, and on the other half "W Lewis 1850."

I conjecture that the vocabularies were compiled some time between 1850 and 1875. The point is not without interest, as the Sĕmang dialects of the peninsula are rapidly becoming extinct, and it is rather a piece of good fortune that these two fairly long vocabularies have been preserved, though they are, unfortunately, very full of Malay loan-words, blunders, and ambiguities.

Whether the مكواء and تولیهو vocabularies (which are, no doubt, equally full of mistakes) would be of any value to philologists I cannot say, for I do not know what other records (if any) of these two dialects may exist. For the study of Madurese there is, I believe, ample material elsewhere.

ART. XXI.—*Account of a rare, if not unique, manuscript History of the Seljúqs contained in the Schefer Collection lately acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and now described by* EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

IN the pages of this Journal I have repeatedly had occasion to insist, especially in my notice of M. Blochet's most useful Catalogue (*J.R.A.S.* for 1901, pp. 331–3), on the unique value of the magnificent collection of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish MSS. formed by the late M. Charles Schefer, and now belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale. During a fortnight spent in Paris in the Easter vacation of 1901, I was able to examine more closely some of the most interesting MSS. comprised in this collection, and in particular the MS. which forms the subject of this notice, which is remarkable alike for its age (it is dated the beginning of Ramaḍán, A.H. 635 = April, A.D. 1238); its fine, clear, careful script; the interest and authority of its contents; and the fact that it is, so far as I have been able to ascertain, unique.

The importance of a careful study of the original materials for the history of the Seljúq period, so far as these are still extant and accessible, has been so admirably expressed by Houtsma in the preface (pp. vi–viii) to the first of the three texts (the *History of the Seljúqs of Kirmán*, by Muḥammad Ibráhím) which he published in his *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, that I need say nothing more on this head, save that in citing the Arabic text of the *Histoire des Seldjoucides de l'Irâq par al-Bondârî d'après Imâd ad-dîn al-Kâtib al-Iṣfahânî* (Leyden, 1889), which forms the second volume of this *Recueil*, and to which I shall have frequent occasion to refer in the course of the following pages, I shall, for brevity's sake, speak of it simply as "*Bundárí.*"

The publication of texts of the most important original historical works is, without doubt, as Houtsma insists (loc. cit., p. vi), what is most required for the proper elucidation of Persian history, for at present the actual material of study is deficient; but in the meanwhile much, I think, may be done to clear the ground, and to determine what most deserves publication, by careful, though greatly condensed, abstracts of rare manuscript histories which have not yet attracted the general attention of Orientalists. Months are required to copy and collate the text of a large manuscript, and years may then pass ere it finally appears in type, even when the difficulty of finding a publisher for books necessarily so unremunerative has been overcome; but a pretty full abstract of its contents may, with diligence, be made in two or three weeks, and published in some fifty or sixty pages of our Journal. Thus at least are the still unexplored realms of Eastern literature outlined for our successors, as were regions now explored surveyed for us by the pioneers of a past generation in those admirable *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, which must ever stand as our models for work of this class.

To come now to our manuscript, a large volume of 179 leaves, formerly No. 11 of M. Schefer's collection, now No. 1,314 of the *Supplément persan* of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Its full title runs as follows :—

اعلام الملوك المسمّى براحة الصدور و آية السرور لنجم الدّين ابى بكر محمّد بن على بن سليمان بن محمّد بن احمد بن الحسين بن همة الرّاوندى . . .

"The Notification of Kings (*I'lámu'l-Mulúk*), entitled 'the Refreshment of Hearts' Sadness and Signal of Gladness' (*Ráḥatu's-Ṣudúr wa Áyatu's-Surúr*), by Najmu'd-Dín Abú Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Alí b. Sulaymán b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Himmat (?) ar-Ráwandí." It was composed (f. 27^{b}) in A.H. 599 (= A.D. 1202–3), and dedicated to Abu'l-Fatḥ Kay-Khusraw b. Qilij Arslán b. Mas'úd

b. Qilij Arslán b. Sulaymán b. Ghází b. Qutalmish (قُتَلْمِش, so printed on f. 41[b]).[1] In brief, it may be described as a history of the Seljúqs from the beginning of the dynasty to the author's own time (A.H. 418–594 = A.D. 1027–1197). It therefore deals at first-hand (for hardly anywhere does the author appear to derive his information from books, but always from state archives or oral tradition) with 170 years of one of the most important periods of Persian history. Its extent, according to my computation, is something over 100,000 words; and it includes at the end (ff. 157[a]–179[a]) sundry rather irrelevant, but interesting sections on the Courtier's Accomplishments (آداب ندمت), including the different forms of chess; the ethics of wine-drinking; various sports, notably riding and archery; the principles of writing, calligraphy, and the keeping of state accounts, and other like matters.

ABSTRACT.

The usual doxology opens on f. 1*b* with a Persian *mathnawí* poem of fourteen couplets beginning:—

سپاس از جهان آفرین کردگار ' خداوند نیسان و فصل بهار '

and continues in mixed prose and verse, the latter including nine couplets of a *mathnawí* poem beginning:—

کردم آغاز این بنام خدای '

and six couplets of another beginning:—

بی نیاز او و اوست جوینده ' حاجت از ما و اوست گوینده '

This doxology is followed (f. 3[a]) by a section in praise of the Prophet, entitled:—

مدح انبیا و ستایش پیغمبر ما محمد مصطفی صلعم '

[1] Or Kay-Khusraw I, one of the Seljúqs of Rúm. See Lane's *Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 155, and the genealogical table facing p. 152. Lane's statement of the duration of his reign (A.H. 588–597) hardly agrees with the date here given. I follow the MS. throughout, but probably (with Lane) we should read "Sulaymán b. [Ghází] Qutalmish (or 'Qutlumish')," taking Ghází merely as a title.

Mention is here made of the "124,000 'Points' (*nuqṭa*) of Prophethood,"[1] and the section includes seven couplets of a *qaṣída* or *qiṭ'a* ending:—

بالای مدیح تو سخن نیست ' کس زخمه نساخت برتر از بم '

Another of eight couplets beginning:—

مژده که شد مقام من صحن سرای مصطفی '
مژده که دید چشم من منبر و جای مصطفی '

and a *mathnawí* of seven couplets beginning:—

طاوس ملائکه مریدت '

Next comes (f. 4b) a section in praise of the orthodox Caliphs, 'Companions,' and Doctors of Islám, from which (as from many subsequent passages) it is abundantly proved that the author was a strong Sunní. 'Umar's praise is celebrated in a poem beginning:—

میر عُمَر کانـدر اسـلام اوّل او منبر نهاد '
مِنّت بی حدّ و عدّ بر دین بیغمبر نهاد '

[1] In a tradition of Abú Dhar cited in the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* (composed in A.H. 730 = A.D. 1330) by Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí of Qazwín) we find it stated that the total number of Prophets was 124,000, of whom 313 were 'Apostles' (رُسُل), as opposed to mere 'Preachers' or 'Warners' (منذر). The tradition runs as follows in one of the MSS. (Dd. 3. 23) in the Cambridge University Library (f. 8a):—

اکابر مؤرّخان آورده اند که ابو ذر غفاری رضی اللّه عنه از حضرت رسالت صلعم روایة کرد حدیث قال سألتُ رسول اللّه صلعم کم عدد الانبیآء قال مأیة الف و اربعة و عشرون الفًا ' قال فقلتُ یا رسول اللّه فکم الرُسُل منهم ' قال ثلثمأیة و ثلثة عشرة . .

The word 'Point' (*nuqṭa*) in the passage to which this note refers appears to be used in the sense in which it is employed by the Bábís, as meaning 'Manifestation,' 'Apparition.'

In praising 'Uthmán occasion is taken by the author to revile the '*Ráfidís*' (روافض), or Shí'ites, before proceeding to the laudation of 'Alí. These panegyrics on the Four Orthodox Caliphs are succeeded by encomiums on the following leading lights of Islám: Abú Ḥanífa, Sháfi'í, the Qádí Abú Yúsuf, Muḥammad Ḥasan ash-Shaybání, Sufyán ath-Thawrí, Málik and Aḥmad b. Hanbal, 'Abdu'lláh b. Mas'úd, 'Alqama, an-Nakha'í, al-Ḥammád, and Muḥammad b. Idrís, especially the first of these, concerning whom several anecdotes are related. Incidentally (f. 8ª) the author makes mention of his maternal grandfather, Muḥammad b. 'Alí b. Aḥmad ar-Ráwandí, styled by him—

امـام سعيد و مرحوم شهيد مولانا الامـام ولـى الانعام سديد الدين جمال الاسلام سيّد الائمّة و العلمآء سند الاصحاب

as handing down from the Imám Aqḍa'l-Quḍát Dhahíru'd-Dín of Astarábád a tradition that on one occasion when Abú Ḥanífa prayed for the safe endurance of his doctrine he was answered by a *hátif*, or Voice from the Unseen: "The truth hast thou uttered: thy doctrine shall not wane so long as the sword abides in the hands of the Turks"—

حقًّا قُلْتَ لا زال مذهبكَ ما دام السيف فى يد الاتراك

This leads, by a natural transition, to a panegyric on the Turks, especially the Seljúqs, as the champions of orthodoxy, and an exultant boast that "in Arabia, Persia, Rúm (Turkey in Asia), and Russia the sword is indeed in their hands." But though the author declares that "whosoever speaks ill of Abú Ḥanífa or ash-Sháfi'í is an infidel," it is clear that he prefers the former, since he praises Sulṭán Sinjar because he would suffer only Ḥanafites to hold office, and relates that when the great minister Nidhámu'l-Mulk gave the *Masjid-i-jámi'*, or Great Mosque, of Iṣfahán to the Sháfi'ites, such riots ensued that Sulṭán Muḥammad sent an army to scatter the insurgents (many of whom he beheaded) and to restore the mosque to the Ḥanafites. Mention is also made of a similar occurrence at Hamadhán. This general

praise of the Seljúqs is followed by a wordy and bombastic panegyric, in mixed prose and verse, on the author's patron, the king Abu'l-Fatḥ Kay-Khusraw b. 'Alá'u'd-Dawla 'Izzu'd-Dín Qilij Arslán b. Mas'úd b. Qilij Arslán b. Sulaymán b. (*sic*: cf. p. 569 *supra*, n. 1 *ad calc.*) Ghází b. Qutlamish b. Isrá'íl b. Seljúq. Of the Arabic and Persian verses cited in this connection most, as the author assures us, are his own. Amongst them is a *qaṣída* of thirty couplets, beginning:—

زهی عشق تو ملک جان گرفته ' جهان را در خط فرمان گرفته '

and the following boastful allusion of the author to his work:—

درختی بکشتم بخرّم بهشت ' کجونان درخت آفریذون نکشت '

Religion, learning, and piety, he declares, flourish under the protection of the Seljúqs, especially in Khurásán, while irreligion, heresy, schism, *and philosophy* have disappeared (this last assertion is probably the truest part of the encomium, for when did Turkish rulers ever befriend original thought?), and the doctrines of the materialists and believers in metempsychosis (تناسخیان و دهریان) have been stamped out, so that "all paths are closed save the Path of Muḥammad." Every great Seljúq ruler patronized and made famous some conspicuous theologians and men of learning, such as Fakhru'd-Dín Kúfí, Imám Burhán, Abu'l-Faḍl Kirmání, Imám Ḥusám, Bukhárí, Muḥammad Manṣúr Sarakhsí, Náṣiḥí, Mas'údí, and others; while to their pious zeal for religion was to be ascribed the good conduct of their agents and governors, and the comfort and tranquillity of their subjects; for no heretics (بذ دینان) were suffered to enter the public service. But latterly, the author complains (f. 14ª), all this is changed: "heretic myrmidons" (عوانان بذ دین) abound, and hence the present distress and heavy taxation.[1] These heretics hail for the most part from the

[1] The connection is not obvious, but we are reminded of a feature in the well-known story of the quarrel between the Nidhámu'l-Mulk and Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ, the latter having excited the King's cupidity by declaring himself able to increase

towns of Qum, Káshán, Ába, طبرش, Ray, and Faráhán, and gain office by promising the king an increased revenue (توفیر), "under which expression," says the author, "they cloak their exactions." Against such he warns his patron:—

ز دستور بذ گوهر و جفت بذ ٬ تباهی بدیهیم شاهی رسذ ٬

These men, who are set in authority over true believers, are "unbelieving captains, whose blood, according to the dictates of scripture, is lawful":—

سرهنگان نا مسلمان که بفتوئ قرآن خون ایشان مُباح است ٬

They do all manner of evil; build wine-shops; and openly practise every kind of immorality (بفاش لواطه و زنا کنند). Their first word is abuse, their second the cudgel, and their third "Give money!"

اوّل سخن دشنام و دوم جماق و سوم زر بده ٬

These heretics, Ráfiḍís and Ash'arís, ought to be taxed and mulcted like Jews:—

جزیة الیهود و سرگزیت بذدینان بر بادشاهان از گوشت قربان مباح ترست ٬

As for their books, these are "more unclean than the Zend and Avesta, and than the books of the materialists":—

آن کتب که از زند و اُستا و کتب دهریان بلیذ ترست ٬

largely the revenues of the State, presumably by additional taxation. Some colour is given to this part of the story by passages in the Nidhámu'l-Mulk's *Siyásat-náma*, where he solemnly warns the King his master of the direct responsibility which lies on him for any extortion practised by his agents or his subjects, and where he devotes a whole chapter to denouncing the admission of heretics into State employ: see Schefer's edition of this interesting work *passim*, especially pp. 138 et seqq. The word عوان seems always to be used in a bad sense, meaning 'satellite,' 'myrmidon,' in Persian, as in the following couplet from the *Mathnawí* of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí:—

مرد زان گفتن پشیمان شد چنان ٬ کز عوانی ساعتِ مردن عوان ٬

"*The husband was as sorry for what he had said as is the myrmidon in the hour of death for his misdeeds.*"

In the year '95 (presumably A.H. 595=A.D. 1199, four years before our author wrote his book), throughout all 'Iráq they used to weigh books of learning and tradition and the Qur'án in the scales, and sell them at the rate of a maund for half a *dáng*:—

در شهور سنه ثمان و تسعین در جملهٔ عـراق کتـب علمی و اخبار و قرآن بترازو می کشیدند و یک من بنیم دانگ می فروختند ‘.

Here is inserted (f. 15) a rather remarkable *qaṣída* of 43 couplets, on the evil and corrupt state of the world, by Jamálu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'r-Razzáq al-Iṣfahání, beginning:—

الحذار ای عاقلان زین وحشت آباد الحذار ‘
الفرار ای عـاقـلان زیـن دیو مـردم الفرار ‘

In the course of this *qaṣída* mention is made of Shaykh Abú Yaḥyá and Khwája Malik, and there occurs the following couplet,[1] which I think is celebrated:—

گـر بدیباهای رنگین آدمی گردد کسی ‘
بس در اطلس جیست گرگ و در عتابی سوسمار ‘

After expressing his admiration for this poem, our author remarks that it was composed in, and applied to "the days of power of the House of Ildigiz" (the first of the Atábegs of Ádharbáyján, ruled A.H. 531–568 = A.D. 1136–1172), days far less evil than these, when famine and poverty prevail, and virtuous men are driven into exile.

In the next section (f. 17ᵃ), entitled:—

ذکر احوال مصنّف کتاب و ثنای دوستان و استادانش ‘

the author tells us something of his own life and circumstances. In the year A.H. [5]70 (=A.D. 1174–5) he appears to have been reduced to great distress by a famine

[1] By Dawlatsháh (p. 114 of my edition) it is ascribed to Ḏhahíru'd-Dín Fáryábí.

then prevailing in Iṣfahán, but he found protection and maintenance in the house of his maternal uncle, Táju'd-Dín Abu'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alí ar-Ráwandí, who seems from the following passage (f. 17ᵇ) to have been a professor, first at Iṣfahán and afterwards at Hamadhán :—

. . در جملهٔ عراق استاذ همکنان است منصب تدریس ازو آراسته است و بدار الملک همدانش بادشاه عادل ملک الامراء جمال الدین ابی ابه الاعظم اتابکی عزّ نصره فرا خواسته است و مدرسهٔ خویش و چند مدرسهٔ دیگر و خانقاهها بذو بیاراسته و شکوه علمای آن شهر بذوست و در انواع علوم مقدّم همه اوست ‘

In his service the author remained for ten years, during which he learned to write 70 different handwritings, and earned his living by his skill in calligraphy, binding, and gilding (تذهیب).—Prosperity of Iṣfahán at this time.—The Qádí Ruknu'd-Dín Sá'id b. Mas'úd.—Hamadhán the capital.—Praise of the then reigning king, Ruknu'd-Dín Ghiyáthu'l-Islám Ṭughril b. Arslán b. Ṭughril (Ṭughril II, reigned A.H. 573–590 = A.D. 1177–1194), and eulogy of his virtues and patronage of learned men. In A.H. 577 (= A.D. 1181–2) this prince desired to learn calligraphy, and another maternal uncle of the author (brother of him above mentioned), the Imám Zaynu'd-Dín Majdu'l-Islám Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad b. 'Alí ar-Ráwandí, was chosen as his instructor. The Sulṭán employed his newly acquired accomplishment in transcribing the Qur'án, and 100 Maghribí *dínárs* were expended in gilding and illuminating each portion, or *juz'*, as it was finished. Part of this volume was in the possession of 'Alá'u'd-Dín, lord of Maráǵha, and part in that of بکتمر, lord of Akhlát and others. The author was one of those charged with the gilding and illumination of it, and was thus brought under the notice of the king, a detailed history of whose great deeds and achievements he purposes to write, should he be spared :—

تاریخ آن دولت و عجایبهای آن مملکت اگر نوشته شود ده شاه‌نامه و اسکندرنامه بیش بود . . . و اگر این دعاگوی در دولت و نعمت بادشاه عمر یابد تاریخ دولت طغرلی بنویسد و از آن کتابی سازد نظمًا و نثرًا '

This present work, however, is a mere compendium, for a full account of the gests of Sulṭán Ṭughril, Atábek Muḥammad, and Qizil Arslán would exceed the limits which he has set himself (f. 20ª). He includes in his work the panegyrics uttered by various poets on his patrons, because "men have too much discernment to praise a man unless they discern in him signs of well-doing":—

الناسُ اکیس من ان یمدحوا رَجُلاً ' و لم یروا فیه من آثار احسان '

In every city men of learning were conspicuous and influential, and in Hamadhán the influence of Sayyids and 'Alawís was paramount under the Sulṭáns Sulaymán and Sulaymánsháh, so that it was said:—

ملک سلیمان بسلیمان رسید ' مژده بایران و بتوران رسید '

Amír Sayyid Murtaḍá Kabír Fakhru'd-Dín 'Alá'u'd-Dawla 'Arabsháh.—His sons Sayyid Majdu'd-Dín Humáyún and Amír Sayyid Fakhru'd-Dín Khusrawsháh.—The latter, when imprisoned in the Castle of Sar-jahán (see *Bundárí*, pp. 201, 222, and 300), composed the two following quatrains in dialect (فهلویّه):—[1]

خوبیش و بیتانه و آزاد و بنده ' و انکشان واتها کیابی بتنده '
او جمن خونشان باهت سمشیر ' وز بتنگی دریم اسبر بونده '
اژان رو واکه بورّیم مانُم ' نه اج خویشان نه اج بیبانه انُم '
کی نوا کز بایین سانه بومان ' داله زیونده مانم یا نمانُم '

[1] I cannot understand these verses, and so have copied them as they stand in the MS., but I suspect that in the first we should read خویش و بیبانه (the latter, as in the second quatrain, for بیگانه), and perhaps ور for وز.

Another dialect verse (فهلویّه) addressed to Sulṭán Sulaymán by 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, father of the author of the verses last quoted, runs as follows:—

بواد اروند کوه اج یـا بنشی ' اروند اروند بـی واذ آیذ وشّی '

Amír Sayyid 'Imádu'd-Dín Mardánsháh, another son of 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, was the pupil of our author (f. 20b), who lived in his house for five or six months. One day a minstrel sung before him a song wherein occurred this verse:—

دارم سخنان تازه و زر کهن ' آخر بکف آرمت بزر یا بسخن '

The Imám Ghazzálí, who happened to be present, thereupon launched forth in praise of verse and eloquence, saying:—

سخن خازن اسرار جبروتست و مایهٔ اسحار هاروت و ماروت کـه إِنَّ مِـنَ ٱلْبَيَانِ لَسِحْرًا ' سخنست کـه در محرابها امـام اوست و در آتش کدها موبذ تمام بذوست '

سخـن از گـنبـذ کـبـوذ آمـذ '
ز آسـمـانـهـا سخـن فـروذ آمـذ '
گـر بُـذی گوهـری ورای سـخـن '
آن فـروذ آمـذی بجـای سخـن[1] '
سخن از هرج در جهان بیش اسـت '
آدمـی زآن ز همکنـان بیش است '
کـذخـذای همه جـهـان سخنست '
جانِ تن جان [و] جانِ جان سخنست '

The author next makes mention of another of his friends, a youth in years but old in wisdom, named Shihábu'd-Dín

[1] This verse is cited by Dawlatsháh (p. 6, l. 23 of my edition), who ascribes it to Nidhámí.

Jamálu'l-Islám Aḥmad b. Abí Manṣúr b. Muḥammad b. Manṣúr al-Bazzáz al-Qásání (f. 21[b]), in whose honour he introduces some verses, amongst which is the following:—

ای ز رای تو کرده استمداد ' روح نوّاب و صاحب عبّاد '

It was at the request and suggestion of this friend that the present work, entitled *Ráḥatu'ṣ-Ṣudúr wa Áyatu* (not *riwáyatu* as in Blochet's *Catalogue*, p. 65) *s-Surúr*, was composed. The author seems to have been engaged on it for two years, for he says (f. 22[a]):—

شکر نعمت او بگزارم که دریـن دو سال هر آرزو که مرا بود از انواع نعم او حاصل کرد ' بـا مـن خوردی و خفتی و هـیچ راز از مـن ننهفتی ' (شعر)

گـر مـن عواطـف تـو فراموش میکنم '
باذا غمان من چو ایادیت بـی شمار '
و اللّه کـه در هـوای تـو بیشی نیایذم '
گـر صـد هـزار دل بُـوَذم همچو کوکنار '

(شعر)

العلم فـیـه جـلالـةٌ و مـهـابـةٌ ' و العلم انفعُ من کنوز الجوهرِ '
تفنی الکنوزُ علی الـزمان و عصره ' و العلمُ یبقی باقیات الاعصُـرِ

To this Ṣadr Shihábu'd-Dín Aḥmad are ascribed (f. 22[b]) two Arabic and five Persian couplets; whereof the former are cited by Dawlatsháh (p. 21, ll. 14–15 of my edition), and by him ascribed to 'Alí! The author boasts of his many distinguished pupils, princes, governors, and scholars, who, he declares, "gloried in having studied under him"; and remarks that, being by birth a native of Káshán, he was much helped by his fellow-citizens, many of whom held office in secretarial posts, the Káshánís being everywhere celebrated for their skill in calligraphy:—

در عراق هرجا کـه خطّی نیکو بینند گویند خـطّ کاشانیست یا از کاشیان آموخته‌است و در جملهٔ خطّهٔ عراق و لشکر خوراسان (*sic*) کـه بعراق آمـد و لشکر بغداد و شامیان و لشکر آذربیجان و رسولان اطراف که بخدمت سلطان عالم طغرل بن ارسلان آمدندی و خال دعاگوی‌را دیدندی من تحت القرط و فرط العلم اقرار دادندی کـه مثل زین الدین مجموعی نیست در روی زمین ‘

In the year A.H. 557 (=A.D. 1161–2) the above-mentioned Zaynu'd-Dín, our author's maternal uncle, being then only 18 years old, recited at Káshán, then the centre of Arabic learning in Persia, an Arabic *qaṣída*, which was admitted by all judges to be incomparable. His poems were widely imitated by his numerous admirers. Amongst them is the following Persian quatrain:—

من جزغم تو نمی خورم فارغ باش ‘ من مهرتو با گور برم فارغ باش ‘
جانا بسرم که تا زِیَم خواهد بود ‘ خاکِ قَدَمت تاج سرم فارغ باش ‘

Again, in A.H. 577 (=A.D. 1181–2) he recited to 'Azízu'd-Dín *mustawfí* an Arabic *qaṣída* (33 couplets cited), composed in a single night, from which even his enemies and rivals could not withhold their praise. After mentioning Khwája Dhahíru'd-Dín Karají, whom he calls "peerless in his time" (وحید عصر), our author mentions some of his teachers at Hamadhán, to wit, Fakhru'd-Dín Balkhí, Ṣafi'u'd-Dín Iṣfahání, and Bahá'u'd-Dín Yazdí, and then cites (f. 25ᵃ) the following rather fine Arabic verses:—

قالوا ترکْتَ الشعْرَ قُلْتُ ضرورةً ‘ باب الدواعی و البواعث مُغْلَقُ ‘
خَلَتِ الدّیارُ فلا مدیحٌ یُرْتَجَی ‘ منـه الـنـوال و لا ملیح یُعْشَقُ ‘
و من العجایب انـه لا یُشْتَرَی ‘ و مع الکساد یُخَانُ فیه و یُسْرَقُ ‘

In A.H. 580 (=A.D. 1184–5) King Ruknu'd-Dín Ṭughril b. Arslán (Ṭughril II: see p. 575 *supra*) desired the author's

uncle Zaynu'd-Dín to compile and transcribe for him an anthology of poems, and the volume, on its completion, was illuminated, and illustrated with portraits of the poets cited, by Jamál the painter of Iṣfahán. The poems were supplemented by entertaining anecdotes about their authors, and the King himself often came to superintend the progress of the work:—

در آن حال امیر الشعراء و سفیر الکبراء شمس الدین احمد منوچهر شصت کله که قصیدهٔ تتماج گفته است حکایت کرد که سیّد اشرف بهمذان رسید در مکتبها می گردید و می دید تا کرا طبع شعر است، مصراعی بمن داد تا بران وزن دو سه بیت گفتم، بسمع رضا اصغا فرمود و مرا بذان بستود و حثّ و تحریص واجب داشت و گفت از اشعار متأخران چون عمادی و انوری و سیّد اشرف و با فرج رونی و امثال عرب و اشعار تازی و حِکَم شاهنامه آنچ طبع تو بذان میل کند قدر دویست بیت از هرجا اختیار کن و یاد گیر و بر خواندن شاهنامه مواظبت نمای تا شعر بغایت برسد و از شعر سنائی و عنصری و معزّی و رودکی اجتناب کن هرگز نشنوی و نخوانی که آن طبعهای بلندست طبع تو ببندد و از مقصود باز دارد، شمس الدین شصت کله گفت من و چند کس دیگر این وصیّت را بجای آوردیم بمقصود رسیدیم و غایت مطلوب بدیذیم، بیت اینست (بیت)

صبح بی روی تو نفس نزند، نفس عشق بی تو کس نزند،

This passage is very interesting from the point of view of literary history, as showing the judgment of men of taste in those early times when Anwarí and Abu'l-Faraj of Rúna could still be spoken of as 'moderns,' and it may be compared with two similar passages in the rather earlier *Chahár Maqála* (pp. 24–25 and 49–50 of the separate

reprint of my translation of that work = *J.R.A.S.* for 1899, pp. 636–7 and 661–2). It also raises, on chronological grounds, very serious doubts as to whether two entirely different poets, one *Minúchihrí* of the early Ghaznavid period, and another *Minúchihr* (called كله شصت, however this *sobriquet* is to be explained[1]), who, as the above extract shows, was at any rate posterior to Anwarí, have not been confounded by Dawlatsháh (pp. 40–41 of my edition) and other later writers, including M. A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, the editor and translator of the *Díván de Menoutchehri*. For Anwarí lived till the latter part of the sixth century of the *hijra*, being, in fact, contemporary with our author, which makes it impossible that one of his contemporaries—and, moreover, a younger contemporary—could have been the court poet of the Amír Falaku'l-Ma'álí Minúchihr, who died about A.H. 420, more especially if it be true, as 'Awfí tells us in his *Lubábu'l-Albáb*, that this court poet "was short-lived . . . . and died about the year four hundred and thirty and odd." As the Persians say, جای تأمّل است.

To return to our MS. (f. 26ᵃ). Our author was moved by these examples to a desire to make such an anthology of Persian verse, but was hindered by adverse circumstances, amongst which he refers especially to the death of Ṭughril II in the year A.H. 590 (=A.D. 1194). After lavishing praises on the *Sháhnáma* of Firdawsí, from which he continually cites lengthy passages, he introduces the following fine Arabic verses, which strongly recall two Persian couplets cited (p. 45 of the reprint = *J.R.A.S.* for 1899, p. 657) in the *Chahár Maqála*:—

لولا جريرٌ و الفرزدقُ لم يَدُم ' ذكرٌ جميلٌ من بنى مروان '
و نرى ثناءَ الرّوذكى مخلّدًا ' من كلّ ما جَمَعَتْ بنو سامان '
و ملوكُ غسّانٍ تفانَوا غير ما ' قد قاله حسّانُ فى غسّان '

The following Persian verses which immediately follow

[1] Its meaning is discussed in Kazimirski's ed. of the *Díván*, p. ٣.

remind us strongly of a well-known passage in the first book of Sa'dí's *Gulistán* (ed. Platts, p. 14, l. 12):—

آن خسروان کـه نام نکو کسب کـرده‌اند ‘
رفتند و یادگار ازیشان جـز آن نماند ‘
نوشیـن روان اگـرچـه فراوانش گنج بود ‘
جز نام نیک از بس نوشین روان نماند ‘

Finally, in A.H. 599 (= A.D. 1202–3) the author resolved to compose some work which should immortalize his memory, and to dedicate it to the Seljúq Abu'l-Fatḥ Kay-Khusraw, the conqueror of Antioch. After repeating its title, he states summarily its contents, to wit:—Praise of God, the Prophet, the Holy Family, the Imáms, the 'Companions,' the 'Followers,' the eminent doctors of Islám, and his Royal Patron; some account of his own life; the cause of composition; celebration of the justice and mighty deeds of the Seljúqs; some account of the poets of this age, and the panegyrics recited by them in the Royal Presence; concluding with some remarks on Court etiquette and courtly accomplishments, such as wine-drinking, chess, draughts, archery, horsemanship, venery, state receptions, battle, banquet, calligraphy, غالب و مغلوب, drugs and potions, علم باه, and, in conclusion, a selection of مضحکات و هزلیّات, which last, however (f. 175[b]), he ultimately decided to omit. The indulgence of his readers is claimed (f. 28[a]) in the following verses:—

اذا أَحْسَسْتَ فی لـفظی فتوراً ‘ وخطّی و البراعة و البـیان ‘
فـلا ترتـب بفهمی انّ رقصی ‘ علی مقدار ایقاع الـزمان ‘

The Seljúq rule began with Isrá'íl b. Seljúq, the seventh ancestor in the direct line of ascent of Abu'l-Fatḥ Kay-Khusraw, the patron of our author, who, after invoking curses on anyone who shall alter or deface his book, and making mention of Dhahíru'd-Dín Níshápúrí, the tutor of Sulṭáns Arslán and Mas'úd, passes to a dissertation on the

value of a study of history, and the virtues of the Seljúqs, who, he declares (f. 29ª), were, after the Caliphs, the greatest and most religious monarchs who ever reigned. Ruknu'd-Dín Abú Ṭálib Ṭughril b. Muḥammad b. Malikṣháh, entitled *Yamínu Amíri'l-Múminín* (Ṭughril I, reigned A.H. 526–7 = A.D. 1132–3), received the warrant for his sovereignty from Baghdad, and the author expresses his regret that, owing to the short life of this ruler, he himself was deprived of the felicity of living in his days. He proposes to give some account of the ministers, chamberlains, and *atábeks* of each Seljúk monarch, and reminds his patron that of Malikṣháh, Maḥmúd, Barkiyárúq, Muḥammad, Ṭughril, and Mas'úd naught remains, in spite of their great deeds, save their pious and charitable works and the colleges which they founded at Iṣfahán, Hamadhán, and other places. He therefore bids him:—

اعتبر بمن مضى قبلك ولا تكُنْ عبرةً لمن يكون خلفك

Here follows an Arabic metrical translation of the well-known verses from the *Sháhnáma*:—

فريدون فرّخ فرشته نبود ‘ ز مشك و ز عنبر سرشته نبود ‘
بداد و دهش يافت آن نيكوئى ‘ تو داد و دهش كن فريدون توئى ‘

The Arabic version (f. 30ᵇ) runs:—

ان فريذونَ لم يكن مَلَكاً ‘ ولا من المسك كان معجوناً ‘
بالعدل و الجود نال مكرمةً ‘ فاعدلْ و جُدْ كى تكن فريذوناً ‘

Anecdote of the Caliph 'Umar, who, being reviled by a man on whom he was inflicting the stripes prescribed for a breach of the law (حدّ), handed the whip to another, lest personal rancour should mingle with zeal to avenge the law.[1]—The Caliph al-Ma'mún advised to take as his

[1] Compare a very similar story about 'Alí at the end of the first book of the *Mathnawí* of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí.

model Núshírwán, whose signet-ring bore the inscription به مه نه مه به, which I suppose is intended to signify, "The best is the greatest, not the greatest the best."—Anecdotes of 'Umar, Abú Músa al-Ash'arí, and al-Muqtadir's *wazír* 'Alí b. 'Ísá.

ظالم که کباب از دل درویش خورد ،
جون در نگری ز پهلوِ خویش خورد ،
دنیا عسلست هرک ازو بیش خورد ،
خون افزایذ تب آورد نیش خورد ،

An ancient treasure found in Kirmán in the time of the House of Daylam.—Anecdote of an old grandson and his young grandfather.—A man's apparent age depends on his wife.—A self-denying dispute concerning treasure-trove. —(f. 33b) The story of Cain and Abel.—Story of Núshírwán, the peasant-girl, and the sherbet of sugar-cane (آب نی شکر). —Narrative of Jamálu'd-Dín Yazdí, the *mufti* of Iṣfahán concerning the cripple 'Alí 'Allám of Yazd, who was cured by the 'king's touch' of Sulṭán Muḥammad b. Maliksháh.—This king (f. 35a) was awe-inspiring (مهیب) in aspect, while his brother Barkiyáruq was gentle and mild (لطیف).—Conversation of Marwárídh with him.—Story of Solomon and the ants.—Muḥammad b. Ḥasan ash-Shaybání's ideals of justice, "even towards the Jews."—A fire-worshipper converted to Islám by witnessing the justice of the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz.—Story of Sháh Hurmuz the Sásánian and his son Parwíz.—Persian *mathnawí* poem of 56 couplets on this subject, beginning:—

جو شه در عدل خود ننمود سُستی ،
بدیذ آمذ جهان‌را تن دُرُستی ،
خرابی داشت از کار جهان دست ،
جهان از دست کار این جهان رست ،

The author expresses his hopes that his royal patron, Sulṭán Abu'l-Fatḥ Kay-Khusraw, will imitate these noble examples of justice, and then enumerates the Seljúq kings, with their titles and pedigrees, as follows (ff. 37[b]–39[a]) :—

١ ' سلجوق بن لقمان '

٢ ' الملك جغرى بك ابو سليمان داؤد بن ميكائيل بن سلجوق '

[٣ ' السلطان ركن الدولة ابو طالب طغرل بك محمّد بن ميكائيل يمين امير المؤمنين '][1]

٤ ' السلطان عضد الدّولة ابو شجاع الب ارسلان محمّد [بن داؤد بن ميكائيل سلجوق ']

٥ ' السلطان معزّ الدّنيا و الدّين ملكشاه بن محمّد (هو الب ارسلان) قسيم امير المؤمنين '

٦ ' السلطان ركن الدّنيا و الدّين ابو المظفّر [بركيارق] بن ملكشاه يمين امير المؤمنين '[2]

٧ ' السلطان غياث الدّنيا و الدّين ابو شجاع محمّد بن ملكشاه قسيم امير المؤمنين '

٨ ' السلطان معزّ الدّنيا و الدّين ابو الحارث سنجر بن ملكشاه برهان امير المؤمنين '

٩ ' السلطان مغيث الدّنيا و الدّين محمود بن محمّد بن ملكشاه يمين امير المؤمنين '[3]

[1] Tughril Beg's name is omitted in this place in the MS. I supply it from f. 46[a], where the account of his reign is given.

[2] The omission of Maḥmúd b. Malikshâh, whose name should come here, whether it be intentional or not, occurs also in the text. From a passage on f. 58[a], however, it would appear that the author regarded him as a usurper, or at least as not *de facto* king.

[3] The omission at this point of Dá'úd (who reigned, according to Lane, one year, A.H. 525–6) seems likewise to be intentional, no separate article being consecrated to him in the text.

١٠ ' السلطان ركن الدّنيا و الدّين ابو طالب طغرل بن محمّد بن ملكشاه يمين امير المؤمنين '

١١ ' السلطان غياث الدّنيا و الدّين ابو الفتح مسعود بن محمّد بن ملكشاه قسيم امير المؤمنين '

١٢ ' السلطان معيث الدّنيا و الدّين ملكشاه بن محمود بن محمّد يمين امير المؤمنين '

١٣ ' السلطان غياث الدّنيا و الدّين ابو شجاع محمّد بن محمود بن محمّد قسيم امير المؤمنين '

١٤ ' السلطان معزّ الدّنيا و الدّين ابو الحارث سليمان [بن محمّد بن ملكشاه] برهان امير المؤمنين '

١٥ ' السلطان ركن الدّنيا و الدّين ارسلان بن طغرل [بن محمّد بن ملكشاه] قسيم امير المؤمنين '

١٦ ' السلطان ركن الدّنيا و الدّين ابو طالب طغرل بن ارسلان قسيم امير المؤمنين '

Here may be said to begin the historical portion of this discursive work, though the author places it on f. 30ª, at the beginning of his praise of justice:—

ابتداى كتاب راحة الصّدور و آية السّرور و ذكر عدل و ستايش انصاف '

1. *Beginning of the Seljúq power.*

The Seljúq Turks came originally from Turkistán to Transoxania (ما وراء النهر), dwelling in winter in Núr of Bukhárá (cf. *Bundárí*, p. 5, ll. 4–5) and in summer near Sughd of Samarqand. Seljúq had four sons—Isrá'íl (eighth ancestor of the author's patron, Abu'l-Fatḥ Kay-Khusraw),

Míká'íl, Yúnus (f. 40[a]), and Músá. Isrá'íl, the eldest, was driven to revolt by the injustice of his liege, Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna, who, instigated by the Ílak Khán (Qadar Khán: cf. *Bundárí*, p. 5, l. 9), with whom he had just concluded peace on the banks of the Oxus, invited the Seljúqs to settle on the frontiers of his kingdom, forgetting the proverb:—

لا تَفْتَحْ بابًا يُعْيِيكَ سَدُّهُ و لا تُرْسِلْ سَهْمًا يُعْجِزُكَ رَدُّهُ

On one occasion (f. 40[b]), when Isrá'íl was with Sulṭán Maḥmúd, the latter enquired of him how many armed men he could supply in case of need, to which he returned the answer recorded by most historians (whose fancy is struck by the tale), that an arrow sent by him to his tribe would bring 100,000 horsemen to his side, and his bow 200,000. This reply filled Sulṭán Maḥmúd with apprehensions, and he forthwith devised a plan to cast Isrá'íl and his followers into bonds, and imprison them in the castle of Kálanjar (کالنجر) in India. There Isrá'íl languished in captivity for seven years, in spite of the attempts to rescue him made by the Turkmáns, whom he bids not to despair, because Sulṭán Maḥmúd is only the son of a slave (مولی زاده). Finally, (f. 41[b]) Isrá'íl dies in bondage, but his son Qutalmish (قُتَلْمِش) escapes from India to Sístán by way of the "Red-caps' Desert" (بیابان سرخ کلاهان), whence in time he joins his uncles and kinsmen at Bukhárá. These now swear vengeance against the treacherous Sulṭán Maḥmúd (f. 42[a]), from whom they ask permission to cross the Oxus and settle between Nasá and Báward. Arslán Jádhib, governor of Ṭús, who built the Ribáṭ-i-Sang-bast (cf. my ed. of Dawlatsháh, p. 176, ll. 2–10), and is there interred, advised the King to refuse this request, lest, through the growing strength of the Seljúqs, some mischief might accrue to Khurásán:—

ارسلان جاذب کـه والی طوس بود و رباط سنـگ بست کردست

و آنجا مدفونست سلطان‌را گفت صواب نباشد ایشان‌را بخراسان راه دادن که خیلی بسیارند و ساز و عُدّت دارند نباید کـه ازیشان فسادی آید ‘

Contrary to this advice, Sulṭán Maḥmúd granted the request of the Seljúqs, who, however, caused no further trouble until his death in A.H. 418 (= A.D. 1027). During this period there had been born to Míká'íl b. Seljúq his sons Chaghrí Beg Abú Sulaymán Dá'úd and Ṭughril Beg Abú Ṭálib Muḥammad. On the accession of Mas'úd b. Maḥmúd messengers were sent to the 'Amíd of Níshápúr Súrí b. al-Mu'tazz (cf. my ed. of Dawlatsháh, p. 50, ll. 22–23, where the reading بن ابو معشر should no doubt be corrected to بن المعتزّ), who built the cupola at Mashhad over the tomb of the Imám Riḍá, and who was at this time encamped in Gurgán against the Ziyárid prince Sharafu'l-Ma'álí Núshírwán b. Falaku'l-Ma'álí Minúchihr b. Shamsu'l-Ma'álí Qábús b. Washmgír, awaiting support from the 'Amíd Abú Sa'íd Ḥamdúní. He at once wrote to Mas'úd b. Maḥmúd, who thereupon left Níshápúr to attack the Seljúqs. His soldiers were wearied and their weapons rusted with marching through the forests and marshes of Mázandarán, and they were shamefully defeated by the Seljúqs, who carried off much booty. This engagement took place between Shahristána and Firáw (شهرستانه و فراو). Sulṭán Mas'úd, though greatly vexed at this reverse, was compelled to come to terms with the Seljúqs, as he was then preparing for a campaign in India.

جو خواهد بود روزی برف و باران ‘ بدید آید نشان از بامدادان ‘

On his return to Ghazna he found that they had greatly increased in strength, and ordered them to be expelled from Khurásán, but the governor of that province, having very unwillingly attempted to carry out this order, suffered a serious defeat (f. 43[a]), whereby the boldness of the Seljúqs was still further increased, so that Ṭughril Beg

came to Níshápúr and (in Ramaḍán, A.H. 429 = June, A.D. 1038), as we learn from Bundárí (p. 7, l. 1), was proclaimed king.

2. *Reign of Ṭughril Beg* (ff. 43ᵃ–48ᵇ).

His full name and title was *as-Sulṭánu'l-Mu'adhdham Ruknu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Abú Ṭálib Ṭughril Beg Muḥammad b. Míká'íl b. Seljúq.* Later, in A.H. 437 (= A.D. 1045–6), as we learn from f. 46ᵃ of our MS., his sovereignty was recognized by the Caliph, who conferred on him the title of *Yamínu Amíri'l-Múmínín.* His ministers were Abu'l-Qásim al-Kúbání, the Sálár of Búzhgán; Abú Aḥmad ad-Dahistání, called عمروك; and the 'Amídu'l-Mulk Abú Naṣr al-Kunduri. His chamberlain was 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Alp-zan al-Ághájí. His crest or sign-manual was ص_____, the shape of a club or mace (شکل جماقی). He reigned 26 years.

Here follows (f. 43ᵇ) an anecdote which is of great interest as proving conclusively the date at which Bábá Ṭáhir, the celebrated dialect poet of Hamadhán, flourished.[1] This extract I give in the original.

شنیدم کـه چون سلطان طغرلبک بهمذان آمـد از اولیا سه پیر بودند بابا طاهر و بابا جعفر و شیخ حمشا ' کوهکیست بر در همذان آن‌را خضر خوانند بر آنجا ایستاده بودند ' نظر سلطان بریشان آمد کوکبهٔ لشکر بـداشت و پیاده شـد و با وزیـر ابو نصر الکندری پیش ایشان آمد و دستهاشان ببوسید ' بابا طـاهر بارهٔ شیفته گونه بودی ' اورا گفت ای ترک با خلق خدای چه خواهی کرد ' سلطان گفت

[1] An article on this poet by Zhukovski appeared at pp. 104–108 of the *Zapisski* of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society for 1901 (vol. xiii, part 4). See also Mr. E. Heron-Allen's recently published *Lament of Bābā Ṭāhir* (Quaritch, 1902).

آنچ تو فرمائی ' بابا گفت آن کن که خدا مـی فرماید ' انّ اللّه یأمر بالعدل و الاحسان ' سلطان بگریست وگفت جنین کنم ' بابا دستش بستد وگفت از من بذیرفتی ' سلطان گفت آری ' بابا سر ابریقی شکسته کـه سالها از آن وضو کـرده بوذ در انگشت داشت بیرون کرد و در انگشت سلطان کرد و گفت مملکت عالـم جنین در دست تو کردم بـر عـدل بـاش ' سلطان بیوست آن در میان تعویذها داشتی و جون مصاف بیش آمذی آن در انگشت کردی ' اعتقاد پاک و صفای عقیدت او جنین بوذ و در دین محمّدی صلعم ازو دین دارتر و بیدارتر نبوذ ' (شعر)

دران بخشش که رحمت عام کردند ' دو صاحب را محمّد نام کردند '
یکی ختم نبوّت گشت ذاتـش ' یکی ختم ممالک در حیاتش '

This meeting of Ṭughril Beg and Bábá Ṭáhir probably took place about A.H. 447 (= A.D. 1055–6: cf. *Bundárí*, pp. 12–13) or A.H. 450 (= A.D. 1058–9: cf. ibid., p. 15), so that the latter may very well have, as asserted by some writers (Zhukovski, loc. cit.), conversed with the great Avicenna († A.H. 427 = A.D. 1036).

The growing power of Ṭughril Beg (f. 44ᵃ) impelled Sulṭán Mas'úd of Ghazna again to hazard a campaign against him. Setting out from Ghazna, he marched by way of Bust and Takínábád to Khurásán, where Ṭughril Beg, separated from his brother (Chaghrí Beg),[1] was then residing. Mas'úd, mounted on a female elephant, resolved on a forced night-march of 25 parasangs, designing thereby to prevent the Seljúq forces from effecting a junction. Unfortunately he

[1] The MS. is too ancient to distinguish, as a rule, between ج and چ, so that this name is generally written جغری, but on f. 45ᵃ, l. 4, we find چغری.

fell asleep on the elephant's back, and his retainers dared not wake him or continue the march. When he awoke at daybreak he found that Ṭughril Beg had eluded him and joined his brother Chaghrí Beg. Mas'úd, after putting the driver of his elephant to death, turned back to a plain between Sarakhs and Merv, where the Seljúq forces were encamped. These, having supplied themselves with sufficient water, had filled up the wells; and Mas'úd's army, tormented by thirst, suffered a fresh defeat at their hands. During the rout and flight of the Ghaznavid army (f. 44[b]) Mas'úd dealt one of the pursuing Turkmáns so terrible and deadly a blow that the comrades of the victim dared not press the pursuit. "Such," said Mas'úd, "is my sword-stroke, but luck is wanting!"

'زخم ایں است امّا اقبال نیست'

By this victory (f. 45[a]) the power and prestige of the Seljúqs was confirmed and increased, and the issue of the struggle was no longer doubtful:—

'قضى اللّه امرًا و جفّ القلم' و فيما قضى ربّنا ما ظلم'

Ṭughril, Chaghrí, and their uncle Músá b. Seljúq, called Payghú Kalán (or, by other writers, Arslán Payghú), bind themselves by an oath to loyal union and mutual support. The old illustration of the strength of united action by the bundle of arrows and the component arrows taken singly is here said to have been employed by Ṭughril Beg on this occasion. The three kinsmen then indite a letter to the Caliph al-Qá'im, relating the treacherous dealing of Sulṭán Maḥmúd towards Isrá'íl b. Seljúq (see p. 587 *supra*), assuring him of their loyalty to himself, and craving his sanction and recognition of their power. This missive they despatch (f. 45[b]) by the hands of Abú Isḥáq al-Fuqqá'í (cf. *Bundárí*, pp. 7–8), They choose the Sálár of Búzhgán as their minister, and then proceed to divide the territories which they have conquered. Chaghrí Beg takes Merv; Músá Payghú Kalán, Bust, Herát, and Sístán; Qáwurd, Chaghrí Beg's eldest son, Kirmán and Ṭabasayn (Tún and Ṭabas);

Ṭughril Beg, 'Iráq; Ibráhím b. Ínál[1] b. Seljúq was sent to Hamadhán (Ṭughril selecting Ray as his capital); Amír Yáqútí [b. Dá'úd Chaghrí Beg] to Abhar, Zanján, and Ádharbáyján; and Qutalmish [b. Músá Payghú Kalán] to Gurgán and Dámghán. Alp Arslán, another of Chaghrí Beg's sons, elected to remain with his uncle Ṭughril Beg, saying:—

رضاكَ رضآءى الّذى أُوثِرُ ' وسرّكَ سرّى فما أُظْهِرُ '

When the Caliph received the letter above mentioned, he sent Hibatu'lláh b. Muḥammad al-Ma'múní (cf. *Bundárí*, p. 9, ll. 9–10) with a favourable reply to Ṭughril at Ray. There the ambassador abode for three years, Ṭughril being too busy with the organization of his newly acquired territories to accompany him to Baghdad; until, in A.H. 437 (= A.D. 1045–6: cf. *Bundárí*, p. 9, l. 5), the Caliph ordered Ṭughril's name to be inserted in the *khuṭba* and placed on the coinage (in other words recognized his sovereign rank) before the name of the Buwayhid Amír al-Maliku'r-Raḥím Abú Naṣr b. Abi'l-Ḥayjá *Sulṭánu'd-Dawla*, the grandson of *'Aḍudu'd-Dawla* (cf. *Bundárí*, p. 10, ll. 18–19), besides conferring on him the ambiguous[2] title of *Yamínu Amíri'l-Múminín*, lately borne by Maḥmúd of Ghazna. In Ramaḍán of this same year (A.H. 437 = March – April, A.D. 1046) Ṭughril Beg went to Baghdad, and was received by the Caliph with great honour. Al-Maliku'r-Raḥím the Buwayhid came out to meet him at Nahruwán, but was seized by the Seljúq and sent in fetters to Ṭabarak near Ray (cf. *Bundárí*, p. 10, ll. 18–20). Ṭughril's authority over the two 'Iráqs and Kúhistán was confirmed by the Caliph.

In A.H. 449 (=A.D. 1057–8) the Isfahsalár Basásírí (Abu'l-Ḥárith Arslán: see *Bundárí*, p. 12, ll. 18–19) revolted against the Caliph, who craved help from Ṭughril, on whose approach the rebels fled to Syria. On the march

[1] Cf. Houtsma's note on p. 8 of *Bundárí*. Both spellings, ينال and اينال, occur in our MS.

[2] Cf. my edition of Dawlatsháh, pp. 34–35.

Ibráhím b. Ínál turned back with treasonable intentions to Hamadhán, but Ṭughril pursued, overtook and slew him (cf. *Bundárí*, p. 15). On Ṭughril's retiring from Baghdad, Basásírí returned, reinforced by the King of Mawsil (قرواش بن المقلّد), Quraysh b. Badrán, and Dubays b. 'Alí b. Mazyad (cf. *Bundárí*, p. 12), foully slew the *Ra'ísu'r-ru'asá*, maltreated the Caliph, and for a year caused the name of the "Egyptians" (i.e. the Fáṭimide al-Mustanṣir) to be inserted in the *khuṭba* (cf. *Bundárí*, p. 15, l. 19 seq.). But the discontent of the people of Baghdad against Basásírí increased; their governor (*Shaḥna*), Ítkín Sulaymání, fled to Ḥulwán and wrote an appeal to Ṭughril; to whom also the Caliph, banished to 'Ána and placed in the custody of Bughrí Muhárish (*Bundárí*, p. 16, ll. 18–19), addressed a prayer for succour, saying :—

اللّه اللّه سلیمانی‌را دریاب که دشمن لعین مستولی شد و شعار قرمطیان ظاهر گردانید

Moved by these letters (f. 47ᵇ), Ṭughril bade Abú Naṣr al-Kundurí *'Amídu'l-Mulk* write to Ítkín (*Bundárí*, pp. 44, 80) to hold the roads and passes and inform the Caliph of his speedy approach. The *'Amíd* summoned Ṣafí Abu'l-'Alá حسوك (or حسول), and commanded him to write a letter to the Caliph conveying this news in the briefest and most impressive message, whereupon he wrote (Qur'án, xxvii, 37) :—

إِرْجِعْ إِلَيْهِمْ فَلَنَأْتِيَنَّهُمْ بِجُنُودٍ لَا قِبَلَ لَهُمْ بِهَا وَلَنُخْرِجَنَّهُمْ مِنْهَا أَذِلَّةً وَهُمْ صَاغِرُونَ

The Sulṭán, delighted at this apposite quotation,[1] richly rewarded the scribe. Then, marching on Baghdad, he took Basásírí prisoner, beheaded him, and exposed his head on a pole. Then (A.H. 451, Dhu'l-Ḥijja = January, A.D. 1060)

[1] Similar instances of the employment of texts of the Qur'án to convey the purport of an official dispatch will be found in the first discourse of the *Chahár Maqála*, e.g. p. 27 of the separate reprint of my translation (=*J.R.A.S.* for 1899, p. 639).

he brought the Caliph back to Baghdad from 'Ána, and in reward for this service (f. 48a) received the title of *Ruknu'd-Dín* over and above that of *Ruknu'd-Dawla*, which had already been conferred upon him. Ṭughril, desiring some more substantial reward, sent the *'Amíd* to ask the Caliph for grants of land and estates, but the latter, while on his way to proffer this request, met the Caliph's minister coming to Ṭughril to offer the same spontaneously. On receiving these grants, Ṭughril withdrew to Tabríz, leaving the *'Amíd* at Baghdad to endeavour to arrange a marriage between him and the Caliph's sister Sayyidatu'n-Nisá. In spite of his aversion, the Caliph was finally compelled to give his consent to this union, and, bestowing on his sister "Fáṭima's dowry" of 400 silver *dirhams* and one gold *dínár*, sent her to Tabríz, which was decorated in her honour (شهر آذین بستند). The marriage was intended to be celebrated at Ray, the capital, but on the way thither, in Ramaḍán, A.H. 455 (=September, A.D. 1063), Ṭughril was taken ill and died in the village of Ṭajrisht near Ray: — بقصران بیرونی بدر ری بدیه طجرشت (cf. *Bundárí*, pp. 26–27). The Caliph's sister, with her dowry, was brought back to Baghdad.

3. *Reign of Alp Arslán* (ff. 50b–53a).

His full name and title was *as-Sulṭánu'l-A'ḍham 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla Abú Shuja' Alp Arslán Muḥammad b. Dá'úd b. Míká'íl b. Seljúq*. He reigned twelve years after the death of his uncle Ṭughril Beg in A.H. 455, and two years before that, after the death of his father, Chaghrí Beg Dá'úd, in Khurásán. He was born on the eve of Friday, Muḥarram 2, A.H. 431 (= Sept. 23, A.D. 1039), and was 34 years of age when he died. His chief minister was the celebrated Niḍhámu'l-Mulk al-Ḥasan b. 'Alí b. Isḥáq. His chamberlains were Bakrak (بکرک) and 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán al-Ághájí. His motto was "God giveth victory" (ینصر اللّٰه). In appearance he was tall, with moustaches so long that he used to tie up

their ends when he wished to shoot; and never did his arrows go wide of the mark. He used to wear a very high *kuláh* on his head, and men were wont to assert that from the top of his *kuláh* to the tips of his moustaches was a distance of two yards (*gaz*)!

Immediately on his accession Alp Arslán dismissed the 'Amíd from the post of Prime Minister, and appointed the Nidhámu'l-Mulk to this office. For some months he carried the dismissed minister from place to place with himself, but in A.H. 456 (=A.D. 1064) he caused him to be executed at Nasá in Khurásán, being instigated thereto by the Nidhámu'l-Mulk. Having prepared himself for death, the unfortunate 'Amíd sent the following messages to the King and to his successful rival (f. 51ᵃ):—

سلطان‌را بگوی اینت خجسته خدمتی کـه بـر من خدمت شما بود ' عمّت این جهان بمن داد تا بران حکم کردم و تو آن جهانم دادی شهادتم روزی کـردی ' پس از خدمت شما دنیا و آخرت یافتم ' و وزیررا بگوی کـه بـد بدعتی و زشت قاعدتـی در جهان آوردی بـوزیـر کشتن ' أرجو کـه ایـن سُنّت در حـقّ خویشتن و اعقاب باز بینی '

"Say to the King, 'Behold, a fortunate employ was your service! Thy uncle gave me this world to rule over, and thou hast given me the other world, making martyrdom my portion! So, by your service, have I won this world and that.' And to the *Wazír* say, 'An evil innovation and an ugly practice hast thou brought into the world by putting [dismissed] ministers to death! I trust that thou wilt see the same renewed in thine own case and in that of thy descendants!'"

After subduing Párs and overcoming the Shabánkára (f. 51ᵇ), Alp Arslán marched westwards to give battle to the Byzantine emperor Romanus (ارمانوس), who, with 600,000 men, was threatening the frontiers of the Muslims.

The two forces met at Malázkurd (so pointed, ملازگرد). Before engaging the enemy, Alp Arslán reviewed his forces, which comprised 12,000 men. At this review the Amír Sa'du'd-Dawla Guhar-áyín noticed a very insignificant Greek soldier whose name no one knew. Some of the officers were for rejecting him, but the Amír bade them let him be, "for who knows," said he, "that he may not be destined to take captive the Emperor of the Greeks?" By the strangest of coincidences this actually happened. Alp Arslán kept the Emperor prisoner for a few days, and then, having placed rings in his ears (the mark of a slave), released him, on his agreeing to pay a daily tribute (جزیت) of 1,000 *dínárs*.

Now in the year A.H. 465 (=A.D. 1072–3: cf. *Bundárí*, p. 46) Alp Arslán marched against the Turks. On reaching the Oxus some prisoners taken from the Castle of Narzam (نرزم), including the Warden of the Castle, Yúsuf Narzamí, were brought before him. Being interrogated by the Sultán, Yúsuf returned false and unsatisfactory answers, which so infuriated Alp Arslán that he seized his bow, and, bidding the prisoner's custodians stand clear, fired at him. The arrow missed its mark, and Yúsuf rushed upon the King, and, wounding the Amír Sa'du'd-Dawla Guhar-áyín, who had thrown himself before his royal master, dealt him a mortal blow, though 2,000 *ghuláms* were standing by and looking on. Only after the assassination had been accomplished did the chief *farrásh*, Jámi' of Níshápúr, slay the assassin with a blow on the head from his mallet.

سر الب ارسلان دیدی ز رفعت رفته برگردون ‘

بمرو آی تا بخاک اندر تن الب ارسلان بینی ‘

In the reign of Alp Arslán's successor, Maliksháh, the son of this *farrásh* was slain by one of the Caliph al-Muqtadí's *ghuláms*, who then took refuge in the Caliph's harem. The *farrásh* clamoured for vengeance, crying, "O sire! deal with the murderer of thy slave's son as I dealt with thy father's murderer!" Maliksháh, considering this demand

to be just, sent his chamberlain Amír Qumáj to demand the surrender of the assassin. The Caliph offered 10,000 *dinárs* if they would refrain from violating the sanctuary which the criminal had sought, but Maliksháh was obdurate, and the murderer was brought forth and put to death. Alp Arslán left nine sons besides Maliksháh, who succeeded him.

4. *Reign of Maliksháh* (ff. 54[a]–58[b]).

His full name and title was *as-Sulṭán Mu'izzu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Maliksháh b. Muḥammad Alp Arslán Qasímu Amíri'l-Múminín.* He was born in Jumáda I, A.H. 445 (= Aug.–Sept., A.D. 1053), lived 38 and reigned 20 years. He was of somewhat corpulent figure. His Prime Minister, until almost the end of his reign, was the Nidhámu'l-Mulk, and his chamberlain Qumáj (f. 54[b]).

While Maliksháh was on his way from Khurásán to 'Iráq to assume the reins of government, his uncle Qáwurd advanced against him from Kirmán. The two armies met at the gates of Karach (كرج بدر : cf. *Bundárí*, p. 48 et seqq., and also vol. i of the same *Recueil*, p. 12 et seqq.), and the battle endured three days and nights, until at length Qáwurd and his army were routed. One of Maliksháh's champions cut one of his adversaries clean in two. The booty taken by the victors was enormous. Maliksháh's soldiers, on their return to Hamadhán, clamoured for more pay and richer rewards, threatening to support Qáwurd in his pretensions if their demands were not complied with. The Nidhámu'l-Mulk, however, put them off with promises, and at once caused Qáwurd to be poisoned and two of his sons to be blinded; and the mutineers, on hearing of Qáwurd's "suicide," were quieted.

In A.H. 471 (= A.D. 1078–9) Maliksháh captured Samarqand and took its Khán prisoner (cf. *Bundárí*, p. 55). The Nidhámu'l-Mulk pays the boatmen who take Maliksháh over the Oxus in drafts on Antioch, and explains to the

King that he does this so that they may realize the greatness of his empire. The author adds :—

دریغا آن روزگار کـه وزرا جنان فـاضـل و دانا و عاقل و توانا بودند وکار وزارت ایـن ساعت بشاگرد غـلامـی آمدست هرج عوان تر وجوه انگیز تر'

On the occasion of his second march from U'zkand to Antioch, Malikshâh visited Latakia (لاذقیّه), where, riding his horse into the waters of the Mediterranean, he thanked God for the vastness of his dominions. To his retainers he gave fiefs in the remotest part of Syria, e.g., to Qasímu'd-Dawla Áq-sunqur in Aleppo, to 'Imádu'd-Dawla Búzhán in Ruhá, and to جکرمش in Mawṣil (cf. *Bundárí*, p. 70). From Antioch he marched to Samarqand, where he took prisoner Sulaymán Khán; thence onwards to U'zkand, Khaṭá, and Khutan (f. 56^b). He maintained an army of 46,000 regular troops, whose names were all recorded in the registers of his War Office. The administration of justice he carefully supervised, and he was always accessible to such as deemed themselves oppressed or wronged. Amongst the monuments of his piety and philanthropy are the wells which he constructed on the pilgrim-route, and the endowments he bestowed on the Warden of the Sacred Cities of Mecca and Medina (امیر الحرمین) in order that pilgrims might be exempt from the poll-tax of seven gold *dínárs* hitherto levied on each. He was devoted to the chase, and for every head of game which he slew he used to bestow a Maghribí *dínár* on some poor man. He caused a careful record of his bags of game to be kept; such a record, in the handwriting of Abú Ṭáhir al-Khátúní, was seen by the author, and therein it was recorded that in one day's hunting Malikshâh shot 70 gazelles :—

و سلطان از لهو و تماشا شکار دوست داشتی و بخطّ ابو طاهر خاتونی شکارنامهٔ او دیدم آورده بود که سلطان یک روز هفتاد آهو بتیر بزد '

Everywhere on his hunting-grounds he built pyramids of the hoofs of the gazelles and wild asses which he had slain.

Iṣfahán was his favourite residence,[1] and there he constructed many fine buildings and gardens, such as the Bágh-i-Kárán, the Baytu'l-Má ('Water-house'), the Bágh-i-Aḥmad Siyáh,[2] the Bágh-i-Dasht-i-Gúr ('Garden of the Plain of the Wild Ass'), the Qal'a-i-Shahr, and the Qal'a-i-Diz-Kúh.

His Prime Minister, the great Nidhámu'l-Mulk, had twelve sons, each of whom held some government office. Turkán Khátún (f. 57ᵇ), the daughter of Ṭamgháj Khán, who enjoyed an immense influence over Maliksháh, conceived the idea of displacing him in favour of her own minister Táju'l-Mulk Abu'l-Ghaná'im-i-Pársí, and finally succeeded in persuading the King to make this change of ministers. Her hatred of the Nidhám was due to the fact that she desired her young son Maḥmúd to be nominated by Maliksháh as his successor, while the Nidhám espoused the cause of the Prince Barkiyáruq. The following rash speech of the Nidhám to his royal master is said to have served in some degree as the pretext for his dismissal:—

آنکه ترا تاج داد دستار بر سر من نهاد هر دو در هم بسته اند و باهم پیوسته

About this time Maliksháh set out from Iṣfahán for Baghdad (f. 58ᵇ), and when the royal cavalcade reached Naháwand one of the Assassins (ملاحده), incited thereto by the Táju'l-Mulk, mortally wounded the Nidhám (a deed, adds the author, which no good Muslim would have done), who was then "over eighty years of age." "Thou would'st suppose," says our author, "that this word of his (cited above) was an omen, for the King too died eighteen days after he reached Baghdad"; and he then cites the celebrated verses of Mu'izzí (cf. my ed. of Dawlatsháh, p. 60):—

[1] Cf. *J.R.A.S.* for 1901, pp. 667–8.
[2] Cf. *J.R.A.S.* for 1901, p. 421.

رفت در یک مه بفردوس برین دستور پیر ‘
شاه بُرنا از پس او رفت در ماه دگر ‘
کرد ناگه قهر یزدان عجز سلطان آشکار ‘
عجز سلطانی ببین و قهر یزدانی نگر ‘

At the end of his reign, moreover, Maliksháh changed all his ministers, and this "was not blessed to him." Thus the Nidhámu'l-Mulk was replaced by Táju'l-Mulk, Kamálu'd-Dín Abu'r-Riḍá al-'Aríḍ by Sadídu'l-Mulk Abu'l-Ma'álí, and Sharafu'l-Mulk Abú Sa'd Mustawfí by Majdu'l-Mulk Abu'l-Faḍl of Qum, whom Abú Ṭáhir Khátúní thus coarsely satirized :—

می بنازد ببُخل مجد الملک ‘ جون بکاورس گرسنه قُمری ‘
گرهمه قُمّیان جنین باشند ‘ قُمْ رفیقا و برهمه قُم ری ‘

These changes in the ministry are summed up by the poet 'Bu'l-Ma'álí (بُلمعالی) Naḥḥás in the following lines (of which *Bundárí*, p. 63, gives an Arabic prose translation) :—

ز بوعلی بُذ و از بو رضا و از بوسعد ‘
شها که شیر ببیش تو همچو میش آمد ‘
درآن زمانه زهر کآمذی بدرگه تو ‘
مبشّرِ ظفر و فتح نامه بیش آمذ ‘
ز بُلفضایل و بُلفتح و بُلمعالی باز ‘
زمین مملکتترا نبات نیش آمذ ‘
گر از نظام و کمال و شرف تو سیر شذی ‘
ز تاج و مجد و سدیدت نگرجه بیش آمذ ‘

5. *Reign of Barkiyáruq* (ff. 59ᵇ–63ᵇ).

His full name and title was *as-Sulṭánu'l-Mu'aḍhḍham Ruknu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Abu'l-Muḍhaffar Barkiyáruq b. Maliksháh Yamínu Amíri' l-Múminíu.* He was of very handsome appearance; he succeeded to the throne in A.H. 486 (=A.D. 1093), reigned 12 years and lived 25. He was born at Iṣfahán in Muḥarram, A.H. 474 (= June–July, A.D. 1081). His motto (توقيع) was اعتمادى على الله. His prime ministers were al-Ḥusayn 'Izzu'l-Mulk b. Niḍhámu'l-Mulk, Abú Bakr Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk b. Niḍhámu'l-Mulk, Fakhru'l-Mulk b. Niḍhámu'l-Mulk, A'azzu'l-Mulk, 'Abdu'l-Jalíl ad-Dahistání, and Majdu'l-Mulk 'Bu'l-Faḍl al-Qummí. His chamberlains were the Amír Qumáj, Ṭughán بيرك, and 'Abdu'l-Malik.

At the time of his father's death Barkiyáruq (the eldest son, though hardly yet 13 years of age) was at Iṣfahán. Turkán Khátún, who was at Baghdad, besought the Caliph to give the crown to her own son Maḥmúd, but the Caliph at first refused on the ground of the child's tender age. The Caliph, however, had a son by Maliksháh's sister Mah-Malik Khátún, named Amír Ja'far, whose help, by bribes and flattery, Turkán Khátún succeeded in gaining, so that the Caliph at length acceded to her desire. Thereupon she at once despatched Amír Búghá to Iṣfahán (which he reached in one week from Baghdad) to seize Barkiyáruq (f. 60ᵃ), whom, however, the Niḍhámu'l-Mulk's sons concealed, protected, and carried off under cover of darkness to Sáwa and Á'ba, whence Gumush-Tagin the *jándár* (cf. *Bundárí*, pp. 83–4) conveyed him to Ray, and there proclaimed him king. At the time of his coronation Barkiyáruq was not 13 years of age, and the bejewelled crown was suspended over his head (being too heavy for him to wear)[1] by Abú Muslim, the governor (رئيس) of Ray, while nearly 20,000 troops assembled at the gates of Ray to defend his cause.

[1] Cf. Ibn Hishám's *Biography of the Prophet*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 42.

Meanwhile Turkán Khátún, accompanied by her son Maḥmúd, occupied Iṣfahán. Barkiyáruq marched against her. Her advisers, Majdu'l-Mulk of Qum, Táju'l-Mulk Abu'l-Ghaná'im, the *Iṣfahsálár* Amír Unrú Bulká[1] Beg, agreed to give Barkiyáruq 500,000 *dínárs* as his share of the inheritance on condition of his raising the siege. On receiving this sum Barkiyáruq retired to Hamadhán, whereupon Turkán Khátún again began to intrigue against him, promising his maternal uncle Malik Isma'íl that if he could defeat Barkiyáruq she would marry him. Accordingly, early in A.H. 486 (= A.D. 1093) Malik Isma'íl gave battle to Barkiyáruq at Karach, but was defeated.—Zubayda Khátún, the mother of Barkiyáruq, is put to death (cf. *Bundárí*, pp. 83 and 87).—Barkiyáruq's uncle Tutush b. Alp Arslán revolts, and marches on Kúhistán (cf. *Bundárí*, pp. 84–5).—Turkán Khátún is put to death by Barkiyáruq in Ramaḍán, A.H. 487 (= Sept.–Oct., A.D. 1094).—Barkiyáruq, overcome by his uncle Tutush, surrenders (f. 61ᵃ) to his brother Maḥmúd, who receives him at Iṣfahán with apparent kindness. He is imprisoned by Unrú Bulká in the Kúshk-i-Maydán, and it is decided to blind him, but at this juncture Maḥmúd is attacked by the smallpox (آبله), and the *amírs* determined to await the issue of the disease, which terminates fatally the same week, whereupon they again place Barkiyáruq upon the throne. At this juncture Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk, son of the Nidhámu'l-Mulk, arrived from Khurásán, and was made Prime Minister. Barkiyáruq in turn was attacked by the smallpox, so that his life was despaired of, but he recovered, marched on Hamadhán, and in Ṣafar, A.H. 488 (= Feb.–March, A.D. 1095), fought a battle with his uncle Tutush. Fakhru'l-Mulk, another son of the Nidhámu'l-Mulk, arrived from Khurásán bringing many fine presents, and was made Prime Minister. Barkiyáruq was wounded by one of the Assassins (ملاحده), but recovered, and marched on Khurásán against his uncle Arslán Arghún, sending his

[1] Pointing and pronunciation uncertain; here written انروبلکا, lower (f. 61ᵇ) انر and (f. 62ᵇ) أنر.

brother Sinjar and the Atábek Qumáj on in advance (A.H. 489 = A.D. 1095), but (f. 61ᵇ) ere the hostile forces met, Arslán Arghún was stabbed to death by a slave-boy at Merv (*Bundárí*, pp. 256–8). Barkiyáruq then came to Tirmidh, made his brother Sinjar king over Khurásán, and returned to 'Iráq.

Unrú Bulká next revolted, instigated thereunto by the Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk (whom Barkiyáruq had then just dismissed from the office of Prime Minister), who said to him, "How art thou less than Maḥmúd, the son of Turkán Khátún, seeing that Maliksháh loved thee above all his sons?" Unrú, however, was assassinated by one of the *Maláḥida* at Injíláwand near Sáwa, and the Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk, unable to remain in 'Iráq or Khurásán on account of the treason he had committed and the enmity of the powerful Majdu'l-Mulk, fled to Ganja (*Bundárí*, p. 87) to Barkiyáruq's brother Muḥammad, whom he urged to contest the crown with Barkiyáruq. Accordingly, in A.H. 492 (= A.D. 1098–9) they marched forth from Ganja towards Kúhistán, whither Barkiyáruq, accompanied by Majdu'l-Mulk Abu'l-Faḍl of Qum, had come from Khurásán. Now Barkiyáruq's troops conceived a great hatred of this minister, and sought his life, so that he took refuge in the King's tent; but, seeing the furious persistence of his foes, he at last advised his master to surrender him to them. This the Sulṭán refused to do, but the soldiers broke into the tent, dragged out the unfortunate minister by his beard, and tore him in pieces. The *Ákhur-beg* (Master of the horse) Ínánj Payghú, who, with the sons of the Amír Isfahsálár Bursuq (see Houtsma's note on *Bundárí*, p. 70: the name is unpointed in our MS.), had instigated the murder, now advised Barkiyáruq to flee, and he accordingly left the camp for Ray, accompanied only by ten or fifteen personal attendants. Muḥammad his brother, accompanied by his minister Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk (f. 63ᵃ), came to the gates of Hamadhán and proclaimed himself king (*panj nawbat zad*). Barkiyáruq gathered an army from Khurásán, Gurgán, and Ray, marched against his brother Muḥammad, defeated him, and took prisoner

Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk, who, when he had lain some days in prison, offered Barkiyáruq 100,000 *dínárs* to release him and make him Prime Minister. Barkiyáruq consented to this, and the minister was engaged in raising the required sum of money, when one day one of the King's footmen (طشت دار), thinking that his master was taking his noon-tide siesta, uttered a disparaging comment on the lack of zeal (حمیّت) of the Seljúqs which could condone such treachery and double dealing as that of which the Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk had been guilty. Barkiyáruq heard this remark, came forth from his chamber, and ordered the Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk to be brought before him, blindfolded and seated in a chair. Then with his own hand he severed the traitor's head from his body, and, turning to the footman, said, "Thou seest the zeal of the Seljúqs!"

6. *Reign of Muḥammad b. Malikshán* (ff. 64ᵇ–69ᵃ).

His full name and title was *as-Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Abú Shujá' Muḥammad*[1] *b. Malikshán Qasímu Amíri'l-Múminín.* He was born in Sha'bán, A.H. 474 (= January, A.D. 1082), lived 37 years, and reigned 13, succeeding to the throne in A.H. 498 (A.D. 1104–5) on the death of his brother Barkiyáruq. His motto (توقیع) was استعنتُ باللّٰه. His ministers (f. 65ᵃ) were Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk b. Nidhámu'l-Mulk (before his undisputed accession), Khaṭíru'l-Mulk Abú Manṣúr al-Maybudhí, Sa'du'l-Mulk al-Ábí, Aḥmad Nidhámu'l-Mulk b. Nidhámu'l-Mulk, and Rabíbu'd-Dawla Abú Manṣúr al-Qirátí. His chamberlains were 'Abdu'l-Malik, 'Umar Qarátagín, and 'Alí Bár. He was a vehement champion of the Faith, and a relentless foe to the heretical Isma'ílís (ملاحده) and to all such as favoured or sympathized with them. To the reduction of Diz-kúh, one of their strongholds near Iṣfahán (identical[2] with Sháh-diz

[1] Added in margin: هو محمّد الملقّب بطير.

[2] This is definitely stated on f. 66ᵃ:

قلعهٔ دزکوه که سلطان ملکشاه بنا فرموده بود و شاه دز نام نهاده

of *Bundárí*, p. 90), he devoted seven years; and, remarks our author:—

هرگ دزکوه بردر اصفهان دید دانند که آن بادشاه در فتح آن قلعه و قمع آن طایفه چه رنج دیده باشد و چه سختی کشیده

At the beginning of his reign he had to go to Baghdad (f. 65b) to fight Ṣadaqa[1] and Ayáz, sons of one of Barkiyáruq's clients, who had revolted against him. The rebels, terrified by heavenly portents, were defeated, Ṣadaqa killed in battle, and Ayáz taken prisoner and put to death. Ṣadaqa's head was sent to the King's brother Sinjar in Khurásán.

During the fratricidal quarrels of Muḥammad and Barkiyáruq, the Assassins, or *Malāḥida*, had increased greatly in strength, and to their extirpation the King now devoted his energies. The following interesting passage (f. 66) concerning the wholesale abductions and murders alleged to have been committed by them in Iṣfahán may be compared with *Bundárí*, pp. 90 et seqq.:—

[1] Cf. pp. 102–104 (Anecdote xxix) of my translation of the *Chahár Maqála*. For the following valuable note I am indebted to Mr. T. A. Archer. "As to one of the people mentioned in your translation," he writes, "I can possibly give you a little information that may be new to you. I refer to the Ṣadaqa on pp. 102–3 [of the *Chahár Maqála*], who is there called by the strange title of 'King of the Arabs.' This is, I think, beyond any doubt 'Ṣadaka' (or 'Sadaca,' as the French translations spell the word), lord of Hillah, and, according to one thirteenth-century Arabic historian, if my memory does not fail me, 'founder' (*sic*) of that place. He was a most remarkable man, very famous for his love of letters and his large collection of books; a collection all the more remarkable in that, if my memory does not fail me again, he could not, according to the same Arabic chronicler, read himself. He appears to have been somewhat of a heretic (a Shiite, I suppose), and died in battle against the 'Abbásid Caliph and Muḥammad the Sultan early in March, A.D. 1108 (March 4 or 5, according to my calculation). The Arabic chroniclers, if I remember right, speak of him as Nidhámí does, by the strange title 'King of the Arabs,' and, what is more curious still, the title 'King of the Arabs' passed on to his son, the still more famous Dubays, who figures more than once in actual crusading history as warring against the Norman Crusaders in the principality of Antioch, many of these Normans being—to judge from their sur-names—members of well-known English families (I mean of Norman families settled in England). Walter, the Chancellor of Antioch, who was actually taken prisoner by Dubays and his allies in A.D. 1119, always speaks of Dubays as 'rex Arabum' (Nidhámí's title for his father); and even William of Tyre, writing about 60 years later, knew that he was an Arab chief, for he refers to him as 'satrapa potentissimus Arabum.' I may add that you will find a fairly detailed account of Ṣadaqa himself in Ibnu'l-Athír, under, I believe, the year A.H. 501."

"There was at Iṣfahán a certain literary man (*adíb*) called 'Abdu'l-Malik 'Aṭṭásh (عطاش). Being from the first in the Shí'ite connection, he became suspected [of being in sympathy with the *Malá*ḥ*ida*], and the clergy (ائمّة) of Iṣfahán pursued and sought to persecute him. He fled to Ray, and there joined himself to Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ. . . . . Thereafter there was found in his handwriting a letter which he had written to a friend, wherein occurred the expression, 'I have fallen on the Grey Falcon, and this hath compensated me for what I have left behind'—

وقعتُ بالباز الاشهب فكان عِوَضًا لى عمّا خلّفتُهُ

"Now his handwriting is well known, and there [still] exist at Iṣfahán many books written in his hand. And this 'Abdu'l-Malik had a son called Aḥmad, who during his father's time was a linen-merchant (*kirbás-furúshí kardí*), and professed to hold in detestation his father's sect and doctrine, in which he renounced all part or share. So, when his father fled, they did him no hurt.

"Now in the Castle of Dizkúh, which was built by Sulṭán Maliksháh and named Sháh-diz, were placed, during the absence of the King, the [royal] treasure and armoury, and likewise the young page-boys (وشاقان) and girls of the Palace; and a company of Daylamites kept guard over the Castle. There this Aḥmad, the son of 'Abdu'l-Malik, introduced himself in the capacity of teacher to the page-boys, and whenever he came into the town he used to buy for the girls clothing, veils, and other women's gear; and he used to hold private conferences with the Daylamites, for whom he professed friendship. These were themselves [already] prone to the matter; all of them responded to his propaganda, and he then became the governor of the Castle and they his subjects.

"Thereafter he constructed a 'Mission-house' (*da'wat-khána*) at the very gates of the city, near the Dasht-i-Gúr, whither nightly a company would repair from the town (f. 66ᵇ), absorb his teaching, and make profession of his

doctrines, until every class had established in its own quarter a congregation imbued with this heresy, whom they then presented at the 'Mission-house,' till 30,000 men had accepted the propaganda. And they used to kidnap Musulmáns and do them to death.

"About this time there appeared a blind man called 'Alawí Madaní (علوی مَدَنی), who, towards nightfall, used to stand at the end of his street with a staff in his hand, crying, 'May God pardon him who will take the hand of this poor blind man and lead him to the door of his dwelling in this lane!' Now the lane was long and dark, having at its end the Saráy-i-Gúr, and in the porch of this building was a well. And when [the victim] had brought 'Alí [or 'Alawí, as he was called previously] to the door of the building, a gang [of the heretics] would seize him, drag him within, and cast him head downwards into the well, whence passages communicated with the cellars. Four or five months passed in this fashion, and a large number of the young men of the city disappeared, for none won forth thence, nor could tidings be obtained of either living or dead. . . .

"One day a beggar-woman craved an alms at this house. Hearing a groaning, she exclaimed, 'May God heal your sick!' . . . The inmates of the house, fearing lest she should become cognizant of their doings, sought, on the pretext of giving her food, to inveigle her within; but she, being alarmed, fled. Meeting some people at the end of the street, she said to them, 'From such and such a house I heard a horrible wailing, and some people endeavoured to seize me.' . . . Then a turmoil arose, and crowds of people assembled outside the door of the house, and, effecting an entrance, began to search its every nook and corner. Ultimately they found their way to the cellars, where they beheld four or five hundred men or more, some slain and others crucified against the walls, of whom two or three still breathed. This being noised abroad through the city, men flocked thither, each to find some friend or kinsman, and there fell upon Iṣfahán lamentation and wailing, the

like of which none can describe. Then they seized 'Alawí Madaní and his wife, sought out their accomplices, and burned him and his wife in the Bazaar of the Army."

Now Sa'du'l-Mulk, the minister, was suspected of sympathizing with the Assassins by many of the nobles and some of the clergy of Iṣfahán, such as the Chief Qáḍí 'Ubaydu'lláh Khaṭíbí and Ṣadru'd-Dín Khujandí, but though these suspicions were on several occasions communicated to the King, he refused to credit them, having entire confidence in the accused. But Sa'du'l-Mulk[1] had a chamberlain who was acquainted with his most hidden secrets, and from whom he concealed nothing. And when the siege of Dizkúh had continued for a long while, Aḥmad b. 'Aṭṭásh, the chief of the Assassins, sent a message to Sa'du'l-Mulk, saying, "Our stores are nearly at an end, and our men are weary of fighting: we desire to surrender the Castle." But Sa'du'l-Mulk sent answer, "Be patient for one week and do not surrender, till we overthrow this dog" (meaning the King). Now it was the King's custom to be bled once every month, and Sa'du'l-Mulk bribed the phlebotomist with a thousand *dínárs* to use for the operation a poisoned lancet.[2] This plot was communicated by his chamberlain to his beautiful wife, who communicated it to her paramour (يارل), who told one of the officers of Sharafu'l-Islám, by whom it was made known to the King. So next day the King, feigning illness, sent for the phlebotomist, and caused him to be scratched with his own lancet; whereupon, the poison taking effect, he turned black and died in agony. Next day the King hanged Sa'du'l-Mulk and Abu'l-'Alá [b.] Mufaḍḍal. Two days later Aḥmad b. 'Aṭṭásh surrendered the Castle of Dizkúh. His hands were bound, and, mounted on a camel, he was paraded through the streets of Iṣfahán, where more than a hundred thousand men, women, and children turned out to

[1] The MS. reads *Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk*, but this must be an error. See p. 604 *supra*.

[2] *Bundárí* (p. 92) regards all these charges against Sa'du'l-Mulk as mere calumnies.

see him, pelting him with dirt and dust, and mocking him in scornful ballads:—

. . بـا انواع نثار و خاشاک و سرگین و بشگل و خـاکستر و مُخنّثان حراره کنان در پیش با طبل و دهل و دف و میگفتند (حرارة) عطّاش عالی جان من عطّاش عالی ' میان سر هلالی ' ترا بذر (بدز) جکارو '

Then he was crucified for seven days, and, as he hung there, they fired arrows at him (*tír-bárán-ash kardand*),[1] and afterwards burned his body.

شخصی در آن حالت از وی پرسیده بود (f. 68ª) کـه تو علم نجوم دعوی کنی در طالع خویش ایـن روز نیافتی ' جواب داد که در احکام طالع خویش دیده بودم که بعظمتی و جلالتی در اصفهان روم که هیچ بادشاه مثل آن ندیده بود امّا بذین صفت ندانستم[2] '

So the Castle of Dizkúh was dismantled, and Shír-gír was sent to attack Alamút, the headquarters of the Assassins. It also was on the point of surrendering when news arrived of the Sulṭán's death, and the siege was raised.

The deceased King, apart from his avarice, which was extreme, was a good ruler. When Aḥmad (f. 68ᵇ) b. Nidhámu'l-Mulk was *wazír*, he prepared to attack Sayyid Abú Háshim, the chief of Hamadhán, the grandfather of 'Alá'u'd-Dawla; and the minister was to pay the King 500,000 *dínárs* on condition that he might deal with the Sayyid as he pleased. The latter and his three sons, being informed of this arrangement, escaped from Hamadhán, and made their way in one week to Iṣfahán, where, by means of a courtier named Lálá Qarátagín, whom they bribed with 10,000 *dínárs*, they obtained by night a secret audience with the King, whose wife, Núrání Qutlugh Khátún, was also

[1] The same was done (but with bullets for arrows) to Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad the Báb when he was put to death at Tabríz in the summer of 1850.

[2] This story is very well known, but the individual concerned is seldom named. It occurs in 'Awfí's *Jawámi'u'l-Ḥikáyát*, and is cited from there in the chrestomathy at the end of Salemann and Zhukovski's *Persische Grammatik*.

present. The Sayyid then presented the King with a priceless pearl, and promised him 800,000 *dínárs* (f. 69ª) if he would spare him and protect him against his foe Aḥmad b. Nidhámu'l-Mulk. Greed of money was stronger with the King than love for his minister, and the Sayyid, having received promise of protection, was suffered to depart. The 800,000 *dínárs*, laden on 40 mules, were duly sent by him to the King, who only bestowed one single *dínár* on the messenger who brought them.

(*To be continued.*)

ART. XXII.—*Catalogue of the late Professor Fr. Max Müller's Sanskrit Manuscripts.* Compiled by Don M. de Z. WICKREMASINGHE.

THE collection of Sanskrit MSS. described below forms part of the library of the late Professor Fr. Max Müller, which was acquired in July, 1901, for the Japanese University of Tokiyo. It consists of 82 codices, of which 15 are tracings and 26 are transcripts of MSS. chiefly in the Berlin Royal Library, the Munich University Library, the Paris National Library, the India Office Library, and the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The remaining 41 MSS. were received from India through the agency of the late Dr. J. R. Ballantyne, of the Benares Sanskrit College, Professor G. Bühler, and Dr. FitzEdward Hall. All these MSS. represent Vedic works, chiefly connected with the Ṛgveda, and have been more or less used in the preparation of Professor Max Müller's edition of the Ṛgveda-saṁhitā with Sāyaṇa's Commentary.

The compiler takes this opportunity to gratefully acknowledge advice and encouragement received from Professor A. A. Macdonell.

I. ṚGVEDA.

A. SAṂHITĀ TEXT AND ITS COMMENTARIES.

1.

MM. 20.[1] Indian paper; ff. 622, in eight parts, with a separate foliation for each; size 9½ in. by 4 in.; Devanāgarī character, written in two different hands, 9 lines (7½ in. long) on each page. Dated in expired years:—Aṣṭaka II, Śaka

[1] This and the following are Professor Max Müller's own numbering as marked on the case or cover of each codex.

1679 (A.D. 1757–58); VII, Śaka 1704 (A.D. 1782–83); VI, Śaka 1705 (A.D. 1783–84); I, IV, and V, Śaka 1707 (A.D. 1785–86); III, Śaka 1708 (A.D. 1786–87); VIII, Śaka 1709 (A.D. 1787–88). Bought of B. Quaritch, and referred to as S 4 in the preface to Professor Max Müller's Rv., 2nd ed., vol. i, p. lxiv.

Ṛgveda-saṁhitā-pāṭha.

Accented and complete in eight parts. Aṣṭaka I: adhyāya i, f. 8*b*; ii, f. 17*b*; iii, f. 26*b*; iv, f. 36*a*; v, f. 45*b*; vi, f. 55*a*; vii, f. 65*b*; viii, f. 75.

Scribe's colophon: *Śake* 1707 *Viśvāvasu-nāma saṁvatsare Māgha-vadya-pratipādā tad = dine Navāthy = opanāmaka-Keśavadevena likhitaṁ* ||

Aṣṭaka II: i, f. 12*b*; ii, f. 23*a*; iii, f. 32*a*; iv, f. 41*b*; v, f. 51*a*; vi, f. 62*a*; vii, f. 71*b*; viii, f. 82.

Scribe's colophon: *Śake* 1679 *Īśvara-saṁvatsare Mārgaśīrṣe māse śukla-pakṣe caturthāyāṁ tithau Khāṇḍekar = opanāmaka-Nārāyaṇena likhitaṁ pustakaṁ samāptam.*

Aṣṭaka III: i, f. 10*a*; ii, f. 17*b*; iii, f. 26*b*; iv, f. 35*a*; v, f. 42*b*; vi, f. 50*b*; vii, f. 58*b*; viii, f. 68.

Col.: *Śake* 1708 *Parābhava-nāma saṁvatsare Māgha-vadya-tṛtīyā tad = dine Navāthy = opanāmaka-Keśavadevena likhitaṁ* ||

Aṣṭaka IV: i, f. 10*b*; ii, f. 20*a*; iii, f. 29*a*; iv, f. 41*a*; v, f. 50*b*; vi, f. 59*b*; vii, f. 71*a*; viii, f. 80.

Col.: *Śake* 1707 *Viśvāvasu-nāma saṁvatsare Āśvina-kṛṣṇa-trayodaśī tad = dine Navāthy = opanāmaka-Keśavadevena likhitaṁ* ||

Aṣṭaka V: i, f. 9*b*; ii, f. 18*a*; iii, f. 26*b*; iv, f. 36*a*; v, f. 45*a*; vi, f. 56*a*; vii, f. 61*b*; viii, f. 70.

Col.: *Śake* 1707 *Viśvāvasu-nāma saṁvatsare Kārttika-śuddha-tṛtīyā tad = dine Navāthy = opanāmaka-Keśavadevena likhitaṁ* ||

Aṣṭaka VI: i, f. 11*b*; ii, f. 21*a*; iii, f. 32*a*; iv, f. 46*a*; v, f. 54*a*; vi, f. 63*b*; vii, f. 71*b*; viii, f. 79.

Col.: *Śake* 1705 *Śobhana-nāma saṁvatsare Mārgaśīrṣa-śuddha-ekādaśyāṁ tad = dine Keśavade[ve]na likhitaṁ* ||

Aṣṭaka VII: i, f. 9*b*; ii, f. 20*b*; iii, f. 31*b*; iv, f. 41*b*; v, f. 52*b*; vi, f. 62*b*; vii, f. 73*a*; viii, f. 84. The text from fol. 8*b* to 52*b* has been corrected as if for the press.

Col.: *Śake* 1704 *Śubhakṛn=nāma saṁvat°. Māgha-śuddha* 15 *paurṇimā tad=dine Navāthy=opanāmaka-*[*Keśavadevena*] *likhitaṁ* ||

Aṣṭaka VIII: i, f. 10*b*; ii, f. 18*b*; iii, f. 28*a*; iv, f. 38*a*; v, f. 48*a*; vi, f. 57*a*; vii, f. 70*a*; viii, f. 84.

Col.: *Śake* 1709 *Plavaṅga-nāma saṁvatsare . . grīṣma=ṛtau Āṣāḍhe māse kṛṣṇa-pakṣe pratipadā . . tad=dine Navāthy=opanāmaka-Keśavadevena likhitaṁ* ||

2.

MM. 39. European paper (tracing and ordinary foolscap); ff. 74 and 124 (leaves 97–124 being loose); size 8in. by 3½ in.; Devanāgarī character, partly traced and partly transcribed, more or less in a cursive hand. Date of original MS., Śaka 1688 [expired] (A.D. 1766–67).

Yāska's *Nirukta.*

Complete and accented. Pūrvaṣaṭka I (f. 13*a*), II (f. 26*b*), III (f. 40*b*), IV (f. 52*a*), V (f. 60*a*), VI (f. 74*a*). Date, *Śake* 1688 *Vyaya-saṁvatsare Phālguna-śukla* 15 *Bhānu-vāsare tad=dine samāpto 'yaṁ Nirukta-granthaḥ.* Uttaraṣaṭka I, or, as it is here called, Nirukta VII (f. 12*b*), II, erroneously called Nirukta II for VIII (f. 19*b*), III (f. 41), IV (f. 65), V (f. 79), VI or Nirukta XII (f. 96).

The next two chapters are Pariśiṣṭa I, called here Nirukta XIII, and Pariśiṣṭa II. The former begins: **अथेमा अतिस्तुतय इत्याचक्षते**, etc., and ends: **आदित्य इत्यचरन्नचरति हृदातष्टेषु चयोदश ॥ इति निरुक्ते चयोदशाध्यायः** The latter begins (at fol. 104) **ओम् ॥ व्याख्यातं दैवतं यज्ञांगं चाथात ऊर्ध्वमार्गगतिं व्याख्यास्यामः** and ends (at fol. 123), as in the first part, with the usual index of verses **इदन्तेन्याभिस्त्र्यंबकं शतं जोवमातेराधासीति सप्तचिंशत् ॥ सांवसदाग्निवार्पणमस्तु ॥ भग्नपृष्ठ-**, etc. Date, same as that of the Pūrvaṣaṭka.

At the bottom of the page is the following note in Professor Max Müller's handwriting:—"Mādhava kennt nur 12 adhy., die mit dem 13ten enden, also nicht das erste, wenigstens nicht in d. Auffassung als Nirukta."

This is probably the MS. referred to at p. xxv of the preface to vol. i of his second edition of the Ṛgveda-saṁhitā.

3.

MM. 7. European paper; pp. 67 (bound as a book); size 9 in. by 7 in.; written in modern Devanāgarī character, nine lines on a page.

Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya.*

Introductory portion only, with the readings of three MSS. The variants written in blue are those of the Berlin MS. (Chambers, 446) referred to as A 3. Those in red and black belong to the two MSS. of the Paris National Library, D 207 and 218 respectively. These are probably identical with the MSS. A 1 and C 1 in Max Müller's preface to the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā.*

The present fragment ends—

śrotāro vedavyākhyāne pravarttaṁtāṁ ||

ati° ityādi. (See Rv., 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 18, end of par. 1.)

4.

MM. 1. Indian paper; ff. 648; size $11\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $4\frac{1}{4}$ in.; Devanāgarī character, 9 to 11 lines on a page; date not given, but probably seventeenth or early eighteenth century. See also remarks on MM. 4 (No. 16).

Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya.*

Aṣṭaka I, with unaccented Saṁhitā text, and marginal corrections and additions of a later date. Adhyāya i, f. 151; ii, f. 221; iii, f. 68 (separate foliation); iv, f. 77 (separate foliation); v, f. 67 (separate foliation); vi, f. 138; vii, f. 216; viii, f. 281.

For further particulars, see Max Müller's Ṛgveda, 2nd ed., vol. i, pp. xxxi–xxxvi, where this MS. is referred to as C*a*.

5.

MM. 31. (*a*) European paper; pp. 21; size 10 in. by 7½ in.; modern Devanāgarī character, fairly well written, 10 to 14 lines on each page.

Fragment of Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya* containing Aṣṭaka I, adhy. i, vargās 27–31.

(*b*) European paper; pp. 35; size 8¼ in. by 6½ in.

A list of various readings of Sāyaṇa in the text of the Ṛgveda-saṁhitā, compiled by Dr. M. Winternitz.

6.

MM. 11. White "papier végétal"; pp. 563 (i.e. 1–67 and 38–534); size 10½ in. by 8¼ in.; Devanāgarī character; pp. 1–67 are probably traced, 9 lines (about 8¼ in. long) on each page; the rest (pp. 38–534) is fairly well transcribed (with here and there omissions by oversight, see p. 225, l. 18), 28 lines (5¼ in. long) on each page. Date, March, 1845–46. At p. 174 of his Autobiography, Professor Max Müller refers to his tedious work of transcribing MSS.

Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya*.

Aṣṭaka I, adhy. i to iv. Introd. and adhy. i, pp. 1–67 and 38–207; ii, p. 308; iii, p. 406; iv, p. 534.

The following German superscription in Professor Max Müller's own hand describes this copy in detail:—[1]

"Abschrift von C 1 zuweilen schwarz nachgebessert. A 1 Collation mit blass-rother Tinte = A 1. B 2 Collation, schwarze Tinte, an der Seite mit einem Strich, im Texte nur dann corrigirt, wenn mit der ersten Abschrift (dem Raume

[1] The abbreviation A 1 = old MS. of the National Library at Paris, dated Saṁvat 1625 (1569 A.D.). Rv., 2nd ed., vol. i, p. xix.
B 2 = Eugène Burnouf's copy of B 1. Ibid., pp. xix–xx.
C 1 = MS. of the Paris National Library. Ibid., p. xx.

nach) keine Verwechselung möglich ist. Ist Roth A 1 schwarz unterstrichen, so stimmt es mit B 2, ist es nicht, so stimmt B 2 mit C 1, ausser wenn B 2 noch besonders angegeben. N.B. cf. pag. 313 wo nur B 2 Collation mit schwarzer Tinte. Cf. pag. 367 von wo an das MS. zum Druck gebraucht. Die Einleitung war für Goldstücker abgeschrieben (C 1), der meinen Abdruck mit A 1 collationirt (roth); schwarz ist B 2."

7.

MM. 21. Indian paper; ff. 52 (no foliation); size $9\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. Devanāgarī character, fairly well written, 10 lines ($7\frac{3}{4}$ in. long) on each page; date not given, but probably early eighteenth century. Presented by Dr. FitzEdward Hall in 1855.

Fragment of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* text (unaccented) with Sāyaṇa's commentary, containing: — Aṣṭaka I, adhy. iv, vargās 1, 2, 3, 4 (incomplete), 7, 8, 9 (incomplete), 18–20 (only portions of each), 21–23; adhy. v, fragments of each of the vargās 5–8, 13, and 16, the whole of 17, and the beginning of 18. The MS. is full of inaccuracies.

8.

MM. 12. White "papier végétal"; ff. 308; size $10\frac{1}{4}$–$11\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $8\frac{1}{2}$ in.; Devanāgarī character, 12 to 17 lines (about $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. long) on each page; written more cursively towards the end by Professor Max Müller during March, 1845–46. Not free from clerical errors.

Another fragment of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* text (unaccented) with Sāyaṇa's commentary, containing Aṣṭaka I, adhy. v (f. 95*a*), vi (f. 180*a*), vii (f. 250*a*), viii (f. 308).

On the MS. is the following superscription in Professor Max Müller's handwriting:—

"1 Ashṭaka 5–8 adhyâya, calquirt von Burnouf's MS. in Paris [i.e. B 2, cf. MM. 11 (No. 6)] und collationirt mit A 1. Im letzten Adhyâya ist die Collation von A 1 für

manche Stellen in Aṣṭ. I, 5–8, C 2, wo die Stellen aus A 1 calquirt sind."

9.

MM. 13. Tracing paper; ff. 359; size 12 in. by 4 in.; Devanāgarī character, 9 lines (about 10 in. long) on each page.

A traced copy (excepting a few leaves) of Dr. Mills' MS., C 2 (see Rv., 2nd ed., vol. i, pref., p. xxi), corrected for press and used for the *editio princeps*.

Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya*.

Aṣṭaka I, adhy. v (f. 125), vi (f. 255*b*), vii (f. 294), viii (f. 359). Adhy. viii is only a fragment, 9 leaves (ff. 322–328 and 335–336) being wanting, and ending abruptly at the commencement of varga 19, with the words *tasmād* = *udairayataṁ | udatārayataṁ* (see Rv., 2nd ed., p. 534, l. 3).

Superscription on the MS.: "Abschrift C 2 zum Druck gebraucht; letzten Adhyâya sind Specimina von A 1 und C 1."

10.

MM. 2. (*a*) Indian paper; ff. 259; size 14 in. by $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.; written in bold Devanāgarī character, 11 lines on a page. Date not given, but the writing and the general appearance of the MS. indicate a more modern date than that of MM. 1 (No. 4).

Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya*.

Aṣṭaka II, complete. Adhyāya i (f. 48*b*), ii (f. 88*b*), iii (f. 130*a*), iv (f. 159*b*), v (f. 187*a*), vi (f. 214*b*), vii (f. 241*b*), viii (f. 259).

This is the second portion of the MS. C *a*, containing marginal corrections and additions of a later date, as in MM. 1 (No. 4).

11.

MM. 2. (*b*) Indian paper; ff. 25; size $14\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $5\frac{3}{4}$ in.; Devanāgarī character, 9 lines on each page; dated 27th September, 1850.

Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya.*

Aṣṭaka II, adhy. i, vargās 1 and 2 incomplete (ff. 1–5); adhy. ii, vargās 1–3 incomplete (ff. 1–6 separate foliation); adhy. iii, vargās 1–6 incomplete (ff. 1–13); adhy. iv, beginning only (f. 1).

The following note is on this last leaf:—"This much had been transcribed from the copy in the College library before the old copy [i.e. MS. C *a*] herewith sent, was found for sale.

[Initialled] J. B. B.

Benares College,
27 *Sept.*, 1850."

12.

MM. 14. Glazed bank paper; ff. 405, i.e. foliation 1–250, 251 (=1–18), 252–263, 264 (=1–36), 265–283, 284 (=1–36), 285–298, 299 (=1–9), 300–310; size 17 in. by 5½ in.; Devanāgarī character, 16–17 lines (ff. 1–11) and 4–10 lines (11 to 14 in. long) on each page.

Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya.*

Aṣṭaka II, adhyāyās i to v. A traced copy of Colebrooke's MS. A 2 (see Rv., 2nd ed., vol. i, pref., p. xviii), with various readings and alterations for press. Adhy. i (f. 97), there is a break in the commentary on verse 1 of varga 10; ii (f. 208), complete; iii (f. 273), vargās 14 to 16 (f. 251=1–18) and 18 to 23 (f. 264=1–36) are traced seemingly from two different MSS.; iv (f. 306), incomplete: vargās 4 to 11 (f. 284=1–36) and 17 to 24 (f. 299=1–9) are tracings, the latter evidently from a third MS.; v (f. 310), wanting vargās 1 to 8 and from the commentary on verse 4 of varga 10 to end of the adhyāya.

13.

MM. 15. Foolscap and bank paper; pp. 544 (separate foliation for each fragment); size 11 to 12½ in. by 7½ in.; Devanāgarī character, in different handwritings, 20 to 22 lines on each page.

Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya.*

Aṣṭaka II, (*a*) adhy. i, vargās 1–10 (pp. 1–26), ending abruptly with the words *ramaṇīyaṁ niṣkādikaṁ* in the commentary on verse 1 of varga 10 (Rv., 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 568, l. 7). The Saṁhitā text is given in full and is accented. Corrections and various readings of the commentary are also to be found on each page.

(*b*) Adhy. ii, vargās 16 to end (pp. 1–28); iii, complete (pp. 28–91); iv, vargās 1–10 (pp. 91–106). This portion is full of mistakes. It is a copy of the Bodleian Library MS. No. 74, referred to as C 5 in Max Müller's preface (Rv., 2nd ed., vol. i, p. xxi).

(*c*) Adhy. iii, vargās 1–13 (pp. 149–175). This is a copy of a MS. of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, referred to as D in the preface. It begins with the last line or two of adhy. ii, varga 27, and ends at the commencement of varga 14 of adhy. iii.

(*d*) Adhy. ii, varga 14 to end (pp. 38), iii (pp. 78), iv (pp. 61), v (pp. 55), vi (pp. 60), vii (pp. 56), viii (pp. 37), each adhyāya having a separate pagination. Transcribed from a MS. belonging to the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Received by Professor Max Müller on "1 Nov. 50" (i.e. 1850). Contains corrections more or less on every page.

14.

MM. 3. Indian paper; ff. 398; size $9\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $5\frac{1}{8}$ in.; Devanāgarī character, 11 lines on each page. Date not given, probably as old as MM. 1 (No. 4).

Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya.*

Aṣṭaka III, complete. Adhy. i (f. 92), ii (f. 157*b*), iii (f. 216), iv (f. 268*b*), v (f. 305), vi (f. 334), vii (f. 363*b*), viii (f. 398). This is the third portion of MS. C *a*. Corrections and marginal notes are not so numerous as in the preceding parts (cf. MM. 1 and 2 or Nos. 4 and 10). The MS. is in good preservation, but not free from clerical errors.

15.

MM. 8. Indian paper; ff. 147 (i.e. original foliation 164–310); size 11 in. by $4\frac{3}{4}$ in.; good Devanāgarī character, 11 lines on each page. Date, Saṁvat 1624 [expired?] (A.D. 1567–68), same as that of MM. 4 (No. 16), with which the form of script also agrees.

Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya.*

Aṣṭaka III: adhy. iii (f. 169*b*), beginning with *aditer* = *apatyānī* = *ty* = *arthe*, etc., in the commentary on verse 20 of varga 27 (Rv., 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 312, l. 8), iv (f. 206*b*), v (f. 236*b*), vi (f. 260*a*), vii (f. 283*b*), viii (f. 310).

Date: *Saṁvat* 1624 *varṣe Āṣāḍha-vadi* 11 *Budhe likhitaṁ.*

Numerous marginal corrections and additions, the latter being missing portions of the commentary; see, for example, ff. 202*b*, 247*a*, 252*b*, 282*b*. On the last page is written, "F. Edward Hall, Benares, 1850, to Dr. Max Müller, Oxford." For further particulars, see Rv., 2nd ed., vol. i, p. xxxvi, where this copy is referred to as MS. A *a*.

16.

MM. 4. Indian paper; ff. 312; size 11 in. by $4\frac{3}{4}$ in.; good Devanāgarī character, 10 lines on each page. Date Saṁvat 1624 (A.D. 1567–68). This is the fourth portion of MS. C *a*, and is distinctly older than the previous parts (MM. 1 to 3 or Nos. 4, 10, and 14), with the exception of three leaves (ff. 114–117), which are modern.

Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya.*

Aṣṭaka IV, complete. Adhy. i (f. 42*a*), ii (f. 78*b*), iii (f. 118*a*), iv (f. 157*b*), v (f. 196*b*), vi (f. 228*b*), vii (f. 273*a*), viii (f. 312).

Few marginal corrections. The MS. is in good preservation and tolerably free from errors. Date: *Saṁvat* 16 *Jyeṣṭha-vadi pa jha ve* 1 *saṁvat Āṣāḍhā* 24 *varṣe* (?).

17.

MM. 9. Paper; ff. 120; size 10½ in. by 5 in.; clear Devanāgarī character, 11 lines on each page. Date not given, but probably nineteenth century.

Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya*, with the Saṁhitā text in full, but unaccented. Aṣṭaka V, adhyāyās iii (ff. 1–38), iv (ff. 1–42), v (ff. 1–40), separately foliated. Described by Professor Max Müller as "fragment D" (see Rv., 2nd ed., vol. iv, pref., p. clxii).

18.

MM. 5. Indian paper; ff. 501; size 11 in. by 4¾ in.; Devanāgarī character. Date, Saṁvat 1623 [expired] (A.D. 1566–67). The handwriting is the same as that of MM. 4, which is only a year later in date. Six leaves (ff. 13–19) are modern.

This is a continuation of MS. C *a* and contains Aṣṭakās V and VI of the *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya*, with the same kind of marginal corrections as in the previous parts (MM. 1 to 4, or Nos. 4, 10, 14, and 16).

Aṣṭaka V: adhy. i (f. 33*b*), ii (f. 60*a*), iii (f. 85*a*), iv (f. 113*a*), v (f. 139*b*), vi (f. 168*a*), vii (f. 205*b*), viii (f. 237).

Aṣṭaka VI: adhy. i (f. 35*a*), ii (f. 76*a*), iii (f. 105*a*), iv (f. 136*a*), v (f. 166*a*), vi (f. 213*a*), vii (f. 241*a*), viii (f. 264).

Date: *Saṁvat* 1623 *varṣe Jyeṣṭha-māse śukla-pakṣe pūrṇamāsyāṁ pūṇya-tithau Guru-vāre* |

19.

MM. 6. Indian paper; ff. 596; size 11 in. by 4¾ in.; Devanāgarī character. No date, as the two leaves on which it is usually marked are gone from the end of the two aṣṭakās VII and VIII, and are replaced by new ones. The handwriting, however, is the same as that of MM. 4 and 5 (Nos. 16 and 18), that is to say, the aṣṭakās iv to viii of this whole MS. C *a* of the *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya* (now arranged in six cases) were written by the scribe who wrote aṣṭaka iv in Saṁ. 1624 (A.D. 1567–68) and vi in Saṁ. 1623, whilst i and iii must

have been copied at a period earlier than ii but later than the rest.

Aṣṭaka VII: adhy. i (f. 23*a*), ii (f. 65*a*), iii (f. 95*a*), iv (f. 126*a*), v (f. 165*a*), vi (f. 201*a*), vii (f. 244*a*), viii (f. 274).

Aṣṭaka VIII: adhy. i (f. 37*a*), ii (f. 68*a*), iii (f. 99*a*), iv (f. 131*a*), v (f. 167*b*), vi (210*b*), vii (f. 273), viii (f. 322).

The MS. contains marginal additions and corrections as in the preceding parts. It is, moreover, not free from clerical inaccuracies.

20.

MM. 22. Indian paper; ff. 30; size 11 in. by 4 in.; Devanāgarī character, 12 to 15 lines (9¼ in. long) on each page. Date not given, but probably early nineteenth century.

Fragment of Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya* containing Aṣṭaka VII, adhyāyās i (f. 15*a*) and ii to the end of the 18th varga.

The MS. is fairly correct. It has been used in the preparation of the second edition of Max Müller's *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*, where it is referred to as MS. B*f* (see vol. iv, pref., p. clxii).

21.

MM. 17. (*a*) Glazed bank paper; pp. 236; size 16¼ in. by 5½ in.; Devanāgarī character, 6 lines (about 13 to 13½ in. long) on each page. A tracing of an eighteenth or early nineteenth century MS.

Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya*.

Aṣṭaka VII: adhyāyās i (p. 37), ii (p. 102), iii (p. 147), iv (p. 195), v, vargās 1–28 only (p. 236). The MS. abounds with corrections, as if for press. It may have been used by Professor Max Müller for his *editio princeps*.

(*b*) Twelve pages (16 in. by 5 in.) of another copy of the same original MS., transcribed by the same copyist and containing Aṣṭaka VII, adhy. i, vargās 1 to 13 and portion of the 14th, ending abruptly with the words *suvrataḥ sukarmā sa soma* in the commentary on the third verse. No corrections on this fragment.

22.

MM. 38. (*a*) Tracing paper; pp. 30 (from 235 to 265); size 16½ in. by 5½ in.; Devanāgarī character, traced 6 lines (13 in. long) on each page. Date of original MS. not given, probably nineteenth century.

Fragment of Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya*, containing Aṣṭaka VII, adhyāya v, varga 28, from the commentary on the third verse down to the commencement of varga 9 of adhyāya vi.

(*b*) Tracing paper; pp. 17; size not uniform; most of the leaves are 8½ in. by 7½ in.; Devanāgarī character, indifferent writing of nineteenth century.

Another fragment containing VII, vi, varga 9 to the end of the commentary on the 4th verse of varga 17.

Both these fragments have been corrected for the press, and have been used by Professor Max Müller for his *editio princeps*.

23.

MM. 37. Glazed bank paper; no regular foliation; Devanāgarī character, fairly well transcribed on separate sheets varying in size from 11 in. to 7½ in. by 8½ in. Date not given, but on the cover is the superscription, "Copy of MS. B [Burnouf] from beginning of 10th maṇḍala (aṣṭ. vii) to beginning of viii aṣṭaka." Probably identical with the MS. B 2 referred to in Max Müller's Rv., 2nd ed., vol. i, pref., pp. xix et seq.

Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya*.

Aṣṭaka VII, adhy. v, vargās 30 to 33 (ff. 56*b* 1 – 58*b*), vi down to the commentary on the 1st verse of varga 28 (p. 69*a*). Five leaves (63*a*, *b*, 64*a*, *b*, 65*a*) are missing. According to a pencil note by Professor Max Müller they "were used for MS. for press." vii (f. 84*a*) and viii (f. 98*a*), both complete.

There are two additional leaves (ff. 128, 129) with the following note in blue ink on the top right-hand corner of

the first page: "Begonnen nach einem kleinen MS. d. königl. Biblioth.; später nach Burnouf, auf denselben Seiten ist *blau* Burnoufs MS. collationirt."

These two leaves (10¼ in. by 4½ in.) are a tracing of two others of a MS. probably in the Berlin Library (cf. Weber's Cat., No. 77?), and contain the 29th varga of Aṣṭ. VII, adhy. v, with readings of Burnouf MS. entered in blue ink on the margin.

24.

MM. 18. Tracing paper; pp. 105; size 15 in. by 6¾ in.; Devanāgarī character, 7 lines (13 in. long) on each page. Traced copy of a MS., dated Saṁvat, 1807 [expired?] (A.D. 1750–51).

Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya*.

Aṣṭaka VII, adhyāya vi, from the commentary on the last verse of varga 17 (p. 18); vii (p. 69), viii (p. 105).

The colophon of the original MS. as traced here runs — *Saṁvat* 1807 *varṣe Āśvine māse kṛṣṇa-pakṣe tṛtīyāyāṁ tithau Bhauma-vāsare likhitam idam pustakaṁ*.

This copy is full of corrections for the press, and has apparently been used by Professor Max Müller for his *editio princeps*.

25.

MM. 23. Indian paper; ff. 119 (foliation not regular); size 9⅝ in. by 4⅝ in.; Devanāgarī character, well written by two or three different hands, 10 lines (7¾ in. long) on each page. Date not given, but probably early eighteenth century.

Fragment of Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya* containing Aṣṭaka VII, adhy. i, vargās 2 to 8 (f. 118), ending with *sutaṁ abhiṣutaṁ* in the commentary on verse 1 (Rv., 2nd ed., vol. iii, p. 659, l. 11) and vargās 14 to 26 (ff. 11–17). Adhyāya ii, from the last line of varga 1 to varga 2, ending abruptly *san litor = jer = ity = abhyāsād = uttarasya ka*[*vargādeśaḥ*] in the commentary on verse 9 (Rv., p. 685,

l. 3); varga 6, beginning with *tvām āvṛṇīmahe* in the commentary on verse 29 (ibid., p. 688, l. 21) to the end of the adhyāya with the lacunæ of (*a*) the commentary on verses 9 to 13 in vargās 14 and 15 (ibid., pp. 696–97); (*b*) the commentary on the 2nd verse of varga 21 down to the end of that on the 2nd verse in varga 30. Adhy. iii, vargās 1 to the beginning of 5 (ff 72, 96–100); iv, from the commentary on the last verse in varga 24 to the beginning of that on the 3rd verse in varga 27 (ff. 123–24).

Aṣṭaka VIII. This part is written by a different hand, and has the superscription "M. Müller from F. E. Hall, Benares, 21/4 55." Adhy. ii, only the commentary on the last verse (f. 66*a*); iii, vargās 1–17, as far as the commentary on verse 5 (ff. 68–74 and 76–84), with a lacuna beginning from the commentary on the 2nd verse of varga 6 down to that on the 4th verse of varga 10; iv, vargās 20 (f. 116), 22 (f. 118), and 26 from the commentary on the 4th verse down to varga 31, the end of the adhyāya (ff. 127–136); v, with lacuna of vargās 10 to the commentary on the 9th verse of 13 (ff. 140–159); vi, vargās 1 19 (ff. 160–186) with lacunæ due to the loss of 7 leaves (ff. 163, 164, 166–168, 170, 171); vii, vargās 1–6 and the commencement of 7 (ff. 187–197).

This MS. has been used in the preparation of the second edition of Max Müller's *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*, and is referred to as MS. A*f* in the preface to vol. iv (p. clxii).

26.

MM. 30. Foolscap paper; pp. 34; size 8 in. by 6½ in.

Rough notes (by Dr. Winternitz?) in English and *varietas lectionis* of Rv. ix, 91, to the end of the maṇḍala, resulting from the collation of Professor Max Müller's second edition with the Bombay edition of Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya*.

27.

MM. 16. Cream-wove copying paper; ff. 162 (i.e. 1–26 + 13–148); size 12 in. by 9 in.; Devanāgarī character, 24 to

38 lines on each page; copied by means of a copying-machine.

Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya.*

Aṣṭaka VIII: adhyāyās i (f. 23*b*), ii (ff. 23*b*–26*b* + 13*a*–20*b*), iii (f. 33*b*), iv (f. 55*a*), v (f. 78*b*), vi (f. 98*a*), vii (f. 128*b*), viii (f. 148*a*).

The MS. ends with the words *tribhuvanaṁ svaḥ* in the commentary on verse 3 of varga 48. It is full of clerical errors.

28.

MM. 19. Tracing paper; pp. 434; size 15 in. by $6\frac{3}{4}$ in.; Devanāgarī character, 8 lines (13 in. long) on each page. A traced copy of a MS. dated Benares, Saṁvat 1817 [expired?] (A.D. 1760–61), the scribe being Rādhākṛṣṇa Chātra.

Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya.*

Aṣṭaka VIII: adhy. i, from varga 25 (p. 11), ii (p. 57), iii (p. 103), iv (p. 151), v (p. 205), vi (p. 270), vii (p. 359), viii (p. 434).

Colophon: *Saṁvat* 1817 *Māgha-māse kṛṣṇa-pakṣe trayodaśyāṁ Soma-vāsare 'yaṁ granthaḥ saṁpūrṇaḥ || likhito Rādhākṛṣṇena Chātreṇa Śrī-Kāśyāṁ puryām ||*

This has been corrected for the press, and used for Professor Max Müller's *editio princeps.*

29.

MM. 10. Bluish paper; pp. 322; size $12\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 8 in.; Devanāgarī character, written fairly well, 33 to 36 lines on a page; modern.

Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya.*

Aṣṭaka VIII, with accented Saṁhitā text. Complete. The MS. is full of corrections and interpolations, as if it has been revised for the press.

30.

MM. 24–25. Indian paper; ff. 641; size 9¼ in. by 5½ in.; Devanāgarī character, written for the most part in a slovenly way by different hands, 11 to 20 lines (6¾–7¾ in. long) on each page. Date at the end of Aṣṭaka I is Saṁvat 147– (last figure is not supplied); other parts are not dated. Palæographically the MS. cannot be earlier than the eighteenth century.

Mudgala's abridgement of Sāyaṇa's *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya*.

Aṣṭaka I: adhyāya i (f. 27*b*), ii (f. 48*a*), iii (f. 70*b*), iv (f. 98*a*), v (f. 123*a*), vi (f. 163*b*), vii (f. 196*a*)—imperfect, wanting last portion of varga 34 as far as the beginning of 36; viii (f. 222).

Aṣṭaka II (ff. 155). No foliation marks. The lacunæ are adhy. i, vargās 10 and 11; ii, from last half of varga 12 to the end of the 16th varga of adhy. iii.

Aṣṭaka III: adhy. i (f. 38*b*), ii (f. 62*a*), with lacuna of vargās 1 and 2 due to the loss of ff. 39–41, iii (f. 90*a*), iv (f. 110*b*), v (f. 133*a*), vi (f. 156*a*), vii (f. 174*a*), viii (f. 191).

Aṣṭaka IV, adhy. v (f. 18*b*), vi (f. 35*a*), vii (f. 55*a*), viii (f. 73).

The manuscript is in four packets. The first three (MM. 24) have, moreover, numerous marginal corrections and additions. The whole copy, which is replete with clerical errors, is fully described in Max Müller's preface to Rv., 2nd ed., vol. i, pp. xlviii, lv et seq., where it is referred to as MS. B *m*.

31.

MM. 63 (A 8). Indian paper; ff. 11; size 11¼ in. by 4½ in.; Devanāgarī character, thick and irregular writing, 6 to 10 lines (about 10 in. long) on each page. Date not given, probably eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Received by Professor Max Müller from Dr. Ballantyne, of Benares Sanskrit College. The leaves are partially damaged and discoloured by damp.

Puruṣa-sūkta-vyākhyāna, called also *Sahasraśīrṣan*, being

a commentary on the 90th hymn of the 10th maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*. Cf. Calcutta Skt. Coll. Cat., i, p. 42.

Beg.: *Atha puruṣa-sūkta-vyākhyānaṁ || tatra nṛsiṁha-purāṇam.*

End: *Ity = uttaranārāyaṇaṁ || Iti sahasraśīrṣā samāptatīl . saṁyukta . khanīyam* (?).

The MS. is full of errors.

B. The Brāhmaṇāni of the Ṛgveda.

32.

MM. 33. Indian paper; ff. 315 (in eight parts with separate foliation); size $8\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.; Devanāgarī character, well written, 8 lines (6 in. long) on each page.

Date, A.D. 1730–45: see the colophon of each part given below. Names of copyists: Theṁṭa *alias* Jayarāma, and Aṁbaka who transcribed the fifth pañcikā only. Bought of Bernard Quaritch January 6th, 1870.

Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa.

Pañcikās i to viii: complete and accented. Pañcikā I: adhy. i (f. 6*a*), ii (f. 10*b*), iii (f. 17), iv (f. 26*a*), v (f. 33*a*).

Col.: *Śrī Śake* 1664 [i.e. A.D. 1742–43] *Duṁdubhi-nāma saṁvatsare Phālguna-śuddha* 5 *Theṁṭ = ety = upa[nāmaka]-Śarmabhaṭṭa-Jayarāmasy = edaṁ pustakaṁ.*

Pañcikā II: adhy. i (f. 12*a*), ii (f. 19*b*), iii (f. 25*a*), iv (f. 30*b*), v (f. 39*a*).

Col.: *Śrī Śake* 1666 [A.D. 1744–5] *Raktākṣī-nāma saṁvatsare Pauṣa-śuddha-ṣaṣṭhī Maṁda-vāsare tad = dine Theṁṭ = ety = upa° Śarma-Jayarāmeṇa likhitam idaṁ pustakaṁ.*

Pañcikā III: adhy. i (f. 10*b*), ii (f. 22*a*), iii (f. 35*a*), iv (f. 41*a*), v (47*b*).

Col.: *Śake* 1652 [A.D. 1730–31] *Sādhāraṇa-nāma saṁvatsare Phālguna-śukla-aṣṭamyāṁ Bhṛgu-vāsare tad = dine tṛtīya-pañcikā samāptā || Theṁṭ = opanāmaka-Yādavabhaṭṭa-sutena* [sic] *Jayarāmasy = edaṁ pustakaṁ.*

Pañcikā IV: adhy. i (f. 76), ii (f. 15*a*), iii (f. 22*b*), iv (f. 28*b*), v (f. 33*a*).

Col.: *Śrī Śake* 1663 [A.D. 1741–42] *Durmati-nāma saṁvatsare Theṁṭ=ety=upa° Śarmabhaṭṭa-Jayarāmasy=edaṁ pustakaṁ.*

Pañcikā V: adhy. i (f. 12*a*), ii (f. 26*b*), iii (f. 37*b*), iv (f. 50*a*), v (f. 64).

Col.: *Idaṁ pustakaṁ Gaṁdhy = opanāmaka-Śivarāmabhaṭṭasya sutena Aṁbakena likhitaṁ. Theṁṭ = opanāmaka-Jayarāmabhaṭṭa-sutāya Siddheśvarabhaṭṭāya paṭhanārthaṁ dattaṁ.*

Pañcikā VI: adhy. i (f. 4*a*), ii (f. 7*b*), iii (f. 13*a*), iv (f. 21*a*), v (f. 29*b*). No colophon.

Pañcikā VII: adhy. i (f. 3*a*), ii (f. 16*b*), iii (f. 25*a*), iv (f. 31*b*), v (f. 38*a*).

Col.: *Śrī Śake* 1666 [A.D. 1744–45] *Raktākṣī-nāma saṁvatsare Āṣāḍha-vadya-trayodaśyāṁ Guru-vāsare tad = dine pustakaṁ samāptaṁ || Theṁṭ = ety=upa° Śarmabhaṭṭa-Jayarāmasy = edaṁ pustakaṁ.*

Pañcikā VIII: adhy. i (f. 3*b*), ii (f. 10*a*), iii (f. 13*a*), iv (f. 20*a*), v (f. 24*b*).

Col.: *Sake* 1655 [A.D. 1733–34] *Pramādī-nāma saṁvatsare adhika-Āṣāḍha-kṛṣṇa-ekādaśe Bhauma-vāsare tad=dine pustakaṁ samāptaṁ || Theṁṭ=opanāmaka-Yādava-sūnunā Jayarāmeṇa likhitaṁ.*

33.

MM. 67 (B 8). Highly glazed bank paper; pp. 825 (separate pagination for each pañcikā); size 8½ in. by 5 in.; Devanāgarī character, carefully written (probably by Professor Max Müller himself), 5 lines (about 6¼ in. long) on each page. Transcript of the India Office Library MS. No. 1,977. See Eggeling's Catalogue, pt. i, p. 11, art. 68. The original MS. was written in Śaka 1736, *Bhāva-nāma saṁvatsare* [i.e. A.D. 1814–15], by Rāmbhaṭṭa surnamed Śebeṁkara. Date of the present copy "18 $\frac{14}{11}$ 50."

Another copy of the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, complete. Pañcikā i (pp. 99), ii (pp. 116), iii (pp. 119), iv (pp. 94), v (pp. 119), vi (pp. 99), vii (pp. 92), viii (pp. 87).

34.

MM. 68 (B 8). Cream-wove copying paper; pp. 128 + 100; size 10$\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 8 in.; Roman character, 21 to 28 lines on a page; the writing is more or less faint. A copy taken by means of a copying machine from a transcript of MS. de la Bibl. Roy. de Paris, No. 198. On the first leaf is a label with the following note:—

"*Rigvede brâhmaṇa-prathama-paṁcikâ*, Msc. de la Bibl. Roy. à Paris. I, fol. 51; II, fol. 35; III, fol. 51; IV, fol. 51 [?]; dans chacun des 4 paṁcikâ l'écriture est différente. I, écriture moderne, lisible, les phrases coupées; II, plus ancienne; l'encre est quelquefois effacée, écurée; III, jolie écriture, petite, distincte; IV, grande écriture, à la fin les phrases sont coupées."

Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

Pañcikā i (p. 28), ii (p. 60), iii (p. 96), iv (p. 128), v (p. 30, separate pagination), vi (p. 57), vii (p. 81), viii (p. 100). The text at the beginning of the seventh pañcikā on p. 58 is mutilated, probably so in the original MS.

Transcriber's note:—"Msc. de la Bibl. Royale de Paris, No. 198, 2 vols., complet. Msc. 170me contient que les trois derniers brâhmaṇas. À la fin du 7me brahm. on lit: saṁvat ९८०९ Çaka ९६६६ caitra mâse Çukla paxe tithau ९ Çanau likhitaṁ; à la fin du 8me brâhmaṇa: saṁvat ९८०९ Çâke ९६६६ caitra krishṇa pashe [*sic*] ravivâre likhitaṁ Vyâsakâsînâtha subham astu ॥ alikhat pâthârâyahî ॥"

35.

MM. 66 (B. 8). Indian paper; ff. 450 (separate foliation for each pañcikā); size 11 in. by 5 in.; Devanāgarī character, beautifully written, 13–15 lines (8$\frac{3}{4}$ in. long) on each page; date not given, eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa*, complete and tolerably free from clerical errors.

Pañcikā I: adhy. i (f. 22*b*); ii (f. 31*b*); iii (f. 46*a*); iv (f. 62*b*); v (f. 75). Pañcikā II: adhy. vi (f. 27*a*); vii (f. 45*a*); viii (f. 56*a*); ix (f. 67*b*); x (f. 71*a*). Pañcikā III: adhy. xi (f. 16*b*); xii (f. 36*b*); xiii (f. 56*a*); xiv (f. 65*b*); xv (f. 74*b*). Pañcikā IV: adhy. xvi (f. 10*a*); xvii (f. 20*b*); xviii (f. 32*a*); xix (f. 41*a*); xx (f. 47). Pañcikā V: adhy. xxi (f. 10*b*); xxii (f. 22*a*); xxiii (f. 28*a*); xxiv (f. 37*a*); xxv (f. 49*a*). Pañcikā VI: adhy. xxvi (f. 6*a*); xxvii (f. 13*a*); xxviii (f. 25*a*); xxix (f. 41*b*); xxx (f. 59*a*). Pañcikā VII: adhy. xxxi, khaṇḍa 1 (3*b*); there is undoubtedly a lacuna after this, or the chaptering is erroneous; xxxii (f. 17*a*); xxxiii (f. 29*b*); xxxiv (f. 37*b*); xxxv (f. 46*a*). Pañcikā VIII: adhy. xxxvi (f. 5*b*); xxxvii (f. 14*b*); xxxviii (f. 17*b*); xxxix (f. 24*b*); xl (f. 30*a*).

36.

MM. 79. European (?) paper (white and brownish); eight parts, each having a separate pagination; size 13¾ in. by 8 in. Telugu character, fairly good writing, small towards the end, 12 to 25 lines (about 10½ in. long) on each page.

Another copy of the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, with Sāyaṇa's commentary. Complete in eight pañcikās.

37.

MM. 62 (A 8). Indian paper (brownish); ff. 69; size 9½ in. by 4 in.; Devanāgarī character, thick, irregular writing, 10 lines (7¾ in. long) on each page; date not given, probably eighteenth century. Received by Professor Max Müller from Dr. Ballantyne, of Benares College, in 1855.

Fragment of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, containing Pañcikā I, adhyāyās i (f. 34*a*), ii (f. 49*a*), and iii (f. 69), which is not complete, ending abruptly in the fifth khaṇḍa with the words *yaḥ pumān prātaḥ sūry = odayāt prāk saṁdhyāṁ nopāste sāyaṁ c = āstamayā*[*t prāk nopāste so'yaṁ brahmabandhuḥ*].

The MS. is not free from inaccuracies.

38.

MM. 40. Indian paper; ff. 30 (no regular foliation); size 9 in. by 3⅝ in.; Devanāgarī character, fairly good writing, 9 to 10 lines (7¼ in. long.) on a page. Date not given, probably eighteenth or early nineteenth century. On the left-hand margin is written "for Dr. Müller," in Dr. FitzEdward Hall's handwriting.

Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Aitareyopaniṣad*, followed by Sāyaṇa's commentary on a passage generally found at the end of the seventh adhyāya of the second āraṇyaka of the Aitareyāraṇyaka.

The copy abounds with marginal corrections and additions.

End of the bhāṣya: *Samabhavat samabhavad = ity = om iti || Iti Śrīmat-paramahaṁsa-parivrājakācārya-Śrī-Govinda-Bhagavatpādapūjya - śiṣya - Śrī - Śaṁkarācārya - bhagavatkṛtau bahvṛca - brāhmaṇ = opaniṣad - bhāṣyaṁ samāptaṁ Aitareya-ātmaṣaṭk = opaniṣad-bhāṣyaṁ.* The appendix ends: *Avatu vaktāram ity = abhyāso'dhyāya-samāpty = artho dvitīyāraṇyaka-samāpty = arthaś ca || vedārthasya prakāśena*, etc., etc., *maheś-varaḥ. Iti . . . . Aitareyāraṇyake [dvitīyāraṇyake] saptamo'dhyāyaḥ samāptañ ca dvitīyāraṇyakaṁ.*

39.

MM. 60. European paper; pp. 11; size 8½ in. by 5½ in.; Devanāgarī character, unformed handwriting, probably of a European scholar; 20 to 21 lines on a page; modern.

A commentary on the first adhyāya of the *Aitareya-upaniṣad.*

Beg.: *Athātaḥ saṁhitāyā upaniṣad*[1] *ity = ādyā saṁhit = opaniṣad asyāḥ saṁkṣepato vivaraṇaṁ kariṣyāmo maṁda-madhyama-buddhīnām api*, etc.

End: *Evam ity = ādy = ukt = ārthaṁ dvir-vacanam adhyāya-parisamāpty = artham Aitarey = opaniṣadi prathamo'dhyāyaḥ ||*

[1] This is the commencement of the 3rd Āraṇyaka of the Aitareyāraṇyaka.

40.

MM. 81 (B 8). Indian paper; ff. 241; size 10 in. by 4½ in.; Devanāgarī character, bold writing, 7 lines (7½ in. long) on each page. The date, Saṁvat 1671 (A.D. 1614–15), has been struck out, but palæographically this MS. may be assigned to the seventeenth or early eighteenth century. It was sent to Professor Max Müller by Dr. FitzEdward Hall on March 21st, 1855, according to a note on the first leaf.

Kauṣītaki- (or *Śāṅkhāyana-*) *Brāhmaṇa.*

Complete. Adhyāyās i (f. 5*b*), ii (f. 13*a*), iii (f. 22*b*), iv (f. 28*b*), v (f. 36*a*), vi (f. 44*b*), vii (f. 54*b*), viii (f. 65*b*), ix (f. 71*a*), x (f. 79*a*), xi (f. 85*b*), xii (f. 93*a*), xiii (f. 98*b*), xiv (f. 105*b*), xv (f. 111*b*), xvi (f. 121*a*), xvii (f. 127*b*), xviii (f. 136*b*), xix (f. 144*b*), xx (f. 150*b*), xxi (f. 157*b*), xxii (f. 167*a*), xxiii (f. 175*b*), xxiv (f. 182*a*), xxv (f. 195*b*), xxvi (f. 211*b*), xxvii (f. 219*a*), xxviii (f. 226*a*), xxix (f. 232*b*), xxx (f. 241).

41.

MM. 47. Indian paper; ff. 116; size 12 in. by 5 in.; Devanāgarī character, good writing, 13 lines (10 in. long) on each page; date, Saṁvat 1578 (A.D. 1521–22). The MS. is not in very good condition, many leaves being damaged by insects and damp. On the wooden cover is written "E. B. Cowell."

Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa-bhāṣya.

By Vināyakabhaṭṭa, son of Mādhavabhaṭṭa. Adhyāyās i (f. 10*a*), ii (f. 18*a*), iii (f. 30*b*), iv (f. 35*b*), v, imperfect (f. 45*a*), vi (f. 51*b*), vii (f. 58*b*), viii (f. 66*a*), ix (f. 71*a*), x (f. 80*a*), xi (f. 86*b*), xii (f. 94*a*), xiii (f. 102*b*), xiv (f. 109), xv (f. 116).

Col.: *Iti Śrīman = Mādhavabhaṭṭ = ātmaja-vareṇya-Vināyaka-bhaṭṭa-kṛte Śrī-Kauṣītakīya-brāhmaṇa-bhāṣye pañcadaśo'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ samāptaṁ pūrv = ārddhaṁ . . . . Śrī saṁvat* 1578 *varṣe Jyeṣṭha-vadi* 1 *Bhaume likhitaṁ.*

42.

MM. 48. Indian paper; ff. 107; size, etc., same as MM. 47, of which the present is a continuation. The leaves are much damaged by insects and damp.

Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa-bhāṣya, continued.

Adhyāyās xvi (f. 11*b*), xvii (f. 16*b*), xviii (f. 23*a*), xix (f. 30*a*), xx (f. 33*b*), xxi (f. 38*a*), xxii (f. 45*a*), xxiii (f. 51*a*), xxiv (f. 56*a*), xxv (f. 68*a*), xxvi (f. 79*b*), xxvii (f. 89*a*), xxviii (f. 94*b*), xxix (f. 99*b*), xxx (f. 107). This last chapter is much mutilated and not complete.

C. The Sūtrāṇi belonging to the Ṛgveda.

43.

MM. 28. Tracing paper; pp. 311 + 194 (ff. 110 + 69); size 8½ in. by 5 in.; Devanāgarī character, 5 lines (6½ in. long) on each page; a traced copy of the MS. No. 2,075 of the India Office Library (see Eggeling's Catalogue, pt. i, p. 39, No. 241); date of tracing, September 21st, 1850.

Āśvalāyana's *Śrauta-sūtra*.

Pūrva-ṣaṭka: adhyāyās i (p. 45), ii (p. 115), iii (p. 166), iv (p. 213), v (p. 271), vi (p. 311). Uttaraṣaṭka: adhy. i (p. 35), ii (p. 87), iii (p. 118), iv (p. 144), v (p. 160), vi (p. 194). The eight ślokās which, according to the Calcutta edition (p. 891), are placed as a *pariśiṣṭa* of the last adhyāya, form here its fifteenth *kaṇḍikā*.

44.

MM. 27 (B 8). Tracing paper; pp. 404 (ff. 148 in the original MS.); size 12 in. by 3¾ in.; Devanāgarī character, 8 lines (about 9¼ in. long) on each page; traced copy of MS. 1129*a* of the India Office Library (see Eggeling's Catalogue, pt. i, p. 40, No. 245). Date of original MS., Saṁvat 1806 (A.D. 1749–50); date of copy, Feb. 12th, 1850.

Nārāyaṇa's commentary on Aśvalāyana's *Srauta-sūtra*, adhyāyās i to vi. Complete.

45.

MM. 29. Cream-wove copying paper; pp. 449; size 11 in. by 8 in.; Devanāgarī character, 11 lines on a page; a copy taken by means of a copying machine, of a transcript of a manuscript dated Saṁvat 1780 (A.D. 1723–24). The writing on this copy is faint, hardly legible in some parts. At the end is the note, "Paris, 9 Juli, 1845. Caract. Devanag. D. 194. Copie ohne Correctur. Th. Goldstücker."

Another copy of Nārāyaṇa's commentary on the Āśvalāyana's *Śrauta-sūtra*, adhy. i to vi. Complete.

46.

MM. 80 (B 8). Indian paper; ff. 160; size 12½ in. by 5¼ in.; excellent Devanāgarī writing of the sixteenth or early seventeenth century, 6 to 13 lines (10¼ in. long) on each page. Some leaves are mutilated at the edges, and some are so damaged by damp as to make the writing on them more or less blurred. Date not given, but the age of the MS. may be estimated as above from its writing.

Śāṅkhāyana-sūtra-bhāṣya.

Commentary on the *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrauta-sūtra*: adhyāyās ix (f. 17*a*), x (f. 43*a*), and xi (f. 54*a*), by Dāsaśarman (erroneously called here Dāśarmā and Dāmaśarman), son of Muñja; xii (f. 78*b*), by Ānartīya, son of Varadatta; xiii (f. 98*b*); xiv (f. 124*b*); xv (f. 138*a*); xvi (f. 160), incomplete. The text is not very correct. Leaves 104 and 108 are much damaged. This is the same work as that described in Weber's Berlin Catalogue, No. 107, and Eggeling's India Office Catalogue, No. 261.

47.

MM. 72 (B 8). Highly glazed bank paper; pp. 64; size 8⅜ in. by 3½ in.; Devanāgarī character, uniform and clear writing, 9 lines (6½ in. long). At the foot of the last

page is the note, "Copied [probably traced?] from the MS. E.I.H. 1978, 10/7 50," in Professor Max Müller's handwriting.

Āśvalāyana's *Gṛhya-sūtra.*

Adhyāya i, sūtrāṇi 24 (p. 27); ii, sūtrāṇi 10 (p. 38); iii, sūtrāṇi 11 (p. 50); iv, sūtrāṇi 9 (p. 64). For a description of the original MS. in the India Office Library, see Eggeling's Catalogue, No. 253.

48.

MM. 46. Indian paper; ff. 79; size 9¼ in. by 3 in.; Devanāgarī character, small cursive handwriting, not very clear, 12 to 15 lines (8 in. long) on a page; many corrections and marginal additions; date Śālivāhana Śaka, 1494 (A.D. 1572–73). The MS. was received by Professor Max Müller from Dr. Bühler.

Nārāyaṇa-vṛtti.

Nārāyaṇa's commentary on Āśvalāyana's *Gṛhya-sūtra*, complete. Adhyāyās i (f. 32*b*), ii (f. 44*a*), iii (f. 55*b*), iv (f. 79).

The leaves 35, 40, 41, and 42 are partially damaged, and the text on them is hardly legible.

End: *Ity=Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-vivaraṇa-Nārāyaṇa-vṛttau caturtho'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ . . . Śālivāhana-Śake* 1494, *Pauṣya-māsā[n]targata- . . . Siṁha . . . Bhaṭṭa-tanayena . . . pustakam likhitam . . . subham astu.*

Later addition: *Gaṅgādharabhaṭṭasy=edam pu° Sūtra-vṛttiḥ.*

D. Other Ṛgvedic Works.

49.

MM. 57 (A). European paper; ff. 28 (in the original MS. 67 leaves); size 8¾ in. by 7 in.; Roman character; Professor Max Müller's handwriting, 16 to 21 lines on each page. Date of original MS., Saṁvat 1710 (A.D. 1653–54).

Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya, attributed to Śaunaka.

Adhyāya I: paṭalāni i (f. 2*b*), ii (f. 4*b*), iii (f. 14*a*), iv (f. 15*a*), v (f. 9*a*), vi (f. 10*a*). Adhyāya II: paṭalāni i (f. 11*b*), ii (f. 13), iii (f. 14*a*), iv (f. 15*a*), v (f. 17*a*), vi (f. 17*b*). Adhyāya III: paṭalāni i (f. 19*a*), ii (f. 20*b*), iii (f. 21*a*), iv (f. 24*b*), v (f. 26*a*), vi (f. 28*a*).

On the top right-hand corner is the following note in the Professor's own handwriting, referring to the various readings found in the present copy: "Rothe Verbess. und Lesarten aus Cod. Chamb. 595 [Berlin Library, Weber's Catalogue, No. 34]. Dieser scheint die Quelle von 691 zu sein." The present MS. is, therefore, a copy of Chambers 691 (Weber's Catalogue, No. 35).

End: *Iti tṛtîyo 'dhyâyaḥ samâptaḥ || Prâticâkhya-samâptaḥ || Svasti saṁvat* ९७९० *varṣe caitra vadi* ९९ *Caume* (?) *adyeha avimukta-vârâṇasîvâstavyaṁ Âb'yaṅtaranâgaraṅñâttîya-dîxata-râmakṛšnasuta-harirâmeṇa lik'itaṁ ||*

(B) European paper; ff. 16; size 8¾ in. by 7 in.; Roman character, Professor Max Müller's handwriting, about 20 lines a page. A transcript of the MS. Chambers No. 714, of the Berlin Royal Library (Weber's Catalogue, No. 36).

Uvaṭa's *Prātiśākhya-bhāṣya*.

End: *Iti cûpârṣadavyâk'yâyâm ânandapuravâstavya vaṅraṭa-putra Uvaṭa kṛtau prâticâk'yab'âšye âditacćaturdacam paṭalaṁ ||*

Appended to this are sundry notes on the Prātiśākhyāni in general, with numerous extracts from them.

50.

MM. 69 (A 8). Foolscap paper; pp. 46; size 7¾ in. by 6 in. Devanāgarī character, closely written, 19 to 22 lines (4¼ in. long) on each page. Nineteenth century.

Another copy of the *Ṛgveda - Prātiśākhya*, complete. Adhyāyās i (p. 17), ii (p. 29), iii (p. 46).

On the top of the first page is the note, "Text MS. meum = A; E.I.H. = B; Com. MS. meum = *a*; E.I.H. = *b*;

Hall Bodley = *h*; Bodley = Bodl." These are abbreviations used by Professor Max Müller in his edition of this work, Leipzig (Brockhaus), 1864.

51.

MM. 70 (B 8). Parchment paper; ff. 157 (in three parts of ff. 65 + 53 + 39, separately foliated); size 13¾ in. by 7½ in.; Devanāgarī character, bold writing, 12 to 16 lines (11 in. long) on each page; date, Saṁvat 1895, Śaka 1760 (A.D. 1838–39).

Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya.

With Uvaṭa's commentary, complete. Adhyāyās I to III, or paṭalāni i (f. 20*b*), ii (f. 34*b*), iii (f. 38*b*), iv (f. 50*b*), v (f. 60*a*), vi (f. 65), vii (f. 11*b*, separate foliation), viii (f. 21), ix (f. 33*b*), x (f. 36*b*), xi (f. 50*b*), xii (f. 53*a*), xiii (f. 8*b*, separate foliation), xiv (f. 17*b*), xv (f. 20*b*), xvi (f. 27*b*), xvii (f. 33), xviii (f. 38*b*).

According to a note on the first page in Professor Max Müller's handwriting, this MS. was presented to him by Dr. Ballantyne, and is the one referred to as MS. *a* in his edition of this work (Leipzig, 1864).

52.

MM. 32. Indian paper; ff. 92; size 9½ in. by 3¾ in.; Devanāgarī character, well written, 8 lines (7½ in. long) on each page. Date, Saṁvat 1661 (A.D. 1604–5). Superscription: "M. Müller, from F. Edward Hall, 21/4/55."

Padāmnāyasiddhi.

A *ṭīkā* or comment on Lakṣmīdharasūri's Galitapradīpa, by his younger brother Nāganātha Paṇḍita, son of Nimbadeva Paṇḍita. Complete in 8 aṣṭakās: i (f. 35*b*), ii (f. 43*b*), iii (f. 48*a*), iv (f. 53*a*), v (f. 58*a*), vi (f. 76*a*), vii (f. 79*a*), viii (f. 92).

Colophon: *Iti Śrīmatpuraś = Candrapura-nivāsī Srī Hari-hara-caraṇānurāgī Srīman = Nimbadeva-paṇḍitātmaja - Nāga-nātha-paṇḍita-kṛtāyāṁ sva-jyeṣṭha - bhrātṛ - Lakṣmīdharasūri-*

viracita-Galitapradīpasya ṭīkāyāṁ Padāmnāyasiddhau aṣṭam = āṣṭakaḥ samāptaḥ || . . . . *Saṁvat* 1661 *samaye Śrāvaṇe māse kṛṣṇa-pakṣe pratipadi Soma-vāsare tad = dine likhitam idaṁ pustakaṁ Sivarājadhānyāṁ.*

Śaive Śivālaye Śaivaśiva-deśi-vasaṁtidhau (?)
Lekhit = eyaṁ parāṭīkā Śrāvaṇe Śrāvaṇākare.

53.

MM. 41. Indian paper; ff. 56; size 8 in. by $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.; Devanāgarī character, well written, 9 to 10 lines (about 6 in. long) on each page; date, Śaka 1653 (A.D. 1731–32).

Dakṣiṇāmūrti-pada-varṇa-saṁkhyā.

An enumeration of *padāni* and *varṇās* in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*. Aṣṭaka i (f. 9*a*), ii (f. 15*a*), iii (f. 21*b*), iv (f. 27*a*), v (f. 34*b*), vi (f. 46*b*), vii (f. 49*a*), viii (f. 56).

The quotations from the Saṁhitā text are accented.

Beg.: *Athâto dakṣiṇāmūrti-pada-varṇa-lakṣaṇa-paribhāṣā vyākhyāsyāma ādau yad = asaṁkhyā-pada-varṇa-saṁkhyā-visarga-nakārāṁto'vagṛhya pragṛhya ma-kāra-takāra-saṁkhyā dvitīye varṇa ekākṣaraṁ caturakṣaraṁ*, etc.

End: *Ṛtaṁ c'a* [Rv. x, 190 (1)] || *Ṛpaka aravaga* [?] || *Saṁsamit* [Rv. x, 191 (1)] || *Ciphibhayapadhācadā* [?] *iti Śrī Dakṣiṇāmūrtau Śrī pādo = padiṣṭāyāṁ pada-varṇa-saṁkhyā-yāṁ aṣṭamāṣṭake aṣṭamo'dhyāyaḥ* || . . . . *svasti śrī Śake* 1653 *varṣe Virodhīkṛi-nāma* [sic] *saṁvatsare Mārgaśīrṣa-śuddha* 15 *Gurau tad = dine idaṁ pustakaṁ samāptaṁ* || *idaṁ pustakaṁ parārthaṁ* || *Bhagna-pṛṣṭha-kaṭī-grīvaḥ*, etc.

54.

MM. 34 (A).[1] Bluish paper; ff. 25; Devanāgarí character, clearly written, about 17 lines to a page; date, Bombay, Śaka 1783 (A.D. 1861–62); sent by Dr. Bhāu Dājí from Bombay to Professor Max Müller in 1862.

[1] I am indebted to Professor Macdonell for the description of the three following MSS.

Bṛhaddevatā.

Complete and fairly correct. It is a copy of a MS. which belonged to Dr. Bhāu Dājī, but not of that now in the Library of the Asiatic Society, Bombay. In addition to the division into eight adhyāyās, subdivided into vargās mostly containing five ślokās, the ślokās are continuously numbered from the beginning, total 1,281. Adhyāya i (f. 3*b*), ii (f. 6*b*), iii (f. 9*b*), iv (f. 12*b*), v (f. 16*a*) vi (f. 19*b*), vii (f. 22*b*), viii (f. 25).

On f. 1*a*: *atha Bṛhaddevatā-prārambho'yam asti.* The end of the seventh adhyāya (22*b*) is wrongly described as *ṣaṣṭho 'dhyāyaḥ.*

55.

MM. 35 (M). Indian paper; ff. 53; Devanāgarī character, clearly written, 9 lines on each page; date, Śaka 1788 (A.D. 1866–67). On the outside top leaf (1*a*) is written in Professor Max Müller's hand, "Sent by Dr. Bühler, Sept., 1866. A copy m.o. of the same MS. from which my other MS. (*b*), likewise sent by Dr. Bühler, was taken."

Another copy of the *Bṛhaddevatā.* Fairly correct. Besides divisions into adhyāyās and vargās, the ślokās are numbered continuously, total 1,049 (a shorter recension than that of the preceding MS., MM. 34 A). Practically identical in numbering, mistakes, etc., with the following copy, MM. 36 (M *b*).

On f. 1*a*: *atha Śaunakīya-bṛhaddevatā-prārambhaḥ.* Fol. 53*b* is blank. Adhyāya i (f. 7*b*), ii (f. 15*a*), iii (f. 21*b*), iv (f. 28 (?)), v (f. 34*a*), vi (f. 40*a*), vii (f. 46*b*), viii (f. 53). End of the seventh adhyāya erroneously described as *ṣaṣṭho'dhyāyaḥ.*

56.

MM. 36 (M *b*). Indian paper; ff. 57; Devanāgarī character, written somewhat rapidly but fairly clear; date, Śaka 1767 (A.D. 1845–46).

Another copy of the *Bṛhaddevatā.* Fairly correct. Same divisions and numbering of ślokās (same total, 1,049) as in MM. 35 (M).

On the outside top leaf (1*a*) is written by Professor Max Müller in red pencil, "sent to me by Bühler (present)—MS. M." This MS. is identical down to minutest details with the Haug MS. in the Munich Library, even the date (as given above) being identical. Therefore the present MS. and MS. M (MM. 35) are evidently copies of the MS. which belonged to Professor Haug (containing as it does the entry "M. Haug, Poona, 11 März, 1865"), and which, after his death, came into the possession of the Royal Library at Munich.

On f. 1*a*: *atha Śaunakīya-bṛhaddevatā-prārambhaḥ.* End of the 7th adhyāya, wrongly described as *ṣaṣṭho'dhyāyaḥ.*

These three MSS. (MM. 34–36) were collated by Professor Max Müller for the passages of the *Bṛhaddevatā* quoted by Sāyaṇa, also by Professor Macdonell (in 1886) for his edition of Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, for an article in the R.A.S.'s Journal (1894, pp. 11–27), and for his forthcoming edition of the *Bṛhaddevatā.*

57.

MM. 55. European paper; pp. 9; size 12½ in. by 8¼ in.; Devanāgarī character; written in Professor Max Müller's hand, about 37 lines (3¼ in. long) on each page.

Fragment of the *Bṛhaddevatā,* containing the first and part of the second adhyāya, down to the end of the tenth varga (except last line). According to Professor Macdonell, this appears to be a copy of the MS. in the Munich Royal Library.

58.

MM. 77 (B 8) II. Cream-wove copying paper; pp. 103; size 11 in. by 4 in.; Devanāgarī character, 5 to 6 lines (about 9 in. long) on each page. An impression taken by means of a copying machine, of a transcript of the MS. 1,152 in the India Office Library. On the top of the first page is written "Copied from MS. 1152 E.I.H. collat. with MS. 132 E.I.H." At the foot of p. 101 the same note is repeated with the addition of "the last chapter is not in the other MS. (original copy sent to Pr. Burnouf)."

Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramaṇī.*

Followed by a copy (pp. 102 and 103) of the additional matter found in another MS. of the same work (India Office MS. 986*c*) and not given in the present one.

For full particulars regarding the original MSS., see Eggeling's Catalogue, Nos. 52, 53, and 55.

59.

MM. 42. European paper; pp. 8 (95–103, leaf 102 missing); size $9\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.; Devanāgarī character, carefully written, 6 lines (9 in. long) on each page; modern.

A fragment of Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramaṇī*, containing (1) the supplementary section on the metres, copied from the India Office MS. 986*c* (Eggeling's Catalogue, No. 52); (2) the supplementary section giving the numbers of sūktāni, aṣṭakās, vargās, etc., of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*, transcribed from the India Office MS. 1,152 (Eggeling's Catalogue, No. 53).

On the top margin of the first or 95th page is written "MS. 986 adds the following, after *iti sarvânukramaṇikâ samâptâ.*"

At the foot of p. 101 is the note "Copied from MS. 1152 E.I.H. (Colebr.); the last chapter is not in the other MS. (original copy sent to Pr. Burnouf)."

60.

MM. 65 (A 8). Yellow paper; ff. 60; size $11\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.; Bengali character, neatly written, 6 lines ($8\frac{1}{2}$ in. long) on each page; nineteenth century.

Anukramaṇikā-vivaraṇa by Jagannātha. Complete. For another copy of this work, see Eggeling's Catalogue, No. 58.

61.

MM. 56. Bluish paper; ff. 76; size $13\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $8\frac{1}{4}$ in.; Devanāgarī character, bold and well-formed writing, 14 lines (10 in. long) on each page; date, Śaka 1786 (A.D. 1864–65).

Nītimañjarī-bhāṣya, by Dyādviveda, son of Lakṣmīdhara. With numerous collations from a MS. of the same work

belonging to Benares Sanskrit College, dated Saṁvat 1684 (A.D. 1627–28). The present copy has very many clerical errors.

Aṣṭaka i (f. 27*b*), ii (f. 35*a*), iii (f. 43*b*), iv (f. 52*a*), v (f. 59*b*), vi (f. 66*b*), vii (f. 70*a*), viii (f. 75*b*).

End: *Asunvatā somābhiṣavam akurvatā puruṣeṇa saha sakhyaṁ sakhitvaṁ na vaṣṭi na kāmayate iti Nītimañjarī sampūrṇā || Śrīr = astu || Gajāgnigiribhūmite śāke dhātary = antya-kṛṣṇa-pakṣe . . . . Śani-vāre sampūrṇā Nītimañjarī śubhadā . . . . Śake* 1786 *Raktākṣī-nāma saṁvatsare || idaṁ pustakaṁ samāptaṁ.*

II. SĀMA-VEDA.

62.

MM. 71 (A 8). Parchment paper; ff. 359 (in two parts with separate foliation, 122 + 237); size 14¼ in. by 5½ in.; Devanāgarī character, clear writing, although sections are not properly spaced out, 9 to 10 lines (11 in. long) on each page. Date of Pt. I Saṁvat 1846 (A.D. 1789–90), Pt. II Saṁvat 1903 (A.D. 1846–47). Received by Professor Max Müller from India in 1846.

Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Sāmaveda-saṁhitā.*

Part I, the comment on the Pūrvārcika, called here *Chandasikā-bhāṣya*, contains prapāṭhakās i (f. 24*a*), ii (f. 39*b*), iii (f. 62*a*), iv (f. 93*b*), v (f. 109*b*), vi (f. 122*a*).

Date: *Saṁvat* 1846 *Kārtike māse kṛṣṇe pakṣe pratipadā.*

Part II, the comment on Uttarārcika, or, as this is called here, *Uttaragrantha*, is divided into adhyāyās with subdivisions into khaṇḍās. Adhy. i (f. 13*b*), ii (f. 25*a*), iii (f. 36*a*), iv (f. 49*b*), v (f. 61*a*), vi (f. 76*b*), vii (f. 89*a*), viii (f. 98*a*), ix (f. 110*a*), x (f. 123*b*), xi (f. 130*a*), xii (f. 143*b*), xiii (f. 156*a*), xiv (f. 164*a*), xv (f. 171*a*), xvi (f. 181*a*), xvii (f. 188*b*), xviii (f. 198*a*), xix (f. 211*b*), xx (f. 230*b*), xxi (f. 237*a*).

Several leaves such as 44, 61, 89, 156, are not in their right places. The text is not very correct.

Date: *Saṁvat* 1903 *Śrāvaṇe kṛṣṇa* 9 *Śukra-vāre subhaṁ bhavati.*

63.

MM. 61. Tracing paper; pp. 12; size 16 in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.; Bengali character, 5 lines (about 11 in. long) on each page.

A traced copy of the first kāṇḍa of the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*, by Guṇaviṣṇu.

For a complete copy, see Eggeling's Catalogue, No. 280.

III. YAJUR-VEDA.

64.

MM. 51. Tracing paper; pp. 14 (ff. 1*b*–8*a*); size $10\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $8\frac{1}{4}$ in.; Devanāgarī character, large clear handwriting, 12 to 13 lines ($9\frac{3}{4}$ in. long) on each page; a modern tracing of a MS. of which the date is not given.

Mantrārṣādhyāya.

This copy corresponds in every detail with that described under No. 142 (Chambers 40) in Professor Weber's Berlin Catalogue. The former is, therefore, most probably a tracing of the latter.

65.

MM. 74 (A 8). Indian parchment paper; ff. 191 (?); size $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 4 in.; Devanāgarī character, bold writing in two different hands, 6 to 10 lines (about 8 in. long) on each page; the date Saṁvat 1754 (A.D. 1697–98) is evidently that of the original MS., the present one having a more modern appearance.

Ujjvalā.

Commentary by Haradattamiśra on the *Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra.* Praśnās i (f. 101*b*) and ii (f. 191). The eleven paṭalās into which each of the two praśnās is subdivided are not clearly marked or spaced out. The text is not very correct.

Beg.: *Praṇipatya mahādevaṁ Haradattena dhīmatā | dharmākhyapraśnayor=e[ṣā] kriyate vṛttir=ujjvalā ||*

End: *Iti Hārakṣmīya-dharma-praśna-vyākhyāyāṁ ekādaśaḥ paṭalaḥ || Mukuṁda-devena likhitaṁ saṁvat* 1754 *Māgha-vadi* 8 ||

66.

MM. 75 (A 8). Indian paper; ff. 52; size 9½ in. by 5 in.; Devanāgarī character, fairly well written, 14 to 18 lines (8½ in. long) on each page; date not given, probably early eighteenth century.

Haradattamiśra's *Ujjvalā*.

Praśna I complete. Paṭalās i (f. 12*b*), ii (f. 19*a*), iii (f. 23*b*), iv (f. 27*b*), v (f. 33*a*), vi (f. 35*b*), vii (f. 37*b*), viii (f. 41*a*), ix (f. 45*b*), x (f. 48*a*), xi (f. 52). A fairly correct copy.

67.

MM. 52. Bluish paper; ff. 13; size 10 in. by 7⅞ in.; Devanāgarī character, clear and uniform writing, 18 lines (8 in. long) on each page. Modern. "Transcribed from the Tanjore MS. 3760" (Burnell's Catalogue, p. 21).

Hiraṇyakeśi-sūtra (i.e. Śrauta-sūtra). Praśnās xxviii (f. 6*a*) and xxix (f. 13). A fairly correct copy.

68.

MM. 53. Bluish paper; ff. 116 (in two parts with separate foliation); size 10 in. by 7⅞ in.; Devanāgarī character, clear and uniform writing in the same hand as that of the foregoing MS. (No. 67), 20 to 21 lines (5½ in. long) on each page. Modern transcript of the Tanjore MS. No. 3,855 (Burnell's Catalogue, p. 21).

Hiraṇyakeśi-śrautasūtra-vyākhyāna.

Commentary on *Hiraṇyakeśi-sūtra*, by Vāñcheśvara. Praśnās I and II complete. Praśna I, paṭalās i (f. ?), ii (f. 17*b*), iii (f. 25*b*), iv (f. 33*a*), v (f. 41*b*), vi (f. 54*a*), vii (f. 62*b*), viii (f. 67); II, paṭalās i (f. 8*a*), ii (f. 16*a*), iii (f. 21*a*), iv (f. 25*b*), v (f. 30*a*), vi (f. 37*b*), vii (f. 45*a*), viii (f. 49).

69.

MM. 73 (B 8). Bluish paper; pp. 106; size 12 in. by 7½ in.; Devanāgarī character, good writing, 16 to 24 lines (about 5¾ in. long) on each page; date 1846 A.D.?

Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Sāṁhitī-upaniṣad* of the Black Yajurveda.

Introduction (p. 36). Anuvākās i (p. 42), ii (p. 44), iii (p. 56), iv (p. 62), v (p. 65), vi (p. 80), vii (p. 82), viii (p. 89), ix (p. 93), x (p. 95), xi (p. 105), xii (p. 106).

Date: ई १८४६ साल.

70.

MM. 77 (B 8) I. Cream-wove copying paper; pp. 78; size 11 in. by 4 in.; Devanāgarī character, 5 to 6 lines (about 9 in. long) on each page. An impression (rather faint) taken by means of a copying machine, of a transcript of the India Office Library MS. No. 1,510*a*. The letters are much blurred, some hardly legible. On the last page is the note giving the date of transcript: "Msc. E.I.H. 1510 (Colebrooke) $\frac{8}{7}$ 46 (the copy sent to Pr. Brochhaus)."

Jyotiḥśāstra-bhāṣya.

Somākara's commentary on the Yajur recension of the Jyotiṣa, with text.

For further particulars, see Eggeling's Catalogue, No. 559.

IV. ATHARVA-VEDA.

71.

MM. 50. Paper; ff. 16 (11 + 5); size 8½ in. by 4½ in.; Devanāgarī character, very well written, 9 lines (6¾ in. long) on each page. Modern copy. Sent to Professor Max Müller by Dr. Bühler from India on Nov. 13, 1871.

(*a*) *Ātharvaṇe saṁhitālakṣaṇagranthe caturādhyāyika-vyākaraṇaṁ.*

Adhyāya i (f. 3*b*), ii (f. 5*a*), iii (f. 7*b*), iv (f. 11). Cf. Weber's Catalogue, vol. i, p. 87.

Beg.: *Caturṇāṁ padajātānāṁ nām = ākhyāt = opasarga-nipātānāṁ*, etc.

End: *Sa ekapadaḥ parihāryaś ca parihāryaś ca caturthasya caturthaḥ pādaḥ* || ४ || *Ātharvaṇe caturādhyāyikāyāṁ caturth = ādhyāyaḥ* || *Ātharvaṇe saṁhitā-lakṣaṇa-graṁthe caturādhyāyikā-vyākaraṇaṁ saṁpūrṇaṁ* || *Graṁtha-saṁkhya* १८० ||

(*b*) *Ātharvaṇe saṁhitālakṣaṇagranthe Prātiśākhya-mūla-sūtraṁ.* Complete in three prapāṭhakās: i (f. 2*b*), ii (f. 4*a*), and iii (f. 5).

Beg.: *Athāto nyāyādhyayanasya pārṣadaṁ varttayiṣyāmaḥ* || *pādānāṁ saṁhitāṁ vidyāt.*

End: *Varṇalopāgama-hrasva-dīrgha-pluta ātmane-bhāṣā parasmai-bhāṣā apiyaṁtyapiyaṁti* (?) || *sūtra* ७ || ४ || *Ātharvaṇe Prātiśākhya-mūlasūtre tṛtīyaḥ prapāṭhakaḥ* || *Ātharvaṇe saṁhitā-lakṣaṇa-graṁthe Prātiśākhya-mūla-sūtraṁ saṁpūrṇaṁ.*

72.

MM. 59. Indian paper; ff. 17; size 8¼ in. by 4½ in.; Devanāgarī character, fairly good writing, 7 to 8 lines (about 6½ in. long) on each page; date, Saṁvat 1915 (A.D. 1858–59).

Pariśiṣṭaṁ, with accented Vedic quotations. Complete.

Beg.: *Prathamāṣṭake śūnyaṁ* (?) || *dvitīyāṣṭake paṁcamādhyāye maṇḍalāṁ* [sic] || *māb'ibher na ma'riṣyasi pari'tvā pāmi sarvat'aḥ.*

End: *Śaṁ no'astu dvipadeśaṁ cat'uṣpade* [Av. 6. 27] || *iti pariśiṣṭāni saṁpūrṇāni* || *saṁvat* १९१५ *Māghe māśe dvādaśyāṁ Indu-vāsare tad = dine saṁpūrṇaḥ* ||

V. VEDIC MANUALS.

73.

MM. 26. Indian paper; ff. 143 (ff. 99–101 missing); size 8 in. by 4 in.; Devanāgarī character, uniformly written, 9–10 lines (6¼ in. long) on each page; date not given, probably nineteenth century.

Mantra-saṁhitā.

A collection of hymns from the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*, accented and arranged for special use, chiefly in connection with domestic rites, as may be seen from the following list of headings and directions. The hymns are in many instances only partially quoted, and are accompanied by explanatory notes.

Iti puruṣa-sūktaṁ; iti Viṣṇu-sūktaṁ (f. 11*b*); *iti Vāmana-sūktaṁ* (f. 16*a*); *etāni vṛṣotsarge anyatrām* [sic] *upayujyante* (f. 21*a*); *idaṁ somāya raudraṁ* (f. 21*a*); *iti triṁśa-devāḥ* (f. 24*a*); *iti Bṛhaspati-sūktaṁ* (f. 27*b*); *iti agni-sūktaṁ* (f. 28*b*); *iti saukṣmya-mantrāḥ* (f. 30*b*); *iti garbhādhāna-mantrāḥ* (f. 32*a*); *anena bhāryā-hṛdaya-sparśanaṁ* (f. 32*b*); *etāḥ ṣoḍaśitāḥ ṣaṭ = hom = opayuktāḥ* (f. 33*a*); *etac = ca samāvartane anyatr = āpi āyuṣyam iti sūktena maṇi-kaṇṭhe* (f. 34*a*); *etad sarvatra home, atha sīmant = onnayane mantrāḥ* (f. 34); *atha jāta-karma-mantrāḥ* (f. 34); *iti āśirvāda-mantrāḥ* (f. 37*b*); *atha abhiṣekaḥ* (f. 40*a*); *iti gaṇapati-sūktaṁ* (f. 56*b*); *ity = abhiśravaṇa-sūktāni* (f. 73); *iti devatārcana-mantrāḥ* (f. 79*a*); *iti sarvato bhadra-maṇḍala-devatā-mantrāḥ* (f. 80*b*); *iti garuḍa-sūktam* (f. 82*a* ?); *iti vivāha-homa-mantrāḥ* (f. 136*a*).

End: *Priyaḥ putraḥ pitaraṁ priyā vā jāyā-patiṁ sukhaṁ śivam upaspṛśaty = āvisrasa evaṁ hai vai ten = aiṁdreṇa mahābhiṣeken = ābhiṣiktasya kṣatriyasya surā vā somo vā = nyad = vā = nnādyaṁ sukhaṁ śivam upaspṛśaty = āvisrasaḥ* ||

74.

MM. 54. Bluish paper; ff. 41; size 10 in. by $7\frac{7}{8}$ in.; Devanāgarī character, good writing, 20 to 21 lines (5 in. long) on each page. A modern transcript of the Tanjore MS. No. 4,150 (Burnell's Catalogue, p. 25*a*).

Audgātra-prayoga.

A portion of Sāyaṇa's *Yajñatantra-sudhānidhi.*

Beg.: *Atha Audgātra-prayoga-prārambhaḥ* || *athaudgātra-prayogaḥ* || *ṛtvig = ārṣeyo 'nūcāna iti*, etc.

At f. 35*a* ends the section *Mādhyaṁdinaṁ savanaṁ*, and

the succeeding one begins with *atha tṛtīya-savana-prayoga ārabhyate.*

End: *Iti śrīmad=rājādhirāja-parameśvara-Hariharavarājetyādi-vaidika-mārga-sthāpanācārya - Śrī - Sāyaṇācārya-kṛtau Yajña-tantrasudhānidhau Audgātrākhyaḥ prayogaḥ samāptaḥ.*

For another copy, see Eggeling's Catalogue, No. 377.

75.

MM. 43. Paper; pp. 71; size $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 7 in.; Devanāgarī character, carefully written, 9 to 10 lines (8 in. long) on each page; date of copy 1847 A.D.

Copy of MS. de la Bibl. Roy. de Paris D. 157, containing the Ādhāna on the Śrauta ritual (according to Baudhāyana?). It begins with the section Agnyādhāna, followed by Madhuparka (p. ix), Agnyāyatana (p. x), etc., and ends with the Anvārambhaṇīyeṣṭi.

The quotations of Vedic hymns, from p. 29 onwards, e.g. *vāyur antarikṣasyādhipatiḥ* (Av. v. 24, 8), *sūryo divo'dhipatiḥ*, etc., are accented.

End: *Agner bhagino'ham u°* || *devānāṁ ājyapānāṁ ity=ādi brāhmaṇa-tarpanāntaṁ samānaṁ* || *vratavisargaṁ na kuryāt* || *paurṇa-māsī-yāga-paryantaṁ ta eva agnayo paurṇamāsī-yāgānvādhānasya kṛtatvāt* || *ity=anvāraṁbhaṇīyāḥ* || *paurṇa-māsī-yāgaḥ pratipadi karttavyaḥ* ||

Note at the foot of the last page: "Msc. de la Bibl. Roy. de Paris, D. 157, *Âdhânaprâraṁbhaḥ* 42 fol. 8, 1847."

VI. GRAMMAR.

76.

MM. 45; European paper; pp. 50; size $14\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $9\frac{1}{2}$ in.; Devanāgarī and Roman characters; modern.

Chandas-sūtra of Pāṇini's Grammar, translated and explained by Professor F. Max Müller.

Beg. Lecture I: Sūtra 1, *Chaṁdasi punarvasvor-ekavacanaṁ* || 1, 2, 61 (1, 2, 4, 1). "The singular number is sometimes employed in the Veda to express a dual object," etc.

End: Sūtra 33. *Chaṅdasyṛdavagrahāt* [viii, 4, 26] followed by the translation, etc., and examples ending with "*ūrdhva ū ṣu ṇaḥ*" (Rv. I. 36. 13).

77.

MM. 76 (B 8). Highly glazed bank paper; pp. 158 (ff. 80 of the original MS.); size $11\frac{1}{8}$ in. by 4 in.; Devanāgarī character, good and clear writing, 11 lines (8 in. long) on each page; a tracing of the India Office Library MS. No. 2,375.

Uṇādivṛitti.

Commentary on the Uṇādisūtra, by Ujjvaladatta, surnamed Jājali. See Eggeling's Catalogue, No. 682.

78.

MM. 78 (B 8). Highly glazed bank paper; pp. 88; size $10\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 8 in.; Devanāgarī character, very good writing, about 16 to 21 lines on a page; copied by Paṇḍit Viṣṇuśarman of Bombay in A.D. 1835.

Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa* with Bhāmahācārya's commentary. Complete in twelve chapters.

79.

MM. 44. Bluish paper; pp. 115; size 12 in. by 8 in.; Devanāgarī and Panjābī characters, bold writing; modern.

A Sanskrit grammar, containing only the parts treating of the alphabet and the euphonic combinations (*saṅjñā* and *sandhi*) written in Sanskrit and Pañjābī (?) by Veṅkaṭarāma Śāstrin.

VII. PHILOSOPHY.

80.

MM. 64 (A 8). Indian paper; ff. 30; size 9 in. by 4 in.; Devanāgarī character, clumsily written, 8 to 10 lines (7 in. long) on each page. Date not given, probably eighteenth century.

Rgbhāṣya (in verse) by Ānandatīrtha. Complete.

End: *Iti Śrimad-Ānandatīrtha-bhagavatpādācārya-viracitam ṛgbhāṣyaṁ samāptaṁ.*

The MS. is full of corrections.

There is another complete copy of this Vedantic work of the Dvaita sect in the British Museum (Or. 2,714). Regarding the author, who died in Śaka 1119 (A.D. 1197–98), and his works, see Bhāṇḍārkār's Report, 1882–83, pp. 16–19 and 202–208.

81.

MM. 49. Tracing paper; pp. 59; size 10½ in. by 4¼ in.; Devanāgarī character, good writing, 10 lines (8¼ in. long) on each page; a traced (?) copy of MS. in the Bodleian Library. Date of original MS. not given.

The *Śāṇḍilya-śata-sūtrīya-bhāṣya* by Svapneśvara. Complete. The verses are numbered 100 continuously. Adhyāya I Āhnika, i (p. 10), ii (p. 17); II, i (p. 29), ii (p. 48); III, i (p. 52), ii (p. 59). A fairly correct copy.

VIII. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

82.

MM. 58. European paper; pp. 33; size 8 in. by 6¼ in.; Roman and Devanāgarī characters in Professor Max Müller's hand; language, Latin and Sanskrit.

"Libri Vedici ex collectione Wilsoniana," being the beginning of a catalogue of the Vedic MSS. in the Wilson collection of the Bodleian Library.

ART. XXIII.—*Further Notes on the MSS. of the Turkī Text of Bābar's Memoirs.* By ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

FOR convenience of reference, the following list of MSS. which have existed or do exist is reproduced from the J.R.A.S., July, 1900:—

I. Bābar's autograph MS.
II. Khwāja Kilān's MS.
III. (Humāyūn's transcript.)
IV. Elphinstone MS.
V. British Museum MS.
VI. India Office MS. (Bib. Leydeniana).
VII. Asiatic Society of Bengal MS.
VIII. Mysore MS. (Tīpū's).
IX. Bibliotheca Lindesiana MS.
X. Hyderābād MS.
XI. St. Petersburg University Library MS.
XII. St. Petersburg Foreign Office MS.
XIII. St. Petersburg Asiatic Museum MS. (Senkovskī).
XIV. Bukhārā MS.
XV. Nazar Bay Turkestānī MS.

IV. *Elphinstone MS.*

What I have learned of this text since July 1900, increases regret for its disappearance.[1] For by a curious coincidence it would seem to have been used, not only by Dr. Leyden for his English translation, but also for the two

[1] In Notes, J.R.A.S., July, 1900, p. 452, reference is made to an uncatalogued manuscript collection in the Advocates' Library. I have now ascertained that this is one of recently acquired Scottish MSS., and that it does not include any Oriental MSS.

Persian versions, *i.e.*, that of Mīrzā Pāyanda Muḥammad and Muḥammad Qulī, finished 1586, and that reputed to be by 'Abdu-r-raḥīm Mīrzā and presented to Akbar in 1590.

This supposition rests on the following points of identical content or gap :—

(1) The Elphinstone has lost the concluding part of A.H. 908. This is given both in No. X and No. XII.

The score of Persian MSS. which I have examined and also the regal Ulwar copy which Mr. Beveridge has seen, all lack this same part. Pāyanda Ḥasan's version, moreover, contains the identical scribe's note which Dr. Leyden has translated and commented on. (Mems., 122.)

(2) The Elphinstone does not contain the full account of Hindāl's adoption which is in No. XII, and with brief omission in No. X. Nor do the Persian MSS. contain it.

(3) The Elphinstone contains the "shaving passage" signed by Humāyūn. (Cf. J.R.A.S., July, 1900.) It is not in No. X or in No. XII.

It occurs in every one of a score of reputed 'Abdu-r-raḥīm versions. Pāyanda Ḥasan does not include the chapter in which it might occur.

(4) The Elphinstone does not contain the account of the Indian revenues (A.H. 932). Nor does any one of a score of Persian MSS. This is in No. X and No. XII.

Other less important points of identity could be mentioned, but the four cited suffice, when taken with Mr. Erskine's statement that the Elphinstone contains two marginal notes made by Humāyūn, to establish a probability that the Elphinstone was Humāyūn's own book, and the very MS. used for the two Persian translations made under Akbar.

Without seeing the Elphinstone so as to be sure that Humāyūn's notes are truly marginal and autographic, and are not merely interpolations, one cannot go beyond "probability" in the matter, but support is given to the probability by two other circumstances. (1) No Persian text reproduces the *amratphul* note. (Mems., 329 n.) Had it been *interpolated* in the text and not marginal, it would have been copied with the rest (cf. *infra* on this note).

(2) No other Turkī text which has the characteristics of the Elphinstone in notes and *lacunæ* has come to light. It is easy to understand tatters and tears in Humāyūn's library, because it was subjected to much hard travel—one story of its loss and recovery is historical—it will have gone where the royal exile went; the date of the "shaving passage" is that of the stay in Kābul (cir. 1553) before the Restoration.

It is not easy to understand why the Persian translations were made only from an incomplete Turkī text. But there is the fact. The scribe of the Elphinstone, if one may judge from the translation, has not made any lament over gaps excepting the one of 908 H. This silence allows a conjecture (*a*) that he knew of the existence in Bābar's work of the missing portion, and that he was aware the gap was caused by lost pages; (*b*) that he acquiesced in some other *lacunæ* in the narrative, because they were left blank by Bābar; and (*c*) that some of the *lacunæ* found by Leyden and Erskine in the Elphinstone have been caused by loss of pages subsequent to the Persian translation.

Although I have not been able to trace the Elphinstone MS., I have found, in Persian, a passage it contained, *i.e.* the *amratphul* note (Mems., 329 n.), which Mr. Erskine attributes to Humāyūn. This is bound up in one of Mr. Erskine's volumes of manuscript remains (B.M. Add. 26,605, p. 88). It is not, either in this copy or in Mr. Erskine's English reproduction, in any way authenticated as Humāyūn. His "shaving note" is signed *ḥarara-hu* Muḥ. Humāyūn (Mems., 304; cf. Notes, J.R.A.S., July, 1900). The expression in it "dar zamān-i-mā" shows it to be a royal entry, but its non-appearance in the Persian translation and its disrespectful tone, so unlike that of the first note in which Humāyūn speaks of his father, suggest that it is Jahāngīr's or perhaps Shāh-jahān's.

X. *Hyderābād MS. (Library of the late Sir Salar Jung).*

It was my good fortune to hear of this valuable MS. through Mr. Beveridge, and I have now had an opportunity

of examining it, an advantage I owe to the kind help of Shamsu'l-'ulama Sayyid 'Alī *Bilgrāmī*. For it is the first complete Turkī text of the *Bābar-nāma* (*Tūzuk-i-bābarī*) which I have found existing "under the flag," and equalling, if not excelling, the St. Petersburg texts.[1] No public library in England or in India owns a MS. that approaches it for completeness; of the two St. Petersburg MSS. which carry the narrative down to A.H. 936 (Mems., 425), *i.e.* No. XI and No. XII, it is distinctly superior to the latter, as being oriental and a good text, and at least the equal of No. XI, concerning which some details have not reached me which would allow closer comparison. It may be the equal of the renowned Bukhārā MS., but of this text only the high reputation is known, a reputation fully established in India amongst the early workers on the *Bābar-nāma* in the nineteenth century, when there was talk amongst Elphinstone, Leyden, and Erskine of obtaining a copy from it.

No. X measures $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 4 inches; is bound in red leather, gold-lined; has been rebound; and has been worm-eaten both before and since the rebinding. It contains 382 folios, and on each page are 14 lines. It is written in Nastalīq and by two hands, neatly and without appearance of haste, but the concluding pages are less neat and less leisurely than the great bulk of the work. There is no adornment of any kind in the MS.; there is no distinction in the handwriting such as marks the beautiful Turkī *Tūzuk* (A.D. 1629–30) and its Persian rendering (A.D. 1638–9) of 'Alī'l-kashmīrī. Mr. Alexander G. Ellis estimates the date of its transcription as being about A.D. 1700. The quality of the paper precludes the sixteenth century.

The obverse of the first folio of the MS. is inscribed with *Kitāb-i-bābar-nāma ba zabān-i-turkī*; with an Arabic press-mark (?) in pencil, "3-16"; an ink entry in English,

[1] I have collated it with Leyden and Erskine—page by page or more, frequently. Twenty lines of L. and E. enclose fourteen (one page) of No. X, the average being somewhat less. With the exceptions, large and small, mentioned in the text, the copies are identical.

"S.R. 35," which is remarkably like Mr. Erskine's writing of about the same date (B.M. Add. 26,605); and one in Raqam — pencilled and deleted — "35." On the reverse of the last folio is scribbled what may be *Ḥāfiẓ*.

On the page bearing the title there appears also a seal, and this is impressed again on the last page of the text. It is that of the father or grandfather of Sir Salar Jung, an oblong with the inscription *Munīru'l-mulk*, A.H. 1206 (A.D. 1791). The second impression has been made in the space between the end of A.H. 935 and the beginning of A.H. 936, but nothing as to the date of transcription can be inferred from this interpolated position, because spaces similar to this one occur at the end of other years.

Under the lining-paper of the boards are sheets inscribed, as Mr. Blumhardt has kindly informed me, with shopkeepers' accounts in the commercial Nagarī of Central India, of date about A.D. 1800. This date agrees with that on the seal, and is probably the approximate date of acquisition by Sir Salar Jung's ancestor, and of the repair and rebinding of the book.

The text opens with a plain bismillāh, and, like the Elphinstone, but varying from Kehr, with the words, "In the month of Ramẓān." Even a cursory examination has shown me that its variants in proper names are useful both biographically and orthographically. Moreover, it gives in pure Turkī some passages which are corrupt and alloyed, or pieced out with Persian in Kehr's text. It contains all that Leyden and Erskine gathered from the Elphinstone and their two Persian MSS., and over and above this, the concluding portion of A.H. 908, the longer account of Hindāl's adoption, several short passages which are omitted in the Memoirs and the Persian sources, and the revenue account of India, set down, moreover, by an Oriental.

No. X is a veritable *trouvaille*. Its excellence and rarity claim reproduction in facsimile, since there are so very few texts of equal merit and volume that Bābar's book might easily be lost for ever. At the present time Ilminski's imprint, the reproduction of a western and defective text, is only to be purchased as a rarity; and there is no complete

Turkī text accessible to students either in England or India. As is known to many of his friends, the late Mr. John Beames occupied the closing months of his life with work on the *Bābar-nāma*, but there was no Turkī text of critical value for his use more accessible than in St. Petersburg. He had heard with pleasure of the excellence of the Hyderābād, and I had hoped to enable him to use it, even in his invalid retirement, by a photographic reproduction which I desire to carry out.

Every MS. has its points of human interest. Here is one in No. X, a minor matter, but showing a thought of the scribe. Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā is said by Bābar to have had three daughters by Pasha Begam, but particulars are given of one only, the eldest. This silence as to the others seemed to me as unnatural as it was inconvenient, because one of the *anonyma* was, I believed, a wife of Bābar. Now I find from No. X that its scribe, like myself, thought some further particulars were needed, for he has left a blank space where they should come in. (Cf. Memoirs, 30: No. X, f. 27*a*.)

Here is another and somewhat similar point. Mr. Erskine is fully borne out by No. X in his supposition (Mems., 230, l. 4 and n.) that Bābar may have omitted the name which is missing here, for No. X (211*b*) has a space of about an inch where it should come in. There is another instance of this expectancy on the scribe's part that something would fill the blank. Or possibly in both cases the royal writing was illegible.

A curious little variant, which may be due to reconsideration on Bābar's own part, is contained in the narrative of Hindāl's pre-natal adoption by Māham. Kehr has a long account of this, and includes in it a quaint taking of omens as to the sex of the coming child. No. X has the same account, minus the casting of the fates.

Neither of Humāyūn's notes occurs in No. X, which at the point where the Elphinstone contains the "shaving passage" runs on from "Raḥmat *piāda*" to the "sun in Aries." As has been already said, these notes appear in no Turkī text examined by me, except the Elphinstone. There

seem good grounds for leaving the *amratphul* note out of consideration here, for it is not known to us to be Humāyūn's, and it occurs only in the Elphinstone so far as we know. But the first of the notes attributed to Humāyūn, the "shaving passage," is of great interest in the genealogy of the Turkī and Persian texts. It divides them into two branches, the Elphinstone and its descendants in Persian, and (as a minimum) the Kehr, with Ilminskī's imprint and its French descendant, and the Hyderābād.

ERRATA IN NOTES, JULY, 1900.

p. 450, l. 4, B.M. 16,623. Read 201*b*.
p. 450, l. 8, Bodl. 405. Read 263*b*.
p. 455. The I.O. number of the *Tūzuk-i-bābarī* here given as No. 178. This is a mistake; it should be No. 214 *passim* (Ethé's Cat.).

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Successor of Deva Rāya II. of Vijayanagara.

London.
June 7, 1902.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—In his highly interesting book "A Forgotten Empire" (London, 1900), Mr. R. Sewell has dealt with the history of the kingdom of Vijayanagara, one of the most powerful empires that ever existed in India. In the lucid way which distinguishes all his works he has succeeded especially in throwing new light on the reign of Deva Rāya II. There cannot be the slightest doubt now that this king began to reign in the year A.D. 1419, and died about 1443 or 1444. As regards his successor things are not quite so clear. Sewell says (p. 80), "that at present it looks as though there had been a Deva Rāya III. reigning from A.D. 1444 to 1449, but this point cannot as yet be settled."

May I draw your attention to a passage in the work of Kallinātha, the celebrated commentator on the Saṃgīta-Ratnākara of Śārṅgadeva. Kallinātha's work is entitled Kalānidhi, and has been edited by Pandit Mangesh Ramkrishna Telang in the Ānandāśrama Series (Poona, 1897). In the introduction to his commentary, after having described

the country in which he is living, our author continues (v. 6–9) :—

Bhogisthitā bhogavatī ca nityaṃ suparvaramyā divijasthalīva |
purīha vidyānagarī cakāsti tuṅgātaraṅgair abhitaḥ pavitrā || 6 ||

Etāṃ śāsti praśastapratibhaṭamukuṭaprotaniryatnaniryadratnajyotiḥpravālāvanamanacaṭulāṭopatāpapratāpaḥ |
karṇāṭāghāṭalakṣmīcaraṇaparilasatpauruṣotkarṣaśālī praudḍhaḥ śrīdevarājo vijayanṛpasuto yādavānāṃ vareṇyaḥ ||7||

Viśvaṃbharābhāgyakṛtāvatāras tasyāsti putro yaśasā pavitraḥ |
saṃgītasāhityakalāsv abhijñaḥ pratāpavān immaḍidevarāyaḥ[1] || 8 ||

Sudharmeva sabhā yasya samullāsikalādharā |
gāndharvaguṇagambhīrā vidyādharavinodinī || 9 ||

I translate these verses without regard to the double meaning of some of the words :—

6. Resting upon the serpent, ever teeming with pleasures, beautiful in the happy distribution of its various parts, like unto a heavenly abode, shines yonder brightly the town of Vidyānagara,[2] purified on all sides by the waves of the Tuṅgā.

7. It was ruled by Praudḍha Devarāja, the son of king Vijaya, the best of the race of the Yādavas, a hero whose incomparable valour, by vanquishing Karṇāṭa, rose up even unto the feet of Lakṣmī. In trembling glitter shone his majesty's crown of light—a radiance reflected from the gems in the diadems of his noble adversaries—as they bowed before him in submission.

8. Pratāpa Immaḍi Devarāya was his son. In him was incarnate the welfare of the whole world. Steeped in glory, he was moreover deeply learned in the arts of rhetoric and of music.

9. His audience hall was like unto the hall of the gods, radiant as the full moon, thronged with the choicest singers, graced even with the presence of the Vidyādharas.

[1] The reading of the manuscript G is the correct one.
[2] About the two different names of the town see Sewell, l.c., p. 19 and n. 2.

In these verses it is expressly stated that Pratāpa Immaḍi Deva Rāya was the son of Deva Rāya II., and the grandson of Vijaya. Further, he bears all the titles of a king, and to him, as to his patron and protector, Kallinātha is applying. Therefore Deva Rāya III. must have ascended the throne after the death of his father, and must have been reigning when Kallinātha wrote his commentary. This statement is corroborated by an inscription found at Conjeeveram, dated A.D. 1449, and published by Hultzsch (South Indian Inscriptions, i, 110). It records a grant by a king called Vīra Pratāpa Praudha-Immadi-Deva Rāya: his name is exactly the same as that ascribed to him by Kallinātha. I therefore think we are not only able but even obliged to assume that there must have been a Deva Rāya III. reigning from A.D. 1444 till at least 1449.

As to the inscription found at Srāvana Belgola, dated A.D. 1446 and published by Kielhorn (Ind. Ant., xxv, 346), which relates to the death of a Pratāpa Deva Rāya, I am as little able to say anything as Sewell. That this inscription arouses suspicion on account of the remarkable style of its writing, Sewell has already pointed out.

Concerning the inscription, dated A.D. 1476–77 and mentioned by Sewell (l.c., p. 97), in which a Praudha Deva of Vijayanagara occurs, it may not be quite impossible that it relates also to our Deva Rāya III. We have, it is true, inscriptions which show that the other two sons of Deva Rāya II. were on the throne, the one, Mallikārjuna, about A.D. 1452–62, the other, Virūpākṣa I., about 1470. But either three brothers were reigning at the same time (which would not be impossible, considering the great extension of the kingdom), or, in consequence of the tempests and troubles which followed the death of Deva Rāya II., the three brothers were struggling for the throne, and reigned at different times according to their changing fate.

However this may be, it cannot be doubted that a Deva Rāya III., a son of Deva Rāya II., was in existence, and reigned from A.D. 1444 till at least 1449.—Yours very truly,

R. Simon.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

PHONÉTIQUE ANNAMITE (DIALECTE DU HAUT-ANNAM). Par L. CADIÈRE, de la Société des Missions Étrangères à Paris. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902.)

This appears as volume iii of the *Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, a series which promises to add so much to our knowledge of the language and antiquities of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. French Indo-China comprises, it is hardly necessary to say, the old countries of Tonkin, Annam (Cochinchina), and Cambodia. The Annamese language, which extends from the southern border of China to the frontier of Cambodia, is divided into three dialects: (1) the dialect of Tonkin, with its capital at Hanoi; (2) the dialect of Upper Annam (*Haut-Annam*), with its capital at Hué; and (3) the dialect of Lower Annam (*Bas-Annam*), with its capital at Saigon. It is the second of these three dialects, the phonology of which is studied here by M. Cadière, who uses the term *Haut-Annam*, instead of the *Haute-Cochinchine* of the last century, the latter being now, he says, almost obsolete. He adds: "I have chosen the title *Dialecte du Haut-Annam*, intending the expression to be taken generally as meaning the dialect spoken from Tourane to Vinh. Similarly, by *Dialecte du Bas-Annam*, I intend generally that which is spoken to the south of Tourane, as far as Cambodia; and by *Dialecte du Tonkin*, that which is spoken in the Tonkinese delta. With regard to the pronunciation of the city of Hué and of the Court, I have left that for subsequent consideration, on account of the small extent of country

over which it prevails, from its character which appears to me to be comparatively recent, and besides because it was worthy of separate treatment."

The ground being thus defined, the author further contracts its limits by explaining that his work is purely phonetic, and that he will not occupy himself, for the moment, either with vocabulary or with syntax, both of which are left to be treated apart. The book is divided into three parts, the first of which treats of vowel changes, the second of transformations of consonants, the third of modifications of tone. Changes of tone are at least as important as those of vowels or consonants, if not more so, in languages of Eastern Asia. Certain peculiarities of minor importance relating to the phonology of the dialect are relegated to an appendix.

The author, fearing that his method might give rise to the supposition that there was a certain known mother language, with dialects derived from it of which the degree of filiation was established, deprecates this idea, and is more inclined to admit, for the nonce, that the modern subdivisions of the language of Annam are the result of the simultaneous development of different dialects whose origins are unknown to us, still less their relative distances from a primitive mother tongue. Such terms he employs only for convenience, and they must not be taken in the precise and absolute sense which they have in Western languages, the descent of which is perfectly established.

M. Cadière compares the *sino-annamite* pronunciation of Chinese characters with that of modern Chinese dialects, and says justly that further study, methodically prosecuted, of the comparative grammar of the two countries will throw more light on the origin of the language of Annam and its phonetic elements. It may be of interest to note the dictionaries used by him in his researches, which are: *Dictionarium annamitico-latinum*, editum a J. L. Taberd. Serampore, ex typis Marshman, 1838.—*Dictionnaire annamite-français*. Tan Dinh (Saigon), imprimerie de la Mission, 1878.—*Dictionnaire annamite-français*, par J. F. M. Genibrel,

missionnaire apostolique. Ibid., 1898.—*Dictionarium sinicum et latinum*, auctore P. S. Couvreur, S. J. Ho Kien Fou, ex missione catholica, 1892. — *A Chinese Dictionary in the Cantonese Dialect*, by E. J. Eitel. Hongkong, 1877.

The first part of the book, devoted to vowel changes, is divided into two sections, the first section including such changes as are common to all languages, the second those peculiar to Annam called voluntary modifications, in which vowels are conventionally changed to avoid pronouncing the name of a grand personage, of the tutelary spirit of a village, of a deceased ancestor of the speaker, etc. Such conventional changes are confined to the vowels of syllables, neither consonants nor tones ever being modified for the purpose. Tones are of first importance in Annamese words; as an old French missionary wittily expresses it: "Ne dites pas le mot, mais faites l'accent; cela suffit, vous serez compris." Tones are not pronounced in the same way in Upper Annam as in Cochinchina and in Tonkin; and the difference is declared to be greater between Hué and Saigon than between Hué and Hanoi. There are six tones in all, which are described in detail in the third part of the book, and graphically represented there by lines drawn upon a musical scale.

This is hardly the place for a minute analysis of the manifold phonetic changes characteristic of the dialect of Upper Annam. To those interested in the subject the book is available for a lucid and scientific exposition, presented with the clearness that distinguishes French scholarship.

S. W. B.

ATLAS ARCHÉOLOGIQUE DE L'INDO-CHINE. Monuments du Champa et du Cambodge. Par le capitaine E. LUNET DE LAJONQUIÈRE. (Publications de l'école française d'extrême orient.) (Paris: Leroux, 1901.)

Further India, or, as it is now generally called, Indo-China, is in many respects the reflex and counterpart of India proper. On its soil, amongst an indigenous population of

mixed and alien origin, the Hindu civilization, imported in the early years of our era (or possibly even a few centuries earlier), struck root and flourished, underwent a peculiar development in adapting itself to local circumstances, and has left remarkable traces of its existence in a relatively large number of buildings, now for the most part in ruins, some of which are among the most magnificent specimens of architecture that Asia has produced.

The temples and palaces of Camboja rank second to none as regards the grandeur of scale and richness of detail displayed in their construction. Rediscovered, so far as the European world is concerned, within the memory of men still living, they have attracted the attention of archæologists and architects by their antiquity and their highly artistic character, while the imagination is struck by the juxtaposition of such noble works with the sordid huts which suffice for the degenerate descendants of the mighty race that constructed them, and with the waste swamps and jungles by which they are surrounded.

The remains of the Cham architecture, though by no means on a level with those of Camboja, present, on a smaller scale of grandeur and with less perfection of detail, somewhat similar features. Both owe their inspiration largely to Indian models, and each may be taken to represent the highest artistic achievement of the race, a race in each case of alien origin, led into the paths of a civilization by Indian influence.

The sphere of this influence has undergone a notable contraction since the period when most of these works were constructed; it has been steadily suffering from the encroachments of the neighbouring Chinese civilization, which in the hands of the Annamese has spread from Tongking down the whole of the east coast of Indo-China, and has absorbed a large section of the territory that was formerly, in a sense, part of India. Moreover, the artistic inspiration has almost died out in these regions, and it is as illustrations of an irrevocable past and a departed splendour that these remains have for us a somewhat melancholy interest.

The present volume is a summary record of these monuments so far as French Indo-China is concerned, wherein they are classified first, with a short description of each, under the respective administrative divisions in which they are situated, and afterwards in an alphabetical list, with an indication of their positions on the several maps which the volume contains. These are five in number, viz., Northern and Southern Annam (for the Cham monuments), Northern and Southern Camboja (for the Cambojan ones), and a general map, on a smaller scale, of Eastern Indo-China, which, besides giving the position of the areas respectively covered by the other sheets, contains the situation of certain remains in the Laos country not included in them.

The items enumerated amount to between three and four hundred, and, of course, vary in importance from relatively insignificant remains of small isolated buildings to the wonderful specimens of palatial architecture already referred to. The work is confined to the remains which owe their inspiration to Indian influences, and expressly excludes the architecture of Annamese and Chinese origin. It is to be observed that, in a sense, it is incomplete, as it necessarily does not include the architectural remains lying outside the sphere of French influence, while a great part of the old Cambojan territories is now included in the kingdom of Siam (which, indeed, contains the finest of the Cambojan remains). The authorities have, however, been well advised to publish the results of their researches without waiting for their problematical completion at some uncertain future date.

An introduction by the author gives some information as to the administrative divisions under which the classification is made, the system of transcription adopted, and the meanings of certain frequently occurring native names. A preface by the director of the École française d'Extrême-Orient, under whose auspices the work appears, draws attention to the importance of the subject and to the amount of hard work which the compilation of the present

summary has involved. This last is obvious on the face of it, and it is clearly of the highest importance that these interesting monuments should be completely enumerated and accurately located. A good many of them have been described and illustrated elsewhere, but much remains to be done in this direction also; and it is to be hoped that in course of time a complete record of them will be made, which will enable their artistic value to be more generally appreciated than can be said to be the case at present.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

TRANSLATION FROM URDU FOR ADVANCED STUDENTS, being fifty Urdu passages with Introduction, Notes, and Translation by C. M. MULVANY, M.A., B.Litt., Professor, Queen's College, Benares. (Allahabad: The Indian Press.)

Professor Mulvany, of Queen's College, Benares, has found time among his other duties to write a manual to assist his pupils in their English studies. Fifty extracts are given in Urdu, and of these a model English version is offered, with such grammatical notes as explain the variations between the two languages. It has often been seen that the trained philologist can show his special skill in whatever language, rich or poor in structure, dignified or undignified, which may be submitted to him. We might guess from his brilliant Oxford career that Professor Mulvany was an excellent Greek and Latin scholar. We cordially endorse all that he says of the value of a training in these languages. Donaldson, the Cambridge scholar, recommends in one of his books that a man about to translate a piece of prose into Latin should first read a corresponding piece in Latin, and on p. 4 Mr. Mulvany suggests that the same practice should be followed with English classics. We are afraid that natives can never be taught to shape their ideas in the English fashion, nor do we believe that any man can think in a language not his own, but Mr. Mulvany

rightly hopes that by reading English prose, which has become saturated with Greek and Latin literature, the native tendency to bombast may be checked. The severity of the classics has assisted the seriousness which is natural to Englishmen. Here we are in direct opposition to the mobile and loquacious Asiatic. The remarks of Newman quoted by our author are very much to the point. We wish this excellent little work all possible success.

Mr. Mulvany is evidently quite alive to the errors commonly made by Indian students in translating from their mother tongue into English, and in English composition, and the rules and hints he provides for the guidance of those who speak Urdu are all that could be desired in respect of clearness and simplicity. We fail, however, to understand why the words *aisi ko'i tadbir*, on p. 8, may not be translated literally 'some such plan.' And we do not think Mr. Mulvany would be, under any circumstances, justified in rendering the word *ḥál* (p. 7) by the English 'method.' Again, on p. 13, we find *agar áp bhí apná-ko apné hath-se márnā kare to bhí kyá hogá*, where *apná-ko* should be *apne-ko*, and *márnā* appears to be a misprint. Such errors, however, are few, and do not detract from the numerous excellences of the work. We would particularly draw attention to the rules on (1) the use of the personal pronouns; (2) questions; (3) indirect speech; (4) the infinitive: these are perpetual stumbling-blocks to an Indian student. We congratulate Mr. Mulvany on the excellence of his work, and trust we may regard this little book as but the first instalment of what he intends to give us. We would suggest, however, that he should give a little more attention to Arabic. Even a little Arabic would be found useful in his Urdu studies, and would serve to show that the corrupt English form Aladdin (i.e. *'alá'ud-dín*, 'the nobility of the religion') cannot be derived from the Arabic علاءالدين (if such a compound be possible), and that *abu'l-ḥasan* and *nuzhatu'l-arwáḥ* should be written ابوالحسن and نزهت الارواح, not ابوألحسن and نزهت ألارواح.

NOUVELLES RECHERCHES SUR LES CHAMS. Par ANTOINE CABATON. (Publications de l'école française d'Extrême-Orient, vol. ii.) pp. 215. (Paris: Leroux, 1901.)

This is a valuable contribution to our scanty store of knowledge concerning a highly interesting people. The Chams, who once constituted the considerable kingdom of Champa (Campā or Mahācampā), whose metropolis Balonga is mentioned by Ptolemy, and whose greatness and outward magnificence are attested by Hiuen Thsang and Marco Polo, occupied for a dozen centuries or more a unique position as the eastern outpost of Indian civilization on the Asiatic mainland.

Theirs was the borderland where that form of civilization struggled with its mighty rival and neighbour, the Chinese civilization represented by the Annamese, to which it yielded only after a succession of gallant but unavailing struggles. Shorn, one by one, of its outlying northern provinces, reduced after each defeat by successive annexations to a smaller sphere of action, the fierce but intermittent flame of the Cham national spirit, inherited from a Malayan ancestry, repeatedly burst out afresh and for a time seemed to retrieve these losses. In the end, however, the stolid persistence and harder stamina of the northern race prevailed over the fiery ardour of the south, and after the final fall of Cham national independence in 1471, the Annamese gradually ground the remnants into submission.

At the present day their descendants are little more than the shadow of a name; the glory of their splendid past is well-nigh forgotten, and the race is represented in its ancient seats by a few groups of poverty-stricken village communities; while the emigrant Chams who have settled in the neighbouring kingdom of Camboja, though more prosperous than their cousins of Annam, are even more out of touch with the old traditions of their race. At some period which is not clearly defined, probably about the fifteenth century, a portion of the nation was converted

to Islām, and among the Cambojan Chams that religion is now universal. Among the Chams of Annam, Hinduism of a sort still lingers on, mixed with elements of indigenous origin; and here, too, there are some followers of the Prophet, but their notions appear to be very far removed from the orthodoxy of the schools of Mecca. Their imāms, though occasionally possessing more or less corrupt copies of the Korān, are unable to read Arabic, and can only repeat a few traditional formulæ. It may, however, be doubted whether they are Shiites, as the author of the work under review seems inclined to suppose: *a priori* it is far more probable that, like most of their Malayan cousins, they are nominally Sunnis of the School of Shāfi'i.

It is, however, the Hinduism of the Chams that for historical reasons has the best claim upon our regard, and here we have a most valuable contribution to the study of that religion, or, perhaps one should rather say, of what now represents it among the remnants of the Cham race. A very full account of their divinities, their priests and priestesses, their ceremonies and observances on special occasions, together with a large number of texts of the hymns, prayers, and ritual employed, make up the bulk of this volume. Only those who have themselves attempted to record the fragmentary relics of an almost extinct culture can have any conception of the labour which the collection of these materials must have involved. Their value from the point of view of the comparative study of religions, and particularly as specimens of a peculiar development or corruption of Hinduism, can hardly be overrated. To a great extent, however, this Hinduism is a mere veneer covering a mass of native folklore based on animism, worship of the powers of nature, serpent-worship, and what not, which invites comparison with more or less analogous ideas and usages scattered about in almost every quarter of the globe.

The texts, so far as they are Hindu in character, are Sivaite, and are written partly in the Cham language, partly in a jargon which appears to be Sanskrit corrupted

by traditional repetition and quite unintelligible to those who use it, but which may still be capable of restoration by competent Sanskrit scholars basing their comparisons upon the better preserved texts of other Hindu rituals. The greater part, and especially the part which is in the Cham language, consists of elaborate rubrical directions; it embodies in some sort a ritualism run to seed, a symbolism of which the meaning has been entirely forgotten and swallowed up in the form. At the same time it may fairly be allowed that some of the hymns to the gods are not without a certain poetic grace and wild disordered beauty of their own. The high gods and goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon have become inextricably mixed up with local divinities of Nature or identified, after the fashion of Euhemerus, with deified kings and national heroes. Curiously enough, the mightiest of them all is of the female sex, Pô Yaṅ Inö Nögar, the Great Goddess Mother of the Kingdom, who is supposed to represent Mahādevī, and whom the Muhammadan Chams identify with our mother Eve.

The priests are chosen from a special caste and wear a peculiar dress; below them is a caste of ministers who perform subordinate functions, and in addition there are persons who may be described as lay assistants, not belonging to any particular caste, but initiated by their predecessors in office. The various sacrifices and lustrations in use are carefully described in this work, which is also illustrated by numerous representations of specimens of the sacred vessels and other objects used in connection with religion, of photographs of individual priests and other members of the Cham race, and of some of the original manuscripts from which most of the materials embodied in the book were derived. The frontispiece representing the temple of Pô Kloṅ Garai at Phan-Rang and the image of the Great Goddess figured on a later page are of some artistic value as specimens of Hindu workmanship.

In addition to other ethnological information, the author devotes a chapter to the language of this highly interesting people, with specimens of the elaborate forms of the complex

Indian alphabet in which that language is written. It should, however, be pointed out that his twice repeated assertion that the Chams are derived from Java is quite unwarranted by evidence, and probably entirely contrary to fact. As Professor Kern, of Leyden, demonstrated years ago, a comparative study of the great Malayo-Polynesian family of languages points to the probability that the centre of dispersion of that vast group was a large country occupying a coastline in South-Eastern Asia. It is almost certain that they are derived from Champa or its neighbourhood, not the Chams from them or their outlying islands.

The Cham language as it is written and spoken now, and, indeed, so far as it is on record in the inscriptions of the last thousand years or so, presents us with the curious picture of a mixed tongue made up of almost equal proportions of Malayan and Indo-Chinese (Mōn-Annam) elements, overlaid with Sanskrit accretions. It is hard to say whether it should be classified with the Malayan or the Mōn-Annam group, but, at any rate, the Malayan element in it cannot be derived from any of the existing Malayan sub-families. Besides possessing peculiarities of its own, it has features in common, now with the languages of the Sumatran, now with the Bornean, and occasionally with the Philippine group, which make it utterly impossible that it should have been derived from any one of them. In fact, its characteristics are so strongly marked that one is bound to infer its separate existence from a period coeval with the differentiation of the other Malayan languages of the western half of the Indian Archipelago; and it is entitled to be recognized as a separate entity in that family, so far as its Malayan constituents are concerned.

It may, perhaps, be worth noticing that one of its most striking peculiarities is its almost Indo-Chinese tendency towards a monosyllabic form, as a stepping-stone to which it tends (like Achinese) to throw the accent on the last syllable, while Malay almost invariably accents the penultimate. But in some cases this very peculiarity has preserved its words in a fuller and more archaic form than the Malay, so that

they certainly cannot be derived from the latter: thus, the final diphthongs which Malay, by strengthening the penultimate syllable, has attenuated to simple vowels, are retained in Cham, as they are to some extent in Achinese. Moreover, many old words which Malay has lost have survived in the continental language as part of its inheritance from the common Malayo-Polynesian mother tongue; the name of the Great Goddess furnishes three instances in point: pô (lord or lady), yaṅ (deity), and inö (mother) are words which, though occurring in many of the Malayo-Polynesian languages, no longer exist as separate words in Malay, but are represented there by derivatives. In spite, therefore, of its admixture with alien elements, Cham offers a substantial contribution to the comparative study of the Malayan languages, and from this point of view deserves more attention than has hitherto been paid to it.

It is to be hoped that the French scholars, who now have the opportunity of rescuing the few remaining records of this nation which is now on the verge of being utterly absorbed by its stronger neighbours, will do so before it is too late. In the meantime one may express the recognition that is due to M. Cabaton for the valuable instalment which he has succeeded in preserving. It should also be stated that a very full bibliography of the literature of his subject, several indexes, and a table of contents add considerably to the utility of his present work, which by its appearance and style also does credit to its publisher.

C. O. Blagden.

Tetraeuangelium Sanctum juxta simplicem Syrorum Versionem ad fidem codicum, Massorae, editionum denuo recognitum, lectionum supellectilem, etc. By Philip Edward Pusey, M.A., and George Henry Gwilliam, B.D. (Oxford, 1901.)

The extraordinary energy which is being expended at the present day upon the text of the Bible finds outlet in various

ways which need not be particularized here. Perhaps of most lasting importance, inasmuch as it is entirely free from subjectivity, is the labour which is now being spent upon new revisions of the text of the leading versions. Whilst Cambridge is undertaking the gigantic task of editing the text of the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, based upon a collation which will supersede that of the historic Holmes and Parsons, Oxford is issuing smaller but equally valuable works, in the shape of new editions of the text of the Vulgate New Testament and of the Syriac Peshïtta version of the Gospels.

Many years ago the late Philip Edward Pusey, son of the renowned Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, set before himself the task of ascertaining whether the traditional text of the Syriac New Testament, first published at Vienna in 1555, might reasonably be taken to represent the text of the ancient Syrian Church. This text was made by J. A. Widmanstad, with the help of Moses of Mārdīn, from unknown sources, and, as it happens, all subsequent printed editions are practically copied from it. At that time, however, Syriac studies were almost unknown among Europeans, and it was not until the seventeenth century that the language really claimed the attention of scholars. Manuscripts, which in England at least were probably unknown before the first quarter of the seventeenth century, were collected from time to time, so that after a lapse of nearly three and a half centuries from the printing of the *editio princeps*, there was good reason to suppose that a critical collation of the numerous Biblical manuscripts might lead to the establishment of a somewhat different text.

The collations which were begun by Mr. Pusey were continued after his death by Mr. Gwilliam, under whose hands the plan of the whole work has considerably outgrown the original design. No fewer than forty-two MSS., more or less complete, were collated, the majority of them ranging from the fifth [1] to the eighth century. They represent both

[1] The earliest *dated* MSS. belong to the middle of the sixth century.

the Jacobite and the Nestorian branches of the Syrian Church, and Mr. Gwilliam considers it not unlikely that some of the earliest may even represent the text of the undivided Church before the schism of 488–9.

The results attained after this laborious undertaking may at first sight appear hardly commensurate with the pains. Mr. Gwilliam has found that "the text of the Editio Princeps of 1555 is almost identical with that current at the time when our MSS. were written . . . . the Peshitto version of the Gospels has not been corrupted in later times, but whatsoever variations it exhibits from the Greek date from a most remote antiquity. Our authorities are products of both the great schools of Syriac Christianity, while our most ancient copies connect our readings with those of the undivided Syriac Church." [1]

This conclusion is particularly interesting on account of the parallel between this, the first critical edition of the Peshitta Gospels, and the valuable collations of Hebrew MSS. of the Old Testament undertaken by Kennicott (1776–80) and De Rossi (1784–98). In this case, too, it was discovered that all our manuscripts practically represent one and the same text. This circumstance, however, is now known to have arisen from the fact that at a certain date (early in the Christian era) the text was fixed and all subsequent copies were conformed to it, whereas previously, as is proved by the Septuagint and by early quotations, a considerable number of variations must have existed.

In like manner there is reason to suppose (1) that this fixed Peshitta text is an artificial production; (2) that, like the Massoretic text, the present is only a stage, and that a relatively late one, in its history; and (3) that it can no more lay claim to be the original version than the so-called

[1] Professor Rendel Harris, from an examination of two fifth-century MSS. not included in Mr. Gwilliam's list, comes to the same conclusion as regards the fixed state of the text; see his article in the *London Quarterly Review*, January, 1902.

Massoretic text which appears in our Bibles can claim to be the *ipsissima dicta* of the original writers.[1]

The lasting importance of Mr. Gwilliam's work will be cordially recognized by scholars, and only those who have undergone the tribulation of collating manuscripts can appreciate to the full Mr. Gwilliam's wearisome task. To some his results may appear disappointing, even as the great expectations which had been formed respecting the result of a collation of Hebrew MSS. were considerably lowered. But the actual positive conclusions, now firmly established, are a lasting boon which scholarship owes to Mr. Gwilliam and to Mr. Pusey before him—novel results would have meant novel unlooked-for problems, and of problems the Syriac text of the Gospels has already enough.

There are other valuable features associated with this edition to which attention must be drawn. The text is fully vocalized and pointed on the evidence of Massoretic MSS., and in the critical apparatus many interesting notes of interest to the grammarian and lexicographer are recorded from hitherto unpublished works. Special care has been paid to the Syriac system of Sections and Canons, which is now, for the first time, published in full. The division into paragraphs follows the most ancient witnesses, and as the editor remarks: "These are often interesting, as showing the opinions of ancient scribes on the connexion of parts of the narrative."

The printing is clear and well-arranged, although we could wish that the numbers of the chapters were indicated more prominently, and on every page. The number of misprints is remarkably small, and the whole reflects to the highest degree upon the care of the editor and of the Oxford University Press, under whose auspices the work is published.

[1] The date of the establishment of the Peshitta text has recently been ascribed with great probability to the time of Rabbūlā, Bishop of Edessa (411–435 A.D.). Mr. F. C. Burkitt, to whom this is due, has proved conclusively that the *terminus a quo* must be subsequent to the Syrian father Ephrēm (died 373). The *terminus ad quem* is probably barely a century later. (See Burkitt, "St. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospels," *Text and Studies*, 1901, vii, 2.)

We must not omit to mention one other valuable feature in the addition of a literal Latin translation for the convenience of theologians who ought to—but generally do not—read the "mother of versions" in the original tongue.

S. A. C.

MUHAMMAD AND HIS POWER. By P. DE LACY JOHNSTONE, M.A., M.R.A.S. (Edinburgh, 1901.)

Muhammad is the only representative of the Semitic race of olden times to figure among the "World's Epoch-makers," and in the account which Mr. Johnstone has written for this popular series of handbooks, both the inclusion of this great figure and the editor's choice of a writer are amply justified. So much has been written upon the subject that the small book before us could have been easily doubled or trebled in size, but Mr. Johnstone has carefully sifted the great mass of material at his disposal, and this concise account of his should have the effect of awakening in his readers an interest in Oriental history and thought. He has paid sufficient attention to every point of importance, and he has not failed to indicate here and there a few of the problematical questions upon which the last word has not yet by any means been said. In the opening chapters the writer has given us an all too short sketch of the land and people of Arabia before Islam, a particularly fascinating subject, a popular account of which for English readers is still a thing of the future. Not the least valuable feature of this portion of the book is the inclusion of extracts from Sir Charles Lyall's *Ancient Arabian Poetry*. On the other hand, it is to be regretted that the writer has failed at least to mention Robertson Smith among the authorities "easily accessible in our own language" (p. viii). He is one of the few scholars who have investigated at first-hand the environment of Islam, a knowledge of which is indispensable to the understanding of Mohammedanism, and is at the same time highly suggestive to students of other early Semitic literature. In conclusion, we venture to express the conviction that there

is need—great need—for popular yet scholarly handbooks such as the one before us. This country's ignorance of and indifference to Eastern life and thought are, comparatively speaking, inversely proportionate to the immense political issues at stake.

S. A. C.

THE HISTORY OF HUMĀYŪN (HUMĀYŪN-NĀMA). By GUL BADAN BEGUM. Translated by ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE, M.R.A.S. pp. 331. (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1902.)

These memoirs of her own times by a Princess of the royal house of Timur possess an interest of a peculiar kind. As a daughter of Babar, a sister of Humāyūn, and an aunt of the great Akbar, the Princess was in a position to throw a vivid light on the events of the troublous times in which she lived. The monotonous seclusion of the harem was not so rigidly enforced in those days as in later times. The ladies of the royal family, dragged about from one place to another, at one moment honoured and fêted, at another subject to indignities, imprisonments, and dangers, were far from being passive spectators of current events. They held interviews with the males of their family, and the principal nobles and men of mark—veiled probably, but not hidden behind the curtains of the zenana. They formed shrewd judgments on men and events, and on many occasions exercised considerable influence. They were very numerous, these spirited and strong-minded Turk and Mughal women, and took the keenest interest in everything that happened. The Princess Gulbadan in particular shows herself a remorseless critic and an outspoken recorder of the actions of her relatives. It is this that gives her memoirs such a lively and piquant interest. Her narrative supplies those intimate details of private life which are wanted to clothe and make real the dry bones of official history. Her style, too, is simple and natural, a refreshing contrast to the turgid, pompous verbosity of courtly writers like the unendurable Abul Fazl and his fellows.

So far my father had himself written before his death. In the course of a conversation he had with me about the book he made several further comments to the following effect:—

"The translation of Mrs. Beveridge is scholarly, and shows insight and sympathy with the subject. Her rendering of the Princess Gulbadan's words bring out well the womanly side of the writer, and her way of regarding the stirring events of her life, without any sacrifice of accuracy. The notes are very good and useful, especially those relating to the complicated relationship of the numerous personages whose names appear in the history. In the seclusion of the harem a clever woman like the Princess Gulbadan would acquire a large store of information on this subject, and in her old age would take a great pleasure in showing off her knowledge. This is not unknown among our own countrywomen. Mrs. Beveridge has conferred a great benefit on the student of this period of history by the care with which she has analyzed and tabulated the relationship of the different personages. The illustrations are good. The one of the Emperor Akbar is the only one I have seen which gives at all a living impression of that great man, and which conveys an idea of his ability. Mrs. Beveridge has added to the value of her work by making this available to European scholars. It is also a very especial advantage to have her excellent edition of the text printed in the same volume with the translation, and Mrs. Beveridge may be heartily congratulated on this sound piece of work, as useful as it is interesting." F. Beames.

Assyrian Deeds and Documents recording the Transfer of Property, etc. By the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, M.A., Lecturer in Assyriology, Queens' College, Cambridge. Vol. III. (Cambridge: Deighton Bell & Co. London: G. Bell & Sons. 1901.)[1]

Assyriologists will welcome the Rev. C. H. W. Johns's third volume as they welcomed the first and second. Though

[1] The first volume was noticed in the J.R.A.S. in 1898, pp. 893–897, and the second in 1901, pp. 600–609.

the author of this book modestly refers to Assyriology as his 'hobby,' the seriousness and thoroughness with which he works at it would put to the blush the life-work of not a few. The energy with which he does his recreation (for it is as such that most people regard a 'hobby') will be appreciated by all, and this appreciation will be mingled with considerable admiration when it is realized that he is not the man of leisure which the present writer, and probably also many others, supposed him to be.

The third volume of Assyrian Deeds and Documents is of like bulk with its predecessors, and runs to 599 pages. It is devoted to "Money loans, Legal Decisions, Deeds of Sale, Slave Sales," and includes lists of names of males, females, places, divinities, Greek, Latin, Biblical, classical, and north Semitic words and names, an index of Assyrian words and phrases, a list of ideograms, and a subject-index. The critical apparatus would therefore seem to be as perfect as possible.

The book is an elaborate and minute examination of documents which the author has published in the two preceding volumes, and contains, like them, a large amount of material, not only a basis for further research, but also exceedingly suggestive in itself.

There is no doubt that, for all who are interested in the history of trade and exchange, these volumes will be most useful. One of the points touched upon by these tablets is the question of interest, and Mr. Johns shows that even this, dry as the subject is, is not without its attractions. It would seem that, whilst interest on money lent in Babylonia was as a general rule one shekel upon every maneh monthly ($1\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. = 20 per cent. yearly), in Assyria it varied from that amount to as much as 150 per cent., though it happened now and then that less was arranged for, the tariff in one case being as low as half a shekel on $1\frac{1}{3}$ manehs (i.e. 100 shekels) per month, or about $1\frac{1}{5}$ per cent. yearly. This, of course, was a merely nominal rate, such as might be arranged between friends.

All the sections of Mr. Johns's work are discussed with

the same minuteness, and also with the same acuteness, as that referred to above. Another point dealt with is the many and seemingly inconsistent ways of writing recurrent words and phrases (pp. 26 ff.), and the question naturally arises whether in some cases they may not be due either to ignorance or to carelessness on the part of the scribes. Many of the variants, however, seem to be due to the Assyrian dialect — the peculiarities of pronunciation of Assyro-Babylonian current in Assyria. Judging from the examples which the tablets published by Mr. Johns contain, Assyrian pronunciation differed, especially in the matter of the vowels, from that of Babylonia. In the case, for example, of the forms of the word *nadānu*, 'to give,' vowel-harmony seems to come into play. Thus, when the termination is *i*, the interior vowel is sometimes *i* (*iddini*), and when it is *u*, forms with *u* as interior vowel are found (*iddunu*, *idunu*). *Iddan*, *idan*, *iddanuni*, *iddinuni*, *iddinnuni*, etc., also occur. In the classical form the proper vowel is in all cases *i* (*iddin*, *iddinu*, *iddinûni*, etc.), and whether the scribes may have been influenced sometimes by other forms of foreign (west Semitic) origin, such as those of *nathānu* (נתן), must at present remain undecided.

That west-Semitic influence was strong among the trading population may be gathered from the fact that, as the author remarks, all the names containing the element *âbdu*, 'servant' (the Assyro-Babylonian form is *ârdu*), were probably Syrian, and the number which he gives is sufficiently numerous. That such names indicated in many cases the nationality of the bearer has long been my own opinion, and to the list of those quoted by Mr. Johns many more may in all probability be added.

The number and the diversity of the foreign names, or names of foreign form, in the contract-tablets of Assyria, are probably greater in proportion than in the documents of the same class found in Babylonia. How this is to be explained is not quite certain. There is no doubt that in the earlier ages Babylonia was more resorted to by persons of foreign birth than most other trading centres, and the tradition of the

confusion of tongues there is probably due to that fact. As time went on, however, Assyria increased in importance, and though Babylonia did not in any way diminish, the large increase which undoubtedly took place in her population must have made the foreign element much less conspicuous, and spread it over a much larger extent of territory. For the same reason, it is probable that the percentage of Babylonian trade records which have been preserved to us is much smaller than in the case of Nineveh, cut off in the midst of her prosperity, at a time when "great Babylon" had still some years to wait before she reached the zenith of her power and the plenitude of her population, and after that several centuries before she ceased to be.

The presence of strange names of divinities, such as Šuriḫa, Ḫaldi, Zirpanitu (so, not Zarpanitu, according to the phonetic spelling, systematically ignored by the German school), and others, implies that not only native gods, but those of the nations or districts around were also worshipped. In the case of the divinity Šuriḫa, whose name occurs in that of the personal name Šuriḫa-Aa, we have an example of the identification of one god with another—"Šuriḫa is Aa"—exhibited by so many of the names of this district and period. Its composition is upon the model of such names as Yâ-Dagunu, "Jah is Dagon," and others.

In general Mr. Johns's analysis of the inscriptions of which he treats is very close, and is on that account of all the greater value. To take an instance which is not of the most striking, he refers to and discusses (p. 177) all the cases where the name Ninâa or Ninûaa, 'the Ninevite,' occurs. It is spelled phonetically, as the name of a witness (thrice), as the name of a slave, and as that of a buyer. It is written AL Ni-nu-a-a as the name of a witness from Kurai; the form AL NINA-KI-a-a contains it, and its bearer was a *sak šarri* (? 'king's captain') and buyer in four cases. A form without the KI is the name of a borrower in 681 B.C.; a witness and *ḫazanu* in another case, a witness in a third case, and occurs also as a specimen-name. The form NINA-a-a is the name of a *rab barû, bêl ṭêmi*, B.C. 649, and

we have further NINA-KI-a-a as the name of a buyer and *sak šarri* three or four times, and as a *ša šêpâ* once. I have not given Mr. Johns's references, but in every case the student is able to find what he wants. The question naturally arises whether it would not have been better to relegate all these detailed descriptions to a classified list of names, accompanied by the original characters. It will easily be understood from these details that the author does not write for the public, but for students. For those who are not specialists, it may be here mentioned that all the above forms, notwithstanding their diverse writing, are to be read simply Ninûaa or Ninâa.

Like the contract-tablets of Babylonia, material for biographies of the people mentioned may easily be obtained, though the details are much scantier and the number of instances much more rare. Such biographies are naturally rather interesting, and bring home to the student the reality of the life in the East revealed by those tablets of so many hundreds of years ago. "If we cared to adopt the popular style of some Assyriologists," the author says, "we might easily write up a 'story of an Assyrian corn-dealer,' and even perhaps work in a few Jews into the business."

Unscientific as it may be, however, Mr. Johns cannot resist giving a very interesting account of the career of one Baḫiânu, who plays a prominent part in barley-dealing from 704 to 667 B.C. Loans of barley and corn were his principal transactions, but he also appears as a witness to other documents, and sometimes has to do with slaves, and also with money-lending. His death is mentioned in a letter, from which it would appear that at the time of his departure for the abode of his god he was fairly well off in this world's goods.

Frivolous as it may seem to indulge in these biographical reconstructions, such work is not only interesting, but also useful. It gives us the means, now and then, of deciding dates when direct statements are wanting, and other useful information for scientific research may also be obtained. Indeed, one may go so far as to say, that when an alphabetical

list of names of Assyrians and Babylonians mentioned in the various tablets has been drawn up, with dates, short biographical notices, and references, we shall have much useful material not only for verifying dates, but also for controlling translations, and throwing light on the obscure bypaths of ancient Oriental history in many ways which can only be guessed at present.

This is, in fact, one of the reasons why Mr. Johns's volumes upon the contract-tablets of Assyria are so valuable. The modern student, moreover, desires not only history and philology; he wishes also to know the aims, ambitions, thoughts, feelings, desires, and prejudices of the ancient personages revealed to him in these tablets during their earthly pilgrimages. The dry bones of chronology, philology, and history are of prime importance, but there is something of scientific value even in the human interest attached to these documents.

So, for his book, for the many interesting things which it contains, for the minuteness of his examination of these comparatively monotonous texts, every Assyriologist will render to Mr. Johns his sincerest thanks. The opportunity which the author has had of putting together all the materials bearing upon his branch of the subject enables him to suggest meanings, or further and more precise renderings, of words hitherto untranslated or doubtful; chronology, law, manners and customs, the state of society during the period treated of —these and many other things receive new light. But such work is not easy, as may be judged from the uncertainty which attends research and its results, even when everything possible has been said and done.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE INDIA OF AURANGZEB (Topography, Statistics, and Roads). By JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A. (Calcutta: Bose Brothers, 1901.)

For one reason, if for no other, this work should be welcomed and commended. It is, so far as I know, the

first attempt by an English-educated Indian to deal with the modern history of his own country in the critical and scientific spirit. Any other works that I know are mere compilations, as often as not taken from the books of European writers. Mr. Jadunath Sarkar has gone instead to the original sources, qualifying himself for dealing with them by first acquiring a knowledge of Persian.

Compared with the rich archives of modern European states, India of the Mahomedan period is poor in material. But there can be no question that, whatever their defects, the histories and chronicles still extant present a very extensive field for the labour and self-devotion of many scholars. The settling of texts, the translation into English, the annotation and critical examination of these chronicles appear to be tasks admirably suited to the bent of the Indian mind, its patience and its love of detail. Let us hope that Mr. Jadunath Sarkar may continue the task that he has so well begun; and that his example may stimulate some of his fellow-graduates to similar undertakings.

The work before us consists of (i) a translation of the *Khulāṣat-ut-tawārīkh* of Sujān Rāe, the portion relating to topography, about one-fifth of that work, pp. 1–123; (ii) an abstract of the topographical chapters of the *Chahār Gulshan* of Rāe Chatarman, giving an account of Hindustān and the Dakhin, and of the routes throughout India, pp. 123–178. Prefixed to these two texts there is an Introduction of ninety-six pages summing up the author's conclusions on the area, the revenue, the topography, and the routes of the Mogul Empire.

The *Khulāṣat-ut-tawārīkh* is a work with considerable pretensions to literary style, and in that respect is far superior to the *Chahār Gulshan*, which reads more like a set of rough notes than a finished work. The translation of the *Khulāṣat* is fairly well done, though the point of some of the poetry seems to be rather missed in the renderings given. In dealing with the *Chahār Gulshan*, Mr. Sarkar appears to me to have been less successful, especially in the road lists. In Persian texts names of places (if you do not

know them already) are notoriously difficult to decipher and verify. In the present instance, Mr. Jadunath Sarkar was handicapped by working on a single manuscript text. I have not been able to find time for the minute collation that I intended, but so far as I have gone I find that my manuscript gives numerous variants and discrepancies, both in the revenue figures and in the names of the stages in the routes. There is no space to enter here on these details, and I will take other means of communicating them to the author. One excellent point is the frequent reference to modern atlases and gazetteers and the works of European travellers. Some European scholars still betray a strange reluctance to avail themselves of the admirable maps published by the Indian Survey.

As for the revenue statistics, I fear that Mr. Sarkar, not being a revenue official, hardly realizes the uncertainties that are latent in all the records he treats of. I doubt if Mr. Edward Thomas made this preliminary point sufficiently clear. Again, in themselves, as a matter of formal arithmetic, the tables are defective; the detailed figures as often as not do not, when added up, agree with the total given, and the figures themselves are often so badly written as to be difficult to decipher. But apart from these formal defects, which Mr. Sarkar himself points out, the statements are a very uncertain foundation on which to build. We do not know with certainty whether the sums shown in them are (1) the *jama'-i-kāmil*, that is, a mere assumed or standard revenue; or (2) the *jama'-i-wājibī*, the actual demand of a particular year; or (3) the *jama'-i-wasūlī*, the actual receipts of some one year. Under the last two heads we rarely have the actual year stated, and thus do not know whether it was a normal or an exceptional harvest. And if we use the figures for comparison with present-day revenue collections, it must not be forgotten that the Mogul accounts show net receipts, after the deduction of local expenses, while ours are gross receipts, and all our disbursements are brought to account separately *per contra*. If Mr. Jadunath Sarkar devotes further labour to the subject, as I think he may well

do, he will find that there are three, if not four, other sets of statistics, quite independent of those he has already made use of, which might be incorporated in his statistical tables.

In conclusion I will note some of the leading points which appear to me to be doubtful, or to require further elucidation. On p. xvi, *chattars* should be *chharis*, the bambu poles or sticks carried at the head of the processions in question (see Platts' Dictionary, 462). It is not quite true (p. xviii) that the historical part of the *Chahār Gulshan* is of no value; there are one or two statements about the reigning sovereign, 'Ālamgīr II, which are not found elsewhere; so also, it is the only authority for the account of Ajīt Singh, son of Gurū Gobind Singh. On p. xxi, the first appearance of the Mahrattahs north of the Narbada is put in 1725, which is many years too late; and by inference we are told that the Panjāb had been ceded to Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī in 1751, instead of saying that it was ceded to Nādir Shāh in 1739, recovered temporarily, 1748–1753, and then finally lost. The road-book in the Agrah and Calcutta Gazetteer of 1841–2 (p. xxiv) will be found, I think, identical with the official Route Book of the Quarter-Master-General's Department. The areas of land measured (p. xxvii) will be found for the period 1730 – 37 in Khushḥāl Chand's *Nawādir uz-zamānī*.

As an old collector of Sahāranpur, I must protest against the 'Shahranpur' of p. xxxiv: the etymology, it is true, would justify a form 'Shāh-Hāran-pur'; but the *mukhaffaf* followed in the actual existing pronunciation requires Sāhāranpur, the Bengali pronunciation of *sh* being inadmissible. In the second footnote on the same page, the words 'Faizabad is now included in Oudh' should be expunged, the Faiẓābād referred to being a parganah still existing in the north of the Sahāranpur Tahsil (see Elliot, "Supplemental Glossary," p. 347). The garden of Mihr Parwar, wife of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh (p. xxxvi), is in Mihraulī, close to the Quṭb. I believe 'Perath' (p. xliii) is more usually Bairāth, although Jarrett is responsible for the forms Parāt (*'Ain*, ii, p. 96), Perat (p. 181), and Bīrat (p. 191).

The 'Dokon' of p. xlix and p. 32 represents, I suppose, دوكنو of the text, which should be read 'Deoganw,' otherwise 'Dogām' (see an interesting account of the mint there by Dr. W. Vost, Indian Medical Service, J.A.S. Bengal for 1895, part i, pp. 69–81). On p. lxix, line 16, Kurdezi ought, I think, to be read Gardezi, from Gardez, a place in Afghanistan. It is the appellation of a class of Indian Sayyads, see Elliot (Supp. Gloss., p. 447); and on the same page, line 24, 'west' surely ought to be by the map 'east' of Multan, though the mistake is probably due to Sujān Rāe, as the Ellis MS. of the *Khulāṣat* has the words *Khāwar-rūyah-i-Multān*. On p. 10 it would be well to give the meaning and derivation of the epithet *kākī* attached to the name of the saint Khwājah Quṭb-ud-dīn, Bakhtiār. I believe it comes from *kāk*, the name of a cake or biscuit offered at his shrine. As for the territory of Bhadaur (p. 26) not being identified, it will be found in the Bāh Pināhat parganah to the east of Agrah city, and south of the Jamnah (see a long account of the Bhadauriyah rājahs in Elliot, Supp. Gloss., pp. 75–80).

The doubtful passage of the *Khulāṣat* on p. 42 reads thus in the manuscript belonging to Mr. A. G. Ellis: *Ba khushkī ba singāsan ravvand; bar farāz-i-ān jihat-i-bārish o tābish nīz sāyah ba-sāzand.* The note as to the chaudhri on p. 50 should read 'headman of a parganah,' not of a 'village.' Under Mālwah, p. 55, line 14, following the Ellis MS., for 'Numan' read 'Dīwās,' and for the river 'Tawa' read 'Narbadā.' On p. 61, is not *porah* the common word *pūrah*, a hamlet, the diminutive of *pūr*, a town? The patched gown or *khirqah*, p. 76, line 15, is, of course, the robe of office conferred on admission to a mendicant order, and the dispatch of it to Shekh Farīd-ud-dīn was a token that the spiritual succession had been transmitted to him.

In the abstract of the *Chahār Gulshan* I note one or two variants of importance. On p. 122, for 'mela of the Ganges,' گنگاجي, read 'mela of Kālkā Jī,' كالكا جي, a well-known temple south of modern Dihlī. As to Sarkār Barhar, No. 5 on p. 136, might it not be the Tarhar mentioned on p. 323

of Elliot's "Supplemental Glossary"? In my MS. the word is plainly written 'Burhānpur'! The conjecture in the note on p. 140 is borne out by my MS., which has the word *ser*; but *ser-ḥāṣil* simply means 'very productive.'

I have said enough to show that Mr. Sarkar's work is of a very meritorious nature, but if it is to be perfected he should keep it constantly by him, amending and altering it as his researches extend and his materials accumulate. We shall look for and welcome the other works announced as in preparation. But we beseech him on the next occasion not to forget an index, without which any work of this kind is nearly useless.

WM. IRVINE.

MEMOIRS OF MAHARAJA NUBKISSEN BAHADUR. By N. N. GHOSE. (Calcutta, 1901.)

The Sobha Bazar family has been exceptionally fortunate in finding such a competent writer as Mr. N. N. Ghose to undertake the biography of its founder, Maharajah Nubkissen. The Rajah was born about 1732, being the third son of one Rām Charan, akāyasth, who had moved from his home near Murshidābād to Mūrgācha, a parganah close to Calcutta, upon appointment as a *qānūngo*. Nubkissen was probably born in Govindpur, one of the three villages now merged in Calcutta. Apparently he was left to fight his own battle in life; he began to earn his living early, at the age of 18, as Persian munshi to Warren Hastings. In 1757 he was employed by Clive, and afterwards rose rapidly in the English Company's service. Finally, in 1767, he was made Political Banyan, or the chief native servant of the Government. He retired from public life in 1782, and died at his house in Calcutta on the 22nd November, 1797, full of years and honours.

Mr. Ghose's subject inevitably introduces us to many often-debated points in Anglo-Indian history—Nubkissen's loan to Hastings, the prosecution and execution of Nandkumār, the Bardwān *sazāwalī*, and so forth. On most of these

he takes a fairly impartial attitude. Nandkumār, as he evidently thinks, got no more than his deserts. As to the matter of the loan of three lakhs to Hastings, it would have been better if a bond had been executed in the usual way when the money was accepted. At the same time, apart from the turgid rhetoric of Burke, there is nothing to prove corrupt intention. No one, so far as I know, denies that Nandkumār was a man with a very bad record; still, that fact, as one easily perceives, is no proof that he committed forgery in the particular instance. But he was elaborately tried before a jury, which probably came to a correct finding. With the actual course of this trial Hastings could not interfere, and to that extent cannot be made responsible; it might have been better, looking to the novelty of the death penalty for that crime, if Nandkumār had not been hung; but here, too, Hastings is apparently not to blame, for he would have sent the prisoner's petition to the judges if Francis and the others had not outvoted him (p. 134). Hastings disliked Nandkumār, of that there is little doubt; probably he was not sorry that the man was prosecuted; but in spite of all the research devoted to the subject, nothing in the shape of act or word involving him has been discovered. Nubkissen seems to have given his evidence with some reluctance. I do not believe that this was mere finessing, meant to produce all the more deadly effect. In such matters the simplest explanation is generally, in my experience, the safest and soundest. Nubkissen was, I think, really reluctant to give evidence incriminating a Brahman, but what he did say was the truth, as he believed it.

Modern Indians are somewhat unfortunate in the types that they have chosen as national heroes: the Mahrattahs with their Shivajī, a robber chief of genius; the Bengalis, with Nandkumār (p. 104), a man who ended on the scaffold a life of intrigue and deceit, his last crime being the mean one of forgery.

As for Mr. Ghose's view that the services of Nubkissen have been overlooked by the English, in fact that Indian

work is always ignored by us, we would remind him that this injustice (so far as it may be truly alleged) is not confined to India or the English. Nowhere do the working subordinates obtain the recognition that is so often their due. In Nubkissen's case, moreover, he got all that he sought for, power, wealth, and titles; and I should be very much astonished to find that he ever looked on himself as a slighted or neglected man. By the custom of his caste, observed through thousands of years, he was born to earn his living by his pen in the service of others; and it seems a mere modern misinterpretation of the then conditions to picture him as a conscious patriot working for the redemption of his native land. One master was to him as good as another; it was a question of personal advantage. Like most other Indians, he faithfully served the side that employed and paid him.

The position of the Indian in the employ of the Anglo-Indian Government has gone through several phases; before Cornwallis, after Cornwallis, under Lord William Bentinck, and since the Mutiny, each of these periods marks a different stage in the position of officials of Indian race. At present a higher official morality is preached in native society and to a great extent practised. Irregular gains have nearly ceased; existence has to be maintained on pay which, although liberal enough, does not permit the honest acquirement of wealth. The money rewards having diminished by the loss of unavowed receipts, something must be substituted, and Indians now claim, fairly enough, increased public recognition and more equality with Europeans in power and position. They are no longer content, as of old, to be the power behind the throne, having great influence and little responsibility.

Mr. Ghose, on p. 123, contests the justice of Macaulay's assertion that the Indian is peculiarly ready to turn upon a man directly he has fallen from power or favour. The metallic brilliance of Macaulay's style produces too often the effect of exaggeration or even untruth. In this instance, however, was he so very far wrong? My own experience,

reinforced by that of my contemporaries, could furnish me with innumerable instances of the same habit of mind, of course on a smaller scale and in regard to more trifling matters. But Mr. Ghose may console himself under the imputation against Indians by the reflection that the same readiness to pander to kings and crowds, in their fickleness, is far from unknown in other parts of the world.

As for the late Professor Seeley's paradoxes, Mr. Ghose would do well not to be fascinated too much by their inviting speciousness. Of Seeley's two assertions, (1) that the English conquered India without intending it and (2) that the Indians conquered it themselves for the English, neither is worth anything. Sir Alfred Lyall has already sufficiently disposed of the first half of the theory. As to the second, I would ask Mr. Ghose, who is, so far as I can judge, an exceedingly fair and open-minded man, how it happens that for over a hundred years (1757 to 1857) the side the English were on invariably won? The inference is sufficiently obvious—nay, inevitable. It reminds me of the old dispute between the organ-blower and the organist; the first supplies the material force, but the second plays the tune. Both are necessary, but what result would there be without the organist? In a sense the Indians *did* conquer India for us; we led and they fought. But for any effectual purpose, either of history or present-day politics, what useful deduction can be drawn from that admission? None, so far as I can see.

One statement of fact struck me as erroneous. On p. 44 Mr. Ghose says, "After consulting him (Nubkissen), Clive reinstated Jaffer Aly Khan as subadar and Muzuffer Jung as naib subadar." If we consult the volume of "Treaties and Engagements" (4to, 1812) we find that the Treaty of Reinstatement, dated the 10th July, 1763, bears the signatures of Henry Vansittart and his councillors. Mīr Ja'far died on the 5th February, 1765, while Clive did not land in Calcutta until May, 1765 (Marshman, "History," i, 307). Thus Clive could not possibly have reinstated Mīr Ja'far.

Mr. Ghose, on p. 51, suggests that the Emperor Shāh

'Ālam made a very bad bargain by the grant of the Dewāni to the Company. Had he not, on the contrary, considerable reason to be "pleased" with the transaction? For forty years the Dihli Court had seen very little money from Bengal, and for at least twenty years none at all, beyond an occasional bribe. In short, Shāh 'Ālam conferred an office over which he had not the least power or control, in exchange for the very substantial tribute of twenty-six lakhs of rupees annually. Evidently he had a predilection for such one-sided bargains. In 1774 he offered the Province of Sind, first to the French and then to the English, in return for military protection at Dihli. This can be seen in Mr. Emil Barbe's "Le Nabab René Madec" and in the pamphlet of J. Morrison, "generalissimo of the Armies of the Great Mogul" (London, 1774). After Sind was ceded to Nādir Shah in 1739 the Moguls had exercised no authority there.

In the English documents quoted there are several words which would have been useful additions to Mr. Crooke's new edition of Yule and Burnell's Glossary—*Pooneah* (p. 79), the formal commencement of rent or revenue collections; *Connah Barry* (id.), a house enclosure; *Kauridge* (p. 81), land excluded at settlement; *Jeriff* (p. 87), *Zeriff* (p. 89), a word not traced, apparently some kind of account on estimate; *Cullundaun* (p. 101), pen-case or *qalam-dān*.

Nubkissen was a devout and orthodox Hindu, but at the same time a most generous benefactor to both the Christians and the Mahomedans of Calcutta. On the whole, he was a man of most estimable character, endowed with considerable ability and *savoir-faire*, who played his part in important events with great credit to himself and his country. Mr. Ghose's task in bringing together the documents and setting them forth has been well done, and he deserves much commendation for the satisfactory book he has produced.

Wm. Irvine.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April, May, June, 1902.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

April 14, 1902.—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Sir Steuart Bayley, K.C.S.I.,
The Rev. W. R. Shanks, and
Mr. Narbada Shankar Vaid

had been elected members of the Society.

Major P. M. Sykes read a paper entitled "Historic Notes on South-East Persia." The paper will be published in October. A discussion followed, in which Sir George Birdwood and Sir Henry Howorth took part.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

The Anniversary Meeting was held on May 13th, Sir M. E. Grant Duff, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The proceedings were opened by the Chairman proposing the re-election of the President, Lord Reay, for a further term of three years, in the following words :—

On the last occasion when I had the honour of proposing the re-election of Lord Reay as our President, I thought it desirable to explain at some length why I thought he should be re-elected. Now, however, he has been so long with us, we have become so fully acquainted with his characteristics, we know so well how admirably suited he is for the duties he has to discharge, that I think it would

be quite superfluous to do more than formally to propose his re-election, which I have now the honour to do.

Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, seconded the proposal, which was carried unanimously.

It was announced that—

The Rev. Dr. Marks,
Mr. Maung Tha Hnyin,
Mr. Edmund Forbes, and
Mr. Kishan Singh

had been elected members of the Society.

Sir M. E. Grant Duff being obliged to leave, the chair was then taken by Sir Charles Lyall, and Dr. Thornton, in the absence of the Secretary through illness, read the following Report of the Council for 1901 :—

Report of the Council for the Year 1901.

The Council regrets to report the loss by death or retirement of the following thirty-three members :—

There have died—

Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot,
Mr. Virchand R. Gandhi,
Mr. W. Lindley,
Professor Max Müller,
Professor Neil,
Mr. E. J. W. Gibb,
Mr. R. Heap,
Sir Cuthbert Peek,
Mr. E. Smith,
Professor Vasilief

There have retired—

Sir Edwin Arnold,
Sir Charles Bernard,
Mr. P. N. Bose,
Mr. M. Canney,

Sir C. Cookson,
Baron Alan Danvers,
Mr. Devchand Uttamchand,
Mr. C. A. Fox,
Mr. T. Callan Hodson,
Mr. Lilley,
Mr. R. Pearce,
Mr. H. Peatling,
Lord Rollo,
Rev. G. Shellabear,
Mr. C. L. Tupper,
Mr. H. de R. Walker,
Mr. J. H. Barber,
M. E. Drouin,
Dr. M'Crindle,
Mr. E. Sibree,
Mr. J. Nicholls,
Miss Cust,
Mr. W. Capper.

On the other hand, the following forty-one new members have been elected:—

Mr. F. A. H. Elliot,
Mr. H. F. Amedroz,
Mrs. Beer,
Miss G. Bell,
Mr. Claude Montefiore,
Professor J. W. Neill,
Miss Julia Smith,
Mr. E. im Thurn,
Mr. W. Digby,
Mrs. Ole Bull,
Mr. Ernest Bowden,
Mr. Hari Nath De,
Mr. T. Ballard,
Dr. Munna Lal,
Surgeon-General Beatson,
Mr. S. A. Cook,

Mr. W. P. F. Dorph,
Mr. J. C. Fergusson,
Mr. R. K. Gupta,
Mr. Sri Kanti Iyer,
Mr. W. Leadbeater,
Mr. A. St. Clair Mackenzie,
Mr. K. I. Varugis Mappillai,
Mr. J. H. Marshall,
Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon,
Mr. K. Kanan Nayer,
Mr. F. Otani,
Mr. P. Ramanatha Mudaliar,
Mr. Z. R. Zahid Sohrawarthy,
Mr. A. R. Rajaraja Varma,
Rev. J. R. Hill,
Professor Benoy Vehari Mukerji,
Mr. Malcolm Stevenson,
Mr. M. J. Philip,
Mrs. Bendall,
Dr. J. Stroud Hosford,
Professor Dr. R. Pischel,
Professor Dr. V. Radloff,
Colonel G. A. Jacob,
Mr. W. E. Jardine,
Mr. C. Sri Kanta.

Of the subscribing Libraries, three have been added to the list and none have resigned.

These figures show a total increase of eleven subscribing members and libraries. The total number of members on the 1st of January of each of the last fourteen years is as follows:—

1889	...	432	1896	...	523
1890	...	437	1897	...	524
1891	...	450	1898	...	532
1892	...	459	1899	...	553
1893	...	476	1900	...	551
1894	...	493	1901	...	566
1895	...	492	1902	...	577

The progress it will be seen, though small, has been fairly kept up. The average yearly increase, in spite of numerous losses each year, is about ten; and the total increase is 145. The general financial position of the Society shows an increase of the yearly fund available for the work of the Society amounting, in the same period, to about £200, and in this connection the following table will be of interest:

	Annual Subscriptions. £	Sale of Journal. £	Total Receipts. £	Total Expenditure. £
1888	575	47	1177	1087
1889	535	119	1130	1339
1894	574	185	1280	1260
1895	570	230	1284	1172
1896	570	193	1318	1188
1897	578	188	1286	1159
1898	612	224	1341	1285
1899	628	202	1275	1330
1900	622	205	1290	1230
1901	652	205	1391	1328

The principal entry on the expenditure side is, as usual, for rent (including under that head rates and taxes). It amounts this year to £478 17*s.* 8*d.*, as against a yearly average of about £400. The difference is caused by an unusually heavy expenditure of £66 18*s.* 2*d.* on repairs, rendered necessary by the terms of our lease. Since its foundation the Society has been compelled to spend no less a sum than about £35,000 on rent, rates, and taxes. Other learned societies of equal standing to the Royal Asiatic are relieved by Government from any expenditure for these purposes; and the Council ventures to express the hope that this Society may one day be placed, in this respect, on an equality with the other societies referred to. It is somewhat remarkable that a Society whose work is so intimately connected with our imperial interests in the East should have been so long left out in the cold. The removal of the London University to the Imperial Institute rendered

available the premises till then allotted to it by Government in Burlington House; and the Council then made endeavours to get this neglect remedied. Those endeavours were, unfortunately, without success. But the point has not been lost sight of, and the Council will move again in the matter whenever an opportunity shall present itself.

The gross receipts this year are larger than the Society has yet been able to show; and the balance of receipts over expenditure works out at £158 11*s.* 3*d.* This is partly due to the fact that a cheque for £95 paid, on account of expenses on the Journal, in December, was not presented to the Society's bankers till January, and must therefore appear in next year's accounts. The balance-sheet for this year accordingly states that the printing account for the Journal only covers three numbers instead of the usual four, which were actually issued. Had this cheque been presented in December the expenditure on the Journal would have been therefore £313 instead of £218, and the balance of receipts over expenditure only £63 11*s.* 3*d.* Out of this and previous balances the Council has invested £200 in the purchase of £198 5*s.* 4*d.* in 3 per cent. Local Loans Stock, and has placed £162 15*s.* on deposit at the Society's bankers. The manner in which the Council proposes to deal with this surplus is shown in the next paragraph of this Report.

During the year under review the series of Asiatic Monographs, the establishment of which was announced in the last report, has been much under consideration by the Council. The scheme has now been fully started; and arrangements have been made for the publication of the following monographs, each of which is a distinct contribution to our knowledge of the subject dealt with:—

(1) Gerini (Major G. E.). Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of the Far East.

(2) Winternitz (Dr. M.). Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library, with an Appendix by Mr. F. W. Thomas.

(3) HIRSCHFELD (Dr. H.). New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qoran.

(4) STRONG (Professor S. A.). The History of Jaḳmaḳ, Sultan of Egypt, by Ibn 'Arabshāh.

(5) LE STRANGE (Guy). Description of Persia and Mesopotamia in the year 1340 A.D., from the Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb of Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfi, with a summary of the contents of that work.

If funds should permit of the series being carried on, in future years also, by the publication of such results of original research, it will rank on a par with the similar series brought out (independently of their respective journals) under the auspices of the Asiatic societies in France, Germany, Holland, and Russia; and it will be a considerable step forward in accomplishing the work which our Society was founded to do. But the initiation of this series has only been rendered possible by the gradual increase of the Society's income; and its future depends on that increase being maintained.

In noticing the commencement of this new departure, the Council is glad to be able to add that the new undertaking will not in the least interfere with the already existing series of Oriental Translations. Thanks principally to the efforts of our late colleague, Mr. Arbuthnot, whose death has been so great a loss to the Society, thirteen volumes have now appeared, the last being Mrs. Rhys Davids's Dhamma Saṅgaṇi (of which the cost was defrayed by Mr. Sturdy). Mr. Arbuthnot had made arrangements, which still hold good, for the publication of three further volumes at his expense. And, besides that, the accounts show a balance to the credit of the fund of £112 7*s.*, about half of this resulting from sales of the Dhamma Saṅgaṇi and half from the sale of the other volumes.

This year another volume, Mrs. Beveridge's translation from the Persian of the Memoirs of Gulbadan Begum, aunt of Akbar the Great, has appeared. In this case the

experiment has been made of publishing, with the translation, the text also of the unique MS. on which it is based, and the Council takes the opportunity, in connection with these last two volumes of the Translation Fund, to call attention to the valuable assistance which lady members of the Society can thus render to Oriental research.

The posthumous work of the late Thomas Watters on the travels in India of the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang is in the press, and will appear in the volumes of this series for the ensuing two years. This work is being edited by the Secretary in collaboration with Dr. Bushell, to whom the cordial thanks of the Society are due.

With regard to the establishment of an Oriental School in London, the Council has at present nothing further to report. The University is being now organized. The necessary funds will, it is hoped, be forthcoming; and the Council will lose no opportunity of pressing upon the University authorities, whenever they shall have to decide on the apportionment of funds, the importance and the needs of Oriental research.

The Council has decided to extend a special welcome to the Indian Princes who will be present at the Coronation, by inviting them to a banquet to be held at the Whitehall Rooms on June the 17th. The arrangements are being made by an influential committee, presided over by Sir Steuart Bayley. This intention has received very encouraging support from the members of the Society and their friends, and the Council has every confidence that the result will more than justify their expectations.

The Council has to report, in respect to the Society's Journal, a very encouraging sign of the increased interest that is being taken in Oriental matters. In spite of the increase in the size of the Journal, which now, indeed, threatens to become too bulky, as a bound volume, for convenience, the number of original articles sent in to the Council for publication has far outrun the available space. The Council is exceedingly loth to decline, or indefinitely to postpone, the publication of such articles as

are a distinct contribution to human knowledge. But it has now found it necessary to accept articles filling up the Journal for so many issues ahead that it will become a serious matter for consideration whether the Journal must not be still further enlarged. As the size of the volume has already reached the utmost limit, it would be necessary, in that case, to break up the Journal into two or more separate issues, each containing articles devoted to some special branch of enquiry. To do this would be an advantage in some respects; but it would be so great a disadvantage in others, that the Council hopes to be able, by transferring the longer articles (especially abstracts of newly discovered MSS.—always, very properly, somewhat long) to the Monograph Series, to postpone the day when a decision on this point will have to be taken. The Council is very glad to notice that the sale of the Journal, so important for the financial position of the Society, continues remarkably steady; and it trusts that the Society will appreciate its continued efforts to retain, in all the articles accepted, the high standard of scholarship for which the Journal has now so well-earned a reputation.

On the whole, and especially considering the very small means of the Society, the record of work done, and of new enterprises undertaken, is not discouraging. Slowly but surely it grows year by year, and was never so extensive as it has now come to be. But it will be long before the arrears of work, necessarily as yet left undone, can have been worked off. Even as regards the present it cannot yet be said that the East, as it is, has been made intelligible to the West. And as regards the past, some of the most interesting chapters in the history of the development of religion, of philosophy, of the social and economic conditions of mankind, remain still unwritten because the materials on which they must be based have not, as yet, been adequately edited, translated, and summarized. The Society is really at the beginning of its labours. It is a disadvantage in some respects that our subjects are literary and historical. They seem to add nothing to material comfort. The study of

them does not result in that sort of knowledge which affords a livelihood. There is no reason for complaint in an age of luxury, of keen commercial competition, of severe individual struggle for the means of livelihood, that such studies as lead only to ideas, to a richer intellectual life, should be pushed, for a time, into the background, should receive but little popular support. Similar causes have operated in the past. It is only in recent generations that we have seen the rise of the new science of history, on the watch, not for the romance of individual lives, but for the causes that underlie the rise and development of human ideas and institutions. In this respect we stand just at the parting of the ways; and not in this only. The nations are awakening to a sense of the pressing necessity, in the imminent struggle in the East for commercial and political advantages, of a more accurate and full acquaintance with the habits and ideas and languages of the Eastern peoples than has hitherto been found necessary. The importance and interest of the work is already, therefore, for both these reasons, becoming largely recognized abroad; and the Council looks forward with confidence to the future in the hope that it must soon be more adequately recognized here.

By the lamented deaths of Professor Weber and Professor Tiele, two vacancies have occurred in the list of our Honorary Members. The Council proposes the election in their stead of Professor Lanman, of Harvard, and of Professor Houtsma, of Utrecht.

Lord Reay retires from the office of President, and Lord Crawford, Sir M. E. Grant Duff, Sir F. Goldsmid, Sir Charles Lyall, and Sir Raymond West retire by rotation from the office of Vice-President. The following members retire, under the rules, from the Council:—

Mr. Fleet,
Mr. Frazer,
Mr. Irvine,
Professor Macdonell,
Mr. Sewell.

In place of them the Council proposes the election, as Vice-Presidents, of

Sir M. E. Grant Duff,
Sir F. Goldsmid,
Sir Charles Lyall,
Sir Raymond West;

and of members of Council, of

Mr. Fleet,
Professor Macdonell,
Professor E. G. Browne,
Professor Douglas,
Mr. Dames.

The usual statement of accounts is laid on the table.

Sir W. Rattigan, K.C., said:—It is with very great pleasure I rise to propose the adoption of the Report we have just heard. It is, I think, a practical, businesslike document, which puts before the meeting, briefly and clearly, the results of the year's operations from a financial and a literary point of view. And I think also you will agree with me that from either point of view it is eminently satisfactory. There is an increasing number of subscribers, with an increase of £101 over last year's receipts, leaving a balance in excess of expenditure of £63. This may not represent a large addition to our available funds, but it shows at all events a watchful administration which does not embark on any ambitious projects beyond the existing resources of the Society. I entirely agree with what was said by Sir Charles Lyall at last year's meeting, that the Society was not formed for the purpose of *hoarding* money, but rather of *spending it usefully* in stimulating interest in, and improving our knowledge of, Eastern subjects. At the same time it is necessary that our Society should be maintained in a condition which may be described as that of 'healthy solvency,' and it is from this point of view that I regard the existence of a balance at credit as the result of the year's receipts and expenditure as a sign of good

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Subscriptions—		
94 Resident Members at £3 3*s.*	296 2 0	
1 ,, ,, in arrears	3 3 0	
192 Non-Resident ,, at £1 10*s.*	286 11 0	
12 ,, ,, in arrears	18 0 0	
10 ,, ,, in advance	21 19 2	
17 ,, ,, at £1 1*s.*	17 17 0	
6 Library Members at £1 10*s.*	9 0 0	
		652 12 2
Journal—		
Subscriptions	155 19 7	
Sale	29 2 0	
Sale of Index	10 0	
Sale of Pamphlets	6 17 0	
Advertisements	12 17 8	
		205 6 3
Donations—		
India Office	210 0 0	
Gerini for Monographs	50 0 0	
		260 0 0
Rents		212 4 0
Interest—on Deposit in Bank		8 12 6
,, ,, in Savings Bank		5 6 0
Sale of Catalogue		1 15 0
Miscellaneous		6 2 0
Subscriptions paid in error		4 10 0
Dividends—		
N.S.W. 4 per cents	30 7 4	
Midlands	5 0 8	
		35 8 0
Total		£1391 15 11
Balance at Bank, January 1, 1901	65 4 11	
,, on Deposit	112 13 6	
,, Petty Cash	19 10	
,, in Post Office	226 4 11	
		405 3 2
		£1796 19 1

Funds (value on Dec. 31).	£	s.	d.
£803 13*s.* 10*d.* New South Wales 4 per cent.	932	6	0
£212 8*s.* 0*d.* Midland 2½ per cent. debenture	152	8	0
£198 5*s.* 4*d.* 3 per cent. Local Loans ...	200	0	0
	£1284	14	0

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

RECEIPTS.

	£ s. d.
Balance, Jan. 1, 1901	87 6 6
By sale	25 0 6
	£112 7 0

INDIA EXPLORATION FUND.

	£ s. d.
Receipts	24 18 0

EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1901.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House—Rent	343	16	0			
Fire Insurance	9	3	9			
Water	12	4	0			
Gas	23	7	9			
Coals	8	8	0			
Income Tax	15	0	0			
Repairs	66	18	2			
				478	17	8
Salaries—Secretary	250	0	0			
Assistant Secretary	50	0	0			
				300	0	0
Wages—Housekeeper	60	0	0			
Boy	17	0	0			
				77	0	0
Journal—Printing (3 numbers)	208	9	0			
Illustrations	10	10	0			
				218	19	0
Library—New Books	21	6	10			
Binding	23	16	3			
				45	3	1
Stationery				16	6	5
Bank Charges					5	11
Miscellaneous				2	2	0
Stamps—Journal	23	0	0			
General	28	0	0			
				51	0	0
Petty Cash				18	12	7
Returned Subscriptions				6	3	0
Half cost of Report on Abhaya-giri Dagaba				18	15	0
Total expenditure				£1233	4	8
Balance at Bank, January 1, 1902	169	1	3			
,, on Deposit	162	15	0			
,, Petty Cash	7	3				
,, Post Office	231	10	11			
				563	14	5
				£1796	19	1

Examined with the books and vouchers, and found correct, April 10th, 1902. { J. KENNEDY, for the Council. / J. D. ANDERSON, / M. LONGWORTH DAMES, } for the Society.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Nil.			
Balance	112	7	0
	£112	7	0

administration. We may indeed regret that our resources are not greater, for who can deny, looking at the great scope for labour which lies before us, that with larger funds at our disposal we could do so much more than is at present possible with our limited financial means. Indeed, when we consider what *might* be done under the auspices of a Society like ours if only sufficient funds were at our disposal, the thought that must occur to all our minds is that which oppressed the dying moments of that great and true Englishman who now sleeps the eternal sleep of death on the crest of the lonely Matoppo hills, *so little done, so much remains.* If a few more generous donors like the late Mr. Arbuthnot, whose death we all so sincerely lament, would only come forward and emulate his example, or if some of the chiefs and nobles of India would realize how much they could contribute to the expansion of the labours of this Society in the direction of promoting translations of interesting Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit works at present unknown to European readers, great possibilities would be opened out, which are now relegated to a future which is longed for but scarcely within the ken of the seniors of the present generation.

Nevertheless, ladies and gentlemen, while our present resources will not permit of our anticipating so rich a harvest in the immediate future, we have still matter for sincere gratification, not only in what has been accomplished, but in the prospect which the report of the past year holds out to us.

We have, I find, not only been able to publish thirteen volumes of translations in the past, including the recent scholarly translation by Mrs. Rhys Davids of the *Dhamma Sangani*, and the very interesting translation of the *Memoirs of Gulbadan Begum*, the aunt of Akbar the Great, which we also owe to another talented lady member of our Society, but we are assured that the publication of other translations of important works relating to the East are in contemplation and actually in progress. There are also at least five monographs on Asiatic subjects which are now in course of preparation for the press by writers whose names are a guarantee for conscientious and accurate work.

It is by publications of this kind that we not only justify the existence of our Society, but we serve to foster also that deeper interest in the East which contributes so largely to widen and improve our knowledge of and to enlist our intelligent sympathy with those Asiatic races towards whom our Empire has a noble mission to fulfil, a mission which can best be promoted by making ourselves more conversant with all that is worthy to be known of the past history, the literature, the habits, laws, and customs of these races. It is by acquiring a fuller knowledge on these points that we learn to respect those races for their many virtues and for the part they have played in the world's history, and it is by feeling this respect for them ourselves that we can alone hope to inspire a similar feeling on their part towards us, and thereby deepen the true foundations on which our Empire must rest in the East.

Considering, therefore, what our Society has done in the past, how it is still zealously labouring with limited means in the same direction, I cannot but express surprise and regret that the Government has given so little encouragement to its efforts. We might well, I think, expect a special grant towards the Translation and Monograph Fund from the State, and also a contribution towards meeting the charge for rent of a suitable building, and I trust that the Council will not relax its efforts to obtain this monetary and well-merited assistance.

I cannot conclude without adding my humble testimony to the increasing excellence of the Journal published by the Society. The articles are all well chosen, and display an amount of research and learning which make them valuable and attractive to all readers who are interested in the East.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in moving the adoption of the Report.

Syed Ali Bilgrami, in seconding the report, said:—My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Report which has just been read is eminently satisfactory so far as the working of the Society is concerned. It shows that the Society has been making steady progress. The number of its members,

notwithstanding withdrawals and loss by death, is on the increase. Its Journal has not only maintained the high standard of excellence which it has lately attained under the management of our able Secretary and his assistant, but, thanks to the growing number of Orientalists in this country, there is every prospect that the same high standard will be maintained in the future. In fact, so great is the flow of material that it has become a question whether the Journal should not be appreciably enlarged. So far so good, and for a Society like ours perhaps the best measure of its success is the record of its work. But at the same time you all know the adage that bricks cannot be made without straw, and when we look to the small balance of £63 11*s.* 3*d.* left to our credit after meeting the ordinary expenditure of the year, it becomes a question whether our financial position is as sound as might be desired. Looking back to the steady progress we have made during the last five years, and the ease with which we have been able to balance income and expenditure, we are apt to forget that so long as we are dependent on the annual subscriptions of our members for the maintenance of our efficiency, the Society cannot be regarded as having a sound financial position. Moreover, we must not forget that there are certain social functions which it would be extremely desirable to institute in order to make our Society acceptable to a wider circle of members in this country, but which the Society is unable to undertake owing to the small margin of balance on which it has to work. For my part, until such time as we have a funded capital sufficient to pay the cost of the publication of the Journal and the rent of the premises in which the Society is located, we should not delude ourselves with the notion that we are doing well, and it should be the endeavour of every member to devise ways and means for bringing grist to the mill.

We all know that our field of operation is represented by the vast continent of Asia. The elucidation of its past and present, the study of the languages, history, and antiquities of its vast concourse of people, is our chief aim, and yet

looking through the list of our members, it is astonishing how small is the number of Asiatics on our rolls. To my mind this is a point which deserves our serious consideration. To make the Society known to and appreciated by the people for whom it is working, will not only add lustre to its name, but will materially aid its finances. Unfortunately for us, most of the Asiatic countries have forms of government which do not recognize or encourage progress. There is, however, one considerable portion of Asia which is free from this reproach, and has been making steady progress under the blessings of British rule—I mean India. This is a subject on which I need not dilate in an assembly so largely representative of the past governors of the country, but I may be permitted to say that notwithstanding the pessimistic views regarding the poverty of India which are being ventilated in certain quarters, no one who has a knowledge of facts can deny that during the last thirty years the advancement of India, both material and moral, has been uninterrupted, and this applies not only to British India but also to the Native States. The Indian Princes are beginning to recognize the real responsibilities of government, and it is to them that we must turn for help on behalf of our Society. I am convinced that if we could only sufficiently make clear to them the aims and objects of the Society, the majority of them will join us and become life members; and perhaps later, when they are imbued with the spirit of research, they will help us with funds for carrying out some of the literary work which is being done under the auspices of the Society. In this connection the institution of the Coronation Banquet, at which I understand all the Indian Princes who have been invited to London will be present, is a most happy circumstance. I trust that we shall be able to take full advantage of the opportunity thus afforded of making ourselves known to our distinguished visitors.

Turning to the events of the past year, that destroyer of delights and the disperser of assemblies, as death has been poetically called in the "Arabian Nights," has deprived us of ten of our members. The most to be lamented among these

is the late Mr. Gibb, the well-known Turkish scholar, whose History of Ottoman Poetry is a marvel of sound scholarship, wide research, and lucid exposition. It is fortunate that his mantle has fallen on worthy shoulders, and the completion of the work has been entrusted to our most regular contributor and valued friend, Professor Browne of Cambridge, whose marvellous knowledge of Mussulman languages and literature is only equalled by his deep sympathy for the people to whom these languages belong.

We have also to lament the death of the late Mr. Arbuthnot, who was not only a very old member of the Society, but whose liberality has enabled us to revive the old Translation Fund. The last work in this series, viz., the Memoirs of the Gulbadan Begum, is from the pen of Mrs. Beveridge, one of our lady members to whom we owe so much. It is much to be regretted that the text is founded on a unique MS., but this could not be helped. Mr. Beveridge found mention of a Humayun Nama in the Catalogue of the Library of the late Sir Salar Jung at Hyderabad, but this appears to have been lent out, and notwithstanding repeated applications to the Librarian no trace of the work has been found.

The scheme of Asiatic monographs is now fully matured, and five distinct monographs are in the press, and some of these ready for publication.

In conclusion, it is my pleasing duty to express the thanks of the Society to our President, Lord Reay, whose interest in the work of the Society remains unabated. We have also to thank our able and energetic Secretary, Professor Rhys Davids, and our Assistant Secretary, Miss Hughes.

Mr. Vincent Smith, supporting the adoption of the Report, said:—I think that the meeting may feel quite satisfied that the Society is making good progress in the hands of its officers. It enjoys in Lord Reay an eminently painstaking and tactful President, and the Society can be heartily congratulated on his re-election.

The devoted and ardent labours of our distinguished Secretary, Professor Rhys Davids, and his very competent

assistant, Miss Hughes, are known to all members of this Society, and the Report read and the work done throughout the year are evidence that the Council as a whole have attended with diligence and care to all the various duties imposed upon them.

An allusion has been made, unfortunately as usual, to the lamented lack of interest in Oriental studies in this country. The question has been principally discussed here on previous occasions with reference to an Oriental School of Languages. There is a lamentable inconsistency between our vast Oriental obligations, and the prevalent ignorance of and indifference to our Eastern possessions, their language, manners, and customs. It seems to me that we lack not so much teachers as students, and these we shall never have until young men can be brought to see, and it is made worth while for them to learn, the importance of making a thorough acquaintance with the languages, geography, customs, history, and traditions of the people they will live among when they go East. It is of no use approaching Chinese and other Oriental teachers with a view to their giving lectures if you cannot get students to attend them. It is not the fault of the Professors that the lectures are thinly attended. The necessity for such knowledge is nowhere properly recognized either by the public or the Government.

In France things are very different. There they have an École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, with 200 real students, besides a certain number who go there to diminish their term of military service. The Council might turn their attention to the providing of students rather than Professors. When the former come along bringing fees the latter will not be difficult to find.

The best way would be to urge upon the different Government Departments and the heads of Mercantile Institutions the urgent necessity of so training young men destined to go East that they may be equipped with a colloquial knowledge of the languages, and some sound information regarding the history, manners, and customs of the people with whom they will have to deal. Personally

I should like to see Haileybury revived on a magnified scale, and a college established for the training of students, official and non-official, who purpose to spend their working lives in the East. Then all our young men destined for India, Turkey, Japan, and China would be able to say that they had received their education in one of their own great colleges.

Young men going to India would be far better trained at such a college than by spending a year or two at the English Universities, which are imbued with classical traditions, and can do very little to stimulate Oriental studies or arouse sympathies with Oriental peoples.

I should be very glad to see the Council address themselves to the task of making business people interest themselves in getting young men who are going abroad to attend a special practical college course for teaching all the branches of knowledge necessary to men destined for service in the East.

The Journal of the Society continues under the capable editorship of our Secretary and Assistant Secretary to do us credit, and is able to hold up its head among similar journals of other societies in the world.

After a few remarks from other members present, in the course of which it was pointed out by Mr. J. Kennedy that of the balance of £63 11*s.* 3*d.* shown in the Report £50 was already earmarked for Major Gerini's *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of the Far East*, the Chairman put the question that the Report be adopted. In doing so he observed that even after the deduction made there was actually a small balance in hand on the receipts and expenditure of the year, and that the expenditure side was unduly swollen by a charge of £66 18*s.* 2*d.* on repairs, which was not a recurring item. In addition to the hopeful indications for the future dwelt upon in the Report, he might mention the successful institution of the medal and prizes for competition in subjects of Indian history and research offered to leading public schools, referred to in last year's Report, which had now been

definitely established; and he might refer also to the proposed British Academy, in which it was hoped that the Society would shortly be represented, and which could not, he thought, fail to stimulate public interest in things Asiatic.

The Report and the recommendations contained in it as to Vice-Presidents and members of Council were then adopted unanimously.

June 10.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. Maung Tsain,
The Rev. W. S. Caldecott,
The Rev. H. H. B. Ayles,
Mr. U On Gaing, C.I.E., and
Miss A. L. B. Hardcastle

had been elected Members of the Society.

Dr. G. Thibaut read a paper on the Rāmānuja Bhāshya. A discussion followed, in which Col. G. A. Jacob, Mr. A. B. Keith, Dr. Grierson, Sir R. West, Mr. Vaidya, Syed Ali Bilgrami, and Professor Bendall took part.

II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journal.

Vienna Oriental Journal. Vol. xvi, No. 2.

Speyer (J. S.). Critical Remarks on the Text of the Divyāvadāna.

Goldziher (I.). Einige arabische Ausrufe und Formeln.

Mankowski (L. v.). Bāṇa's Kādambarī und die Geschichte vom König Sumanas in der Brihatkathā.

III. Obituary Notices.

Professor Charles Rieu, Ph.D., M.A.

On the morning of Wednesday, March 19 of this year (1902), after an illness of less than three days, there passed away from us one of the greatest Oriental scholars of our time, and one who, notwithstanding his modest and unassuming character, probably enjoyed a higher and wider reputation in scholarly circles than almost any Orientalist of this age. The width and depth of his scholarship were such as to command the admiration of all who were capable of appreciating his rare attainments; while his gentle and amiable disposition, his constant readiness to place at the disposal of all who needed them the vast stores of his learning, and his eagerness to see only the good points in the work and characters of others, earned him the deep affection and gratitude of all—especially his younger fellow-workers—who enjoyed the privilege of his friendship. His death, alike to his friends and to those branches of learning to which he devoted his long and laborious life, is an irreparable loss; yet in its circumstances it was, we may be sure, such as he himself would have most desired; for after an active and fruitful life of 82 years (during nearly 60 years of which he enjoyed a European reputation as an Orientalist of the first rank) he passed quietly away, after a brief and comparatively painless illness, having been in perfect health until within three days of the end, and with a mind clear and tranquil to the last.

Dr. Rieu was born at Geneva in 1820, and, on leaving school at the age of 15, entered the Académie de Genève in November, 1835. There he remained for four years, of which the first three were passed in the Faculty of Philosophy, and the last in that of Science. During a part of this period he studied under Jean Humbert, who (like Freytag, with whom he afterwards pursued his studies) was a pupil of the great French Orientalist Sylvestre de Sacy.

In the Autumn of 1840 he left Geneva for the University of Bonn, where he was inscribed in the Philosophical Faculty on October 30 of that year, and where he remained till the Summer of 1843, when he received his doctor's degree and published his dissertation on Abu'l-'Alá al-Ma'arrí, one of the most interesting and at the same time most difficult Arabic poets, which dissertation at once assured his reputation as an Arabic scholar. A series of letters to his parents, ranging over the greater portion of this period (January, 1841 – June, 1843), which the kindness of his widow and daughter has placed at my disposal, throws much light on his life and work at this time. He at once began to read Arabic with Freytag and Sanskrit with Lassen, but was obliged at first, in addition to the ordinary classical and historical studies required by the University in that Faculty, to devote a good deal of time to learning to speak, understand, and write German and Latin, candidates for the Doctor's degree being at that time compelled in the Prussian Universities both to speak and write the latter language in the exercises required for admission thereto. At a later period of his residence at Bonn he read Arabic both with Freytag and Gildemeister (who, though a comparatively young man, seems to have been a more efficient and stimulating teacher than his older colleague), and also received private instruction in Hebrew.

In 1843, as already said, Dr. Rieu completed his studies and received his degree at Bonn, and published his dissertation on Abu'l-'Alá, which was entitled *De Abu'l-Alæ poetæ arabici vitâ et carminibus.* About a year later (November 8, 1844) he was elected a member of the French Société Asiatique, on the proposal of Burnouf and Reinaud. In 1847 was published at St. Petersburg Hemachandra's Sanskrit Dictionary, the *Abhidana chintamani,* in the production of which Dr. Rieu collaborated with Böhtlingk, for whom he transcribed the unique MS. of the Bodleian. In the same year he entered the British Museum, in which for nearly half a century he was one of the most zealous and indispensable officers. There, indeed, was accomplished the

great and immortal work of his life, to wit, the preparation and publication of such catalogues of the vast and precious collections of Oriental MSS. there preserved as must ever remain the *beau idéal* of such work, and the indispensable companions of every student of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish literature. In 1867 Dr. Rieu was nominated Curator of the Oriental MSS. in the Museum, and four years later he completed (in 1871) the second part of the *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium*, or older Catalogue of the Arabic MSS., of which the first portion had been published by Cureton in 1846. This was followed successively by the *Catalogue of Persian MSS.* (1879–1883), the *Catalogue of Turkish MSS.* (1888), the *Arabic Supplement* (1894), and the *Persian Supplement* (1895). These seven volumes constitute a veritable treasury of knowledge concerning all that relates to these three chief branches of Muḥammadan literature and literary history, and give evidence of an amount of labour and a degree of critical scholarship which only those who have attempted a similar task can fully realize. Only so great a scholar and so indefatigable a student, working on so rich and copious a collection of manuscripts, could have produced so monumental a series of catalogues, which will probably remain unequalled and indispensable so long as Muḥammadan literature is studied and appreciated.

In 1893 (nearly two years before he actually severed his connection with the British Museum, and, at the invitation of the Electors to the Sir Thomas Adams' Professorship of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, accepted that Chair, rendered vacant by the death of Professor W. Robertson Smith in March, 1894) Dr. Rieu, who had already nominally retired from his post in the Museum (which, however, till the end of his life, he was ever ready to aid with his counsels), celebrated the jubilee of his Doctorate, and received on this occasion (September 6, 1894) the most flattering congratulatory address from the University of Bonn, who thus fittingly gave public recognition to the eminent services to learning of her illustrious son, "*qui Arabicis, Persicis, Turcicis Musei Britannici Codicibus summâ*

cum curâ singularique doctrinâ descriptis ad vastos litterarum thesauros omnibus aditum patefecit, adeuntes semper consilio atque opera comiter adjuvit."

It was in the late Autumn of 1894 that Dr. Rieu's election to the Chair in which I now most unworthily succeed him took place. He neither offered himself as a candidate for this distinction, nor was he easily persuaded to accept it, until he was convinced that it was the earnest desire of those most concerned that he should do so. At the age which he had then attained (nearly 75) he had the right to demand a well-earned repose rather than new obligations and responsibilities; but it was not in his nature to lay aside, ere he was compelled, the labours which are at once the scholar's duty and pleasure, or to deprive this University, which sought and needed his help, of the honour of including another illustrious name in the roll of those who have laboured for 270 years to make the Oriental School of Cambridge the best, as it is the oldest, in Great Britain. Of the Chair founded by Sir Thomas Adams in 1632 Dr. Rieu was the sixteenth occupant, and the only one who was not a native of the British Islands; a fact which, to the writer's mind, is equally honourable to the country which produced so illustrious a scholar and the country which offered him so great and useful a career. How much consolation and hope does this reflection contain: that in the realms of science at least we see some dim foreshadowing of that universal brotherhood of mankind which elsewhere is but dreamed of and hoped for, wherein the limitations of nationalities and tongues vanish away, and even East and West, so widely separated by thought, custom, feeling, and belief, are reconciled in the Light of that Knowledge which is the Creator's Supreme Attribute and the student's ultimate goal.

EDWARD G. BROWNE.

John Beames.

BORN JUNE 21, 1837. DIED MAY 24, 1902.

THE Royal Asiatic Society has lost one of its most distinguished members, and Oriental scholarship one of its most eminent interpreters, by the death of Mr. John Beames, which took place after a long illness at Clevedon, in Somerset, on Saturday, the 24th of last May.

John Beames was born at Greenwich Hospital on the 21st of June, 1837. He was the eldest son of the Rev. Thomas Beames, Preacher of St. James's, Piccadilly, and grandson of John Beames, Esq., K.C., Bencher of Lincoln's Inn. He was educated at Merchant Taylors' School under Dr. Hessing, and, while there, obtained an appointment in the Indian Civil Service, and proceeded to Haileybury College. He studied at Haileybury during the years 1856–7, in his fourth term obtaining the Classic and Sanskrit prizes and the Persian medal. He arrived in India in the year 1858, and served in the Panjab from March, 1859, to late in 1861. From December, 1861, to the conclusion of his service he was employed in the Bengal Presidency, becoming a permanent Collector in the year 1867, a Commissioner in 1881, and twice officiating as a Member of the Board of Revenue. On his retirement from the Indian Civil Service in March, 1893, he had thus gained the rare experience of having worked in the Mufaṣṣal of two widely distant provinces, and this was no doubt one of the causes of that wide grasp which he exhibited in dealing with all things Indian. To him were equally familiar, from practical contact with the village people who spoke them, the rough patois of the Jaṭs of the Panjab, the smooth-flowing Oṛiyā, the clipped dialect of a Bengali peasant, and the clear-cut, practical Bhojpurī of Bihār.

We have seen that Mr. Beames distinguished himself by his attainments in Oriental languages while he was yet in Haileybury. In India he served an apprenticeship of seven years, laying the foundations of that encyclopædic, yet accurate, knowledge of things pertaining to the East which

afterwards became the mark of all that he wrote. His first essays appeared in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society in the year 1866, shortly after he had been placed in charge of the frontier district of Campāran in Bihār. These dealt with the now well-worn topic of the advisability or otherwise of retaining the Arabic element in the official form of Hindōstānī. In the previous year his attention had been drawn to Bishop Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, and it immediately occurred to him that a similar book was much wanted for the Aryan group. The result was the commencement in 1866 of those studies which bore their first ripe fruit in 1872. In the meantime other shorter but important works issued from his pen. The earliest was his well-known *Outlines of Indian Philology*,[1] the first attempt to prepare a scientific general account of all the languages then known to be spoken in India. Much of this work is now of course out of date, but parts of it, notably the chapter entitled "Hints on observing and recording a new language," are as valuable to-day as they were when first published. In 1868 we have two excellent papers in the Journal of this Society—one on the Magar language of Nēpāl, and the other on the form of Bhojpurī spoken in Campāran. The latter was for many years the only account in existence of any dialect of Bihārī (the language of over thirty-six millions of Indo-Aryans), and the former (if we except Hodgson's short vocabulary) the only account of one of the most important hill languages of Nēpāl.

Mr. Beames's connection with the Bengal Asiatic Society lasted until the year 1885. During the twenty years which succeeded his first essay, its Journal was enriched by many contributions from his pen. Essays on Cand Bardai and other old Hindī authors were interspersed with studies on the antiquities and history of Orissa (1870–1883). In 1884–85 appeared his important articles on the Geography of India in the Reign of Akbar. During the same period the *Indian Antiquary* numbered him among the brilliant band of its

[1] Written in 1866: 1st ed. 1867, 2nd ed. 1868.

earlier writers, and its pages contain many careful reviews of the works of other scholars, besides original articles of great interest on the early literature of Bengal proper and Orissa.

In 1869 appeared his well-known edition of Sir Henry Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary of Indian Terms*, a work which it is superfluous to praise. Twenty-two years afterwards, in 1891, was published his excellent Bengali Grammar, the first book of its kind which attempted to deal, not only with the inflated language of modern Bengali literature, but also with the altogether different spoken tongue. After his retirement he wrote for the most part in the Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review. At one time he contemplated the preparation of a Prakrit Dictionary, but I believe that, not receiving sufficient encouragement from publishers, he abandoned the scheme. At the time of his death he was engaged on a translation from the Turkī of Baber's Memoirs.

I have hitherto omitted mention of the work on which his reputation chiefly rests, the *Comparative Grammar of the Aryan Languages of India*, commenced in 1866, and published volume by volume in 1872, 1875, and 1879. The year 1872 witnessed the simultaneous appearance of three accounts of the growth of the modern Aryan vernaculars of India—Dr. Trumpp's Sindhī Grammar, Dr. Hoernle's *Essays in aid of a Comparative Grammar of the Gaurian Languages*, and the first volume of Mr. Beames's work. The three scholars proceeded, quite independently, on similar lines. All three emphasized the importance of the Prakrits in the development of the modern languages, and made systematic studies of the laws of that development. But Dr. Trumpp's Grammar referred mainly to Sindhī, and, so far as comparative philology is concerned, remained only a brilliant fragment; Dr. Hoernle's Essays (many of the conclusions of which were afterwards adopted with full acknowledgment by Mr. Beames) were 'essays' in the strict sense of the term, destined to be the foundation of the admirable volume published in 1880; while Mr. Beames was the first to issue a work deliberately intended to cover the whole ground of the subject. "Whether I have done well or ill," he says

in his preface, "the book was meant to be a Comparative Grammar, and I have called it so accordingly." It is difficult to decide which to admire most in this Grammar, the learning displayed, or the clearness with which the results of that learning are put forth. That parts of it have been superseded by later inquiries must, of course, be conceded, but this cannot prevent our appreciation of the solid erudition, combined with sobriety of argument, which adorns every page. Personally, the debt which I owe to these volumes is great, and I am glad to have this opportunity of acknowledging it.

Although for many years under the same Government in India, our lines were mostly cast in widely different parts of the country, and we seldom met. But we often corresponded, and never without the debt being on my side. I still remember the first letter I received from him, in the year 1878 or 1879, in answer to one from me about a small point in Maithilī grammar. In those days philology was not popular in India, and civilians who collected information regarding the languages of the country were apt to be looked down upon as shirking their legitimate duties. This letter of Mr. Beames, coming as it did from one high above me in my own service, was the first word of encouragement to proceed with my studies which I received from an official. One of his last acts of kindness to me was to revise the proofs of the Bengali section of the Linguistic Survey of India, and to offer me quite a number of invaluable hints and suggestions. He had a trenchant pen, and could wield it with effect when he considered it to be necessary, but the numerous references in his *magnum opus* to the opinions of other scholars showed that he possessed a double portion of the spirit of Saraswatī—a just confidence in his own great store of learning, and an ungrudging recognition of the discoveries made by other students in the same line of research as that in which he had an acknowledged claim to be recognized as one of the first authorities.

G. A. G.

Léon Feer.

YET another name has dropped out of the short list of the older living Orientalists. M. Léon Feer, the well-known Sanskrit and Tibetan scholar, died in Paris, March 10th of the present year.

Léon Feer was born at Rouen on the 22nd November, 1830. In 1864 he was appointed to a Paris professorship, succeeding M. Foucaux in the Chair of Tibetan originally created for the Bibliothèque Nationale and transferred in 1865 to the École des Langues Orientales. He afterwards (1869) held a lectureship in Tibetan and Mongol at the Collège de France. To this period (1864 to 1872) belong his earlier works, *Ruines de la Ninive* and *La Puissance et la civilisation mongoles au xiii*ème *siècle.*

In 1872 M. Feer entered the MS. Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale. He passed from promotion to promotion to be *bibliothécaire* of his department, where he remained working steadfastly till his death, in spite of failing health and growing infirmity in later years. In 1900 he was appointed *Conservateur-Adjoint* of the great national collection.

Outside his special field—or fields—of work M. Léon Feer published a number of articles in the *Revue Contemporaine*, *Revue des deux mondes*, *Revue Chrétienne*, *Revue des Cours publics*, and *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français.* But we are here chiefly concerned with his work in Buddhist literature, work which has the enduring merit of having brought within reach important texts from widely separated regions of this great field of research.

M. Feer's learning embraced Tibetan and Mongol, Sanskrit and Pāli. He was therefore able to contribute largely to our knowledge both of the Buddhism of countries where the documents have the peculiar interest of works translated into non-Indian languages from the Sanskrit, and the Buddhism of the school that preserves its characteristic and rich literature in a purely Indian dress.

The first in order of his translations was the *Sūtra en quarante-deux articles* (1878). The following were afterwards published in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*: a translation of the *Analyse du Kandjour et du Tandjour* of Csoma de Körös, with many additions and notes (vol. ii of the *Annales*), *Fragments extraits du Kandjour*, translated from the Tibetan (vol. v), and the *Avadānaçataka; cent légendes bouddhiques*, from the Sanskrit (vol. xviii).

In the *Bibliothèque orientale elzévirienne* series appeared a translation by M. Feer of the Tibetan version of the *Dhammapada*, and in the *Collection de Contes et de Chansons populaires* a translation from Bengali under the title *Contes Indiens; les trente-deux récits du trône.*

Léon Feer's greatest service to Pāli scholarship was his edition of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* for the Pāli Text Society. It was his last long work.

He contributed articles to the *Grande Encyclopédie*, and was one of the oldest collaborators in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*. An obituary notice in the last-named review acknowledges the value of his contributions on Tibetan subjects, in which his competence was shared by very few. He was also an unwearied contributor to the *Journal Asiatique* till within a few months of his death.

It was as Librarian of the MS. Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale that most of the younger Orientalists knew him best, and here all who sought his help had experience of his unselfish kindness and readiness to lend his time and learning and official authority to smooth the way of their researches.

The cataloguing of Eugene Burnouf's papers (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale) fell to M. Feer. It must have been a truly congenial task to him, for he had the scholar's lovable piety towards the memory, works, and relics of a past generation of great Orientalists. The present writer remembers the touching pleasure with which he once showed her a manuscript in Sir William Jones' handwriting, an unfinished poem that had not the remotest connection with *indianisme*.

M. Feer lived a secluded life. Modesty, a certain shyness, and heart-whole devotion to his work were so much his leading characteristics that it is difficult to bring out a distinct portrait of this reserved but kindly personality. Perhaps the plain record of his long and patient labours is not an unfitting tribute to his memory.

IV. Notes and News.

Professor Rhys Davids has been elected a Foreign Member of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences.

Dr. M. A. Stein, of the Indian Educational Service, has, with the sanction of H.M.'s Secretary of State for India, been placed on eight months' special duty in England in order to prepare a detailed report on the results of his recent journey of archæological and topographical exploration in Chinese Turkestan. Dr. Stein's Preliminary Report on these explorations, issued in November last, and already noticed in the J.R.A.S., showed the extent of the antiquarian and other materials brought back from this journey and awaiting detailed examination.

New Appointments.

Mr. E. G. Browne has been appointed Adams Professor of Arabic at Cambridge.

Dr. Liebich has been appointed Professor Ordinarius at Breslau, and Dr. Winternitz Professor Ordinarius at the German University at Prag.

Syed Ali Bilgrami has been appointed Reader in Marathi at Cambridge.

Professor Bendall has been appointed University Lecturer in Sanskrit at Cambridge.

V. Additions to the Library.

Presented by the Author.

Cain (Rev. J.). The Kois.
Pamphlet. 8vo. *Madras*, 1887–1888.

Sykes (Major P. M.). Ten Thousand Miles in Persia.
8vo. *London*, 1902.

Tilbe (Rev. H. H.). Pali First Lessons.
12mo. *Rangoon*, 1902.

Brandstetter (Dr. R.). Tagalen und Madagassen.
Pamphlet. 8vo. *Luzern*, 1902.

Barth (A.). Une théorie nouvelle sur l'origine de l'ère Saka. Pamphlet. 8vo. *Paris*, 1901.

Whinfield (E. H.). The Quatrains of Omar Khayyam. Persian Text; English Verse. 8vo. *London*, 1901.

Neumann (K. E.). Die Reden Gotamo Buddho's. Band iii, Lief. 1.

Campbell (W.). Formosa under the Japanese.
Pamphlet. 8vo. *Helensburgh*, 1902.

Arnold (T. W.). Al-Mu'tazilah. Part i: Arabic Text.
8vo. *Leipzig*, 1902.

Sachau (E.). Über den zweiten Chalifen Omar.
Pamphlet. 4to. *Berlin*, 1902.

——— Studie zur Syrischen Kirchenlitteratur der Damascene. Pamphlet. 4to. *Berlin*, 1902.

Lorimer (J. G.). Grammar and Vocabulary of Waziri Pashto. 8vo. *Calcutta*, 1902.

Presented by Miss L. Kennedy.

Nuttall (Z.). The Fundamental Principles of Old and New World Civilizations. (Peabody Museum Papers, vol. ii.) 8vo. *Cam. Mass.*, 1901.

Presented by the Netherlands Government.

Ophuijsen (Ch. A. van). Woordenligst voor de Spelling der Maleische Taal met Latijnoch Karakter.
8vo. *Batavia*, 1901.

Presented by l'École française d'Extrême-Orient.

Henry (V.). Éléments de Sanscrit Classique. Vol. i. 8vo. *Paris*, 1902.

Cabaton (A.). Nouvelles Recherches sur les Chams. Roy. 8vo. *Paris*, 1901.

Cadière (L.). Phonétique Annamite (dialecte du Haut-Annam). 8vo. *Paris*, 1902.

Lajonquière (Capt. E. Lunet de). Atlas Archéologique de l'Indo-Chine. Monuments du Champa et du Cambodge. Fol. *Paris*, 1901.

Presented by the Hakluyt Society.

The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell of Leigh in Angola and the Adjoining Regions. Edited with Notes and a concise History of Kongo and Angola by E. G. Ravenstein. 8vo. *London*, 1901.

Presented by Mrs. Mond.

Bain (F. W.). A Digit of the Moon: a Hindoo Love Story translated from the Original MSS. Post 8vo. *London*, 1901.

Presented by Canon Atkinson.

Atkinson (J.). The Expedition into Afghanistan (1839–1840). 8vo. *London*, 1842.

Presented by the India Office.

Smith (E.). Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra. Part i. (Arch. Survey of India, vol. xxx.) 4to. *Allahabad*, 1901.

Foster (W.). Letters received by the East India Company. Vol. vi. 8vo. *London*, 1902.

Presented by the Editors.

Giamil (S.). Genuinae Relationes inter sedem Apostolicam et Assyriorum orientalium seu Chaldaeorum Ecclesiam. 8vo. *Roma*, 1902.

Presented by the Publishers.

Wagner (H.). Die Überschätzung der Anbanfläche Babyloniens. 8vo. *Göttingen*, 1902.

Hill (S. C.). The Life of Claud Martin. 8vo. *Calcutta*, 1901.

Presented by the Madras Government Museum.

Thurston (E.). Bulletin. Vol. iv, No. 2. Anthropology.

Presented by Syed Ali Bilgrami.

Catalogue of the Private Collection of Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani MSS. in the possession of Syed Ali Bilgrami. 8vo.

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XXIV.—*Description of Persia and Mesopotamia in the year* 1340 A.D. *from the Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb of Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfi, with a summary of the contents of that work.* By G. LE STRANGE.

(*Continued from p.* 536, *July Number*, 1902.)

Chapter 17. *Khurāsān.*

Contents: Nīshāpūr, 185*m*; Shādyākh, 185*u*; Isfarāyin, 186*g*; Bayhaḳ and Sabzivār, 186*l*; Biyār, 186*n*; Juwayn, 186*o*; Jājarm, 186*r*; Khabūshān, 186*u*; Shaḳḳān, 186*w*; Ṭūs, 186*x*; Kalāt and Jirm, 187*e*; Marīnān, 187*f*; Herāt, 187*h*; Asfuzār, 187*s*; Fūshanj, 187*t*; Mālān and Bākharz, 187*x*; Bādghīs, 187*z*; Jām, 188*e*; Chast, 188*g*; Khwāf, 188*j*; Zāwah, 188*m*; Ghūr, Balkh, Ṭukhāristān, Bāmiyān, and Panjhīr, 188*o*; Jūzjān, 188*t*; Khutlān, 188*u*; Saminjān, 188*w*; Ṭāyiḳān, 188*x*; Ṭāliḳān, 189*a*; Fāryāb and Ḳavādiyān, 189*b*; Kālif, 189*d*; Marv Shāhījān, 189*f*; Shaburḳān, 189*q* and 190*b*; Abīvard, 189*s*; Khavārān, 189*t*; Khāvardān, 189*u*; Sarakhs, 189*z*; Marv-ar-Rūd, 190*b*; Māraz, 190*e*; Ḳal'ah Māy, 190*f*.

Khurāsān in the middle ages was far more extensive than is the province of this name in modern Persia. Mediæval Khurāsān extended on the north-east to the Oxus, and included all the districts round Herat which now belong to Afghanistān. On the other hand, the small province of Ḳūmis, on the northern boundary of the Great Desert, which at the present day is included within the limits of Persian Khurāsān, was of old a separate district, and formed in the time of Mustawfi a province apart.

Ḥamd-Allah divides Khurāsān into four quarters (*Rub'*)

or districts; namely, Nīshāpūr, Herāt, Balkh, and Great Marv. Of Nīshāpūr city he gives a full account, describing its plan, which had originally been laid out after the fashion of a chess-board, and noting its walls and watercourses. The Arabs had written the name Naysābūr. Mustawfi devotes a paragraph to the great suburb of Shādyākh, which Yāḳūt (iii, 228) from his personal knowledge has also described. This had been built, or rebuilt, after the great earthquake of the year 605 (A.D. 1208) which had laid Nīshāpūr in ruins; but both suburb and city were again destroyed by the earthquake of 679 (A.D. 1280), and a third city of Nīshāpūr was the capital of Khurāsān when Mustawfi wrote. In regard to Shādyākh its ruins still exist some three miles to the east of the modern city (Yate, *Khurāsān*, p. 412).

Nīshāpūr had its chief water supply from a stream that flowed down from the mountains to the north-east of the town; and forty water-mills were turned by the stream in the two leagues of its course through the plain after leaving the hills. Five leagues distant from the city, on the water-shed of the range dividing Nīshāpūr from the Mashhad valley, was a small lake, about one league round, called Buḥayrah Chashmah Sabz—'the Lake of the Green Spring'—recently visited and described by Colonel Yate (*Khurāsān*, p. 353), from which Mustawfi reports that water flowed either way, east and west. Here the Amir Chūpān had built a kiosk on the brink of the spring, of which many wonders are told, and spectres were seen rising from the waters at certain seasons; further, the lake was said to be unfathomable (L. 226*l*). A great number of streams flowed down from this mountain range to the plain of Nīshāpūr, chief among these being the Shūrah-rūd or Salt River, into which at flood times most of the lesser streams ultimately drained, coming from the various sides of the plain. Mustawfi (in part copied by the *Jihān Numā*, p. 328) mentions the names of a great number of these, to wit, the Dizbād river, flowing to the village of this name on the Herāt road, the Āb-i-Saḥr (or Sakhtar), the Khayrūd or Āb-i-Kharū, the

Tūsanḳān or Tūshḳān-rūd, the Āb-i-Pusht-i-Farūsh, the Khajank river, the Āb-i-Farkhak, the Āb-i-Dahr, and the Āb-i-'Aṭshābād — 'Thirst River' — coming down by the Maydān-i-Sulṭān, but of which the water-supply so often failed as fully to deserve its evil name (L. 219*q* to 220*b*).

The town of Isfarāyin [**1**] in the centre of the plain of this name, at the ruins known as Shahr-i-Bilkis, recently described by Colonel Yate (*Khurāsān*, p. 378), was celebrated for its castle called Diz-Zar, 'the Golden fort.' Bayhaḳ was the capital of the great district of the same name lying south of Isfarāyin, and its ruins lie close to Sabzivār [**2**], which is the present chief town of this district. Biyār [**3**] lies on the border of the Great Desert, and is marked as Biyār-Jumand on our maps. Juwayn is the name of the plain south and west of Isfarāyin (see Route x): its chief town is Fariyūmad, and Mustawfī mentions the hamlets of Baḥrābād, Dāv, Kazrī, and Khudāshah [**4**]. The city of Jājarm is at the western limit of the Juwayn plain on the river Jaghān-rūd (L. 220*e*); in its neighbourhood is the mountain known as Kūh-i-Shaḳāḳ (Saḳān, Sitān, etc., are other readings of the MSS.), whence a stream flowed forth from a marvellous cave (L. 205*m*).

Khabūshān, now known as Kuchān, is in the Mashhad valley to the east of Juwayn; the city had been rebuilt by Hūlāgū, and the surrounding district was known as that of Ustuwā. The town of Shaḳḳān (or Shafān) I am unable to identify. Ṭūs, one of the ancient capitals of Khurāsān, is now a complete ruin; it lies four leagues distance to the north-west of the shrines at Mashhad [**5**], which last is the modern capital of Khurāsān and means 'the Place of Martyrdom,' originally called the village of Sanābād. There lie buried at Mashhad the Imām Riẓā and the Caliph Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, with many other famous personages, their tombs being surrounded by what in the time of Mustawfī had already come to be a large city. In the mountain called Kūh Gulshān near Ṭūs was a great cavern with a spring welling from its depths, of which many wonders are related (L. 206*m*, and see Yate, *Khurāsān*, p. 351). The

great mountain fastness of Kilāt,[1] with Jirm for its chief city, lies to the north of Mashhad, and is now generally known as Kilāt-i-Nādirī, from the fact of Nādir Shāh having stored his Indian treasure here. This is one of the earliest notices of Kilāt, for it is not mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers, but it became famous in later times, notably after its siege by Timur, as described by 'Alī of Yazd in his *Ẓafar Nāmah* (i, 323). In 1875 it was visited and described by Colonel Macgregor (*Khurāsān*, ii, 51). The town of Marīnān (the MSS. give Marsān, Hafarmiyān, and many other variants) was within the limits of Kilāt.

Herāt was watered by the canals of the river Harī-rūd. It had a famous castle called Shamīram, built over the ruins of an ancient Fire-temple, on a mountain two leagues distant from the city, and Mustawfī adds a long account of the town, its markets and its shrines, giving the names of the various city canals derived from the Harī-rūd (L. 216*p*). The river of Herāt rose in the mountains of Ghūr; after passing Herāt it watered the Fūshanj district, and thence flowed north to join the Sarakhs river (the modern Tejend-āb). Asfuzār, now generally called Sabzivār of Afghanistān, is a town at some distance to the south of Herāt, and is mentioned in the Itineraries (Route xvii, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 305). Fūshanj [**6**], or Būshanj according to the same authorities, must be identical with the present city of Ghūriyān lying west of Herāt near the Harī-rūd; and under the name Fūshanj it sustained a siege by Timur, as described in the *Ẓafar Nāmah* (i, 312), but I have been unable to discover when its present name of Ghūriyān first came into use.[2] According to Mustawfī, Kusūy, or Kusri [**7**] and

[1] *Kilāt*, which has come to be the name of more than one important fortress-town of western Asia, is a word that apparently came into use at the close of the middle ages, and is presumably a Persianized form of the Arabic *Ḳal'ah* (spelt with dotted *ḳ*), meaning 'a castle.' It is worth noting that the name Kilāt does not occur in Yāḳūt or, I believe, in any of the earlier Arab geographers.

[2] The name Fūshanj, or Būshanj, has apparently gone completely out of use; on the other hand, I can find no mention of this Ghūriyān in any Eastern author. Yāḳūt (iii, 821, 824) mentions Ghūraj, which he says is commonly pronounced Ghūrah, and is a village near the gate of the city of Herāt; and there was the village of Ghūriyān near Marv. Neither of these, however, can

Kharkird [**8**], the former given in the Itinerary of Ibn Rustah (p. 172) and the latter by Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 334), were the chief towns of its district.

Mālān [**9**], apparently the town now called Shahr-i-Naw, judging by the distances in the Arab Itineraries, was the chief town of the Bākharz district, which lay further to the north along the left bank of the Harī-rūd, and the district of Bādghīs lies some distance to the eastward, away from the right bank of the Harī-rūd, being due north of Herāt. Mustawfī mentions Kārīzah, where Ḥakīm Barḳa'ī had lived who founded the city of Nakhshab in Transoxiana, also as its chief town Gūnābād (or Kūh Ghanābād) [**10**]; and he names various other places both here and in the Itinerary (Route xviii) which cannot now be identified (viz., Buzurgtarīn, Lab, Jād, Ukāīrūn, Kālūn, and Dihistān), for the whole region of Bādghīs has now relapsed to the desert, though numerous ruined sites are to be met with near the river beds. The town of Jām [**11**], famous for its shrine, was by the Arab geographers known as Buzjān, later Pūchkān, and is marked on our maps. Chast (cf. Ibn Baṭūṭah, iii, 457) would appear to have been a town near Herāt, but its exact position is unknown, and the spelling of the name is uncertain. Khwāf [**12**], with its district, lies to the south of Bākharz, and Mustawfī gives its chief towns as Salām [**13**], Sanjān [**14**], and Zūzan [**15**], all of which will be found on the map, in the present Khwāf district. Zāvah is, as we learn from Ibn Baṭūṭah (iii, 79), the town now known as Turbat-i-Ḥaydarī, so called from the saint buried there, and Zāvah was the name of the surrounding region, also known as Bīshak.

The great districts lying to the north-east of Khurāsān (in what is now Afghanistān) are only very briefly referred to by Mustawfī. Ghūr, the mountainous country lying between the head-waters of the Herāt river and the Helmund, has already been referred to in the previous chapter when

be the modern town of Ghūriyān, the name of which recalls the province of Ghūr, where the Ghūrid Sultans held sway in the latter half of the twelfth century A.D.

speaking of Fīrūzkūh.[1] Balkh is mentioned as being in ruins, and Bāmiyān was in a like condition, Changhīz Khān having ordered its utter destruction to avenge the death of a grandson who was killed during the siege, at the time of the Mongol invasion. Ṭukhāristān is the country along the southern bank of the upper waters of the Oxus, and Panjhīr is the name of the silver-mine at the eastern source of the Kābul river. Jūzjān is the district westward of Balkh, of which Shaburḳān and Fāryāb were the chief towns. The first-mentioned still exists, and the position of Fāryāb, which is described by Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 321) and Yāḳūt (iii, 840, 888), is fixed by the information given in the Itinerary (Route xii). Khutlān is the country lying north of the upper waters of the Oxus, Saminjān lay south-east of Balkh, and Ṭāyiḳān is the place which still exists of this name in the extreme east of the province of Ṭukhāristān, being sometimes, in error, written Ṭāliḳān. The name Ṭāliḳān, however, is more properly given to the city of the Jūzjān district, the name of which has now disappeared from the map, but which, according to the Itinerary (Routes xii and xii*a*), lay three marches distant from Marv-ar-Rūd (Bālā Murghāb) and a little off the high road going from that city to Balkh. This Ṭāliḳān is described by Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 321), Ya'ḳūbī (p. 287), and Yāḳūt (iii, 491); it was an important town, and its ruins are probably to be identified with the mounds of brick near Chachaktu, which have been recently examined by Colonel Yate.[2]

[1] In this passage, in place of Ghūr, many MSS. of the *Nuzhat* read Gharj, and some have Gharjistān. The name of this region has nothing to do with Georgia, or Gurjistān, to the north of Armenia, described by Mustawfī in Chapter 6; for Gharjistān took its name from the ancient kings of northern Afghanistān, called by the Arabs Gharj-ash-Shār. According to Yāḳūt (iii, 785, 786, 823) Gharjistān, often confounded with Ghūristān, and spelt indifferently Gharshistān or Gharistān, was the country along the upper waters of the Murghāb, to the eastward of Marv-ar-rūd. Its limits were Ghūr on the one side and Herāt on the other, with Ghaznah to the south-east. The sites of the many towns in Ghūr and Gharjistān, mentioned by the Arab geographers, are completely unknown.

[2] See *Northern Afghanistan*, by C. E. Yate (1888), p. 157. The Chachaktu ruins are forty-five miles as the crow flies from Bālā Murghāb, which last, I consider, undoubtedly represents Marv-ar-Rūd, and this distance may be counted as the equivalent of three days' march in the hill country. Ḳal'ah

Ḳavādiyān still exists to the north-east of Tirmid, which last is on the Oxus, and Kālif is lower down the great river, also on its right bank. Mustawfi gives a long account of Marv-i-Shāhijān, or Great Marv, on the Murghāb river. This river, as he says (L. 214*u*), had originally been called the Marv-āb or Marv river, but was in his days generally known as the Āb-i-Razīḳ. The *Jihān Numā* (p. 328) has Zarbaḳ, and the MSS. give Āb-i-Rūbaḳ or Zarīḳ, as in Yāḳūt (ii, 777), with other variants. It flowed down to Great Marv from Marv-ar-Rūd, or Little Marv, which is now represented by the place called Bālā Murghāb, as stated in a previous note. Abīvard [**16**] still exists, on the desert border north of Kalāt-i-Nādirī. Khavārān [**17**], now Khabarān, and Khavārdān, its dependency, lie between Kalāt-i-Nādirī and Sarakhs, which last stands on the lower reach of the Herāt river after it has received on its left bank the stream coming down from Ṭūs and Mashhad. Lastly, Māraz (Yādaz and Yāzar, with other readings, are given in the MSS.) appears to be unknown, and the same remark applies to Ḳal'ah Māy, of which the MSS. also give many diverse readings (Bāy, Nār, etc.).

As stated at the beginning of the chapter, the province of Khurāsān in the middle ages extended as far north and east as the bank of the Oxus, which was held to divide the lands of Īrān from Tūrān; and when Mustawfi wrote there appears good evidence for the belief that the Oxus was pouring

Walī and Takht-i-Khātūn, one or other of which is put forward by Colonel Yate (op. cit., pp. 194–6 and 211) as a possible site for Ṭāliḳān, being each of them only some twenty-seven miles distant from Bālā Murghāb, are both of them too near to suit the case. As regards the site of the city of Fāryāb, this may well have been at the modern Khayrābād, where there is an ancient fort and mounds with ruins, as described by Colonel Yate (op. cit., Map of the North-West Frontier of Afghanistan, and p. 233), who narrates some local legends of past times that have clustered round this site. The name of this Fāryāb of Jūzjān is also spelt Firyāb by Yāḳūt (iii, 888), and it must not be confounded either with Fārāb, otherwise written Bārāb (now called Otrār), on the Jaxartes, or with Firabr, sometimes written Firab, on the Oxus, at the ferry of Chārjūy. It will be noticed also that there were during the Middle Ages three Ṭāliḳāns, viz., Ṭāliḳān, or Ṭāyiḳān, the town of Ṭukhāristān which still exists; next, Ṭāliḳān of Jūzjān aforesaid; lastly, the Ṭāliḳān *district* in Persian 'Irāḳ, to the south-west of Ḳazvīn, which has been noticed in Chapter 2.

its waters into the Caspian Sea, and not, except for an insignificant part, into the Aral, as is now the case.[1]

In Appendix IV Mustawfi gives a description of the Jayḥūn or Amūyah (L. 213*l*, with which compare the Turkish translation in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 360), as the Arabs and Persians named the Oxus. The river had two sources, one in Tibet, the other in the Badakhshān mountains; and along its upper course five great streams flowed in before it took up the waters of the Wakhshāb (L. 220*d*) in the district of Ṣaghāniyan, where stood Tirmid over against Balkh. Flowing on through the desert, the Oxus next came to the Narrows, mentioned also in the Itinerary (Route xix), known as Tang-i-Dahān-i-Shīr—'the passage of the Lion's Mouth'—near Buḳshah, of the district of Hazārasp, where the precipitous banks are hardly a hundred *gez* (yards) across. This is the gorge which is now known as Deveh Boyun—'the Camel's Neck'—and according to Mustawfi the stream here passes underground for a couple of leagues completely hidden from sight. From Hazārasp down to the Aral Sea numerous canals are led off, some ending in the desert, some discharging their water into the Aral; but the main stream, Mustawfi says, after passing Old Urganj, turns down by the 'Aḳabah-i-Ḥalam (or Salam), which in Turki is called Kurlādī (or Kurlāvah), where the rushing of its waters can be heard two leagues away, and, thence flowing on for a distance of six days' march, ultimately finds its exit in the Caspian Sea (Baḥr Khazar) at Khalkhāl, a fishing station.

When describing the Caspian (L. 225*d*), Mustawfi speaks of the Island of Ābaskūn, and he says "this island is now

[1] Professor de Goeje has written a most learned and interesting work on this subject (*Das alte Bett des Oxus*, Leyden, 1875), in which he seeks to discredit the statements of the Persian geographers, and in conclusion gives it as his opinion that the Oxus during all the middle ages (as at the present time) flowed into the Aral. I shall not presume to enter the lists against Professor de Goeje; I only quote in the following passages the authorities on the other side. But I may mention that Sir Henry Rawlinson, who had studied the question as a practical geographer, and knew as well the writings of the Persian and Arab authors, was always of a contrary opinion, holding that from the earlier years of the thirteenth century A.D. down to about the year 1575 the Oxus had continued to have its chief outflow into the Caspian, *not* into the Aral.

sunk under the water, because the Oxus, which formerly had flowed into the Eastern Lake (the Aral) lying over against the lands of Gog and Magog, since the time of the Mughāl invasion has changed its course, and now flows out to the Caspian; and hence, this latter sea having no outlet, the dry land (of the Ābaskūn island) has now become submerged by the rising level of the waters." Now, in regard to this alleged change in the Oxus bed at the epoch of the Mongol invasion, we have the contemporary evidence of Ibn-al-Athīr (xii, 257) that Changhīz Khān in 617 (A.D. 1220) sent his armies against Khwārizm, when, after a siege of five months, Old Urganj was stormed, and the Oxus dykes which protected the city having been cut, the whole country was laid under water. The overflow appears to have drained off to the south-west, following a line of depression to the Caspian; for there is the evidence of Yāḳūt (iv, 670), a contemporary of these events, who describes Manḳishlāgh as a strongly fortified castle "standing on the shore of the Sea of Ṭabaristān (i.e. the Caspian), into which the Jayḥūn now flows."

In the work of Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, composed in 820 (1417 A.D.) under the patronage of Shāhrūkh, the son and successor of Timur — and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū must himself have been well acquainted with the geography of these countries from personal knowledge—we find the statement that the Jayḥūn, "which of old flowed into the Lake of Khwārizm (the Aral), having made itself a new bed, now flows out to the Baḥr-Khazar (the Caspian) at Kurlāvud or Kurlāvū, otherwise called Aḳrańchah, by which cause the Aral Sea has come to disappear" (British Museum Manuscript, Or. 1,577, *folio* 32*b*). And again, in the paragraph on the Aral Sea in the same MS. (*folio* 27*b*), he says that, while formerly the Jayḥūn had flowed into the Aral, "now, namely in the year 820, this sea no more exists, for the Jayḥūn has made a new bed to itself, and flows out into the Caspian."

Finally, to complete the evidence on the double shifting of the Oxus bed, we have the account by Abu-l-Ghāzī, a native prince of the Urganj region, who states that some

thirty years before A.H. 1014, the date of his birth, which places the change in about A.D. 1575, the Oxus made itself again a new channel, and turning off at Ḳarā-Uighūr-Tūḳāy below Khāst-Minārahsī, made its way to Tūk Ḳal'ahsī and thence out directly to the Aral Sea, thus changing the lands between Urganj and the Caspian into a desert for lack of water. And in another passage he describes how in former times, namely, among the events of the years from 1520 to 1530 A.D., all the way from Urganj, by Pīshgāh and Ḳarā Kīchit, to Uighūrchah and Abūlkhān on the Caspian, there were cultivated fields and vineyards along what was still, when he wrote, the but half dessicated bed of the Oxus. (French translation by Baron Desmaisons of the *History of the Mongols and the Tartars* by Abu-l-Ghāzī Khān, vol. i, pp. 221 and 312, and Text in vol. ii, pp. 207 and 291, St. Petersburg, 1871.)

In regard to Khwārizm, now generally called Khīvah, which is the Delta land of the Oxus, it will be found that among the Itineraries Mustawfi gives two (Routes xiv and xix) leading across the desert to Urganj, one from Farāvah (Ḳizil Arvāt), the other from Great Marv. Khwārizm was at no time counted as of Īrān, but, as noticed in the Table of Contents of the *Nuzhat*, a short section is devoted to this Province in Part IV of the Third Book, treating of Foreign Lands, which may be summarized in the following concluding paragraph. Unfortunately, the names of towns as given in the MSS. and in the Lithographed text (L. 234*g*) are extremely corrupt, and, indeed, do not serve to clear up the many queries in regard to the names of stages in the two Routes which lead to Urganj.

Ḥamd-Allah begins by stating that at the time when he wrote the capital city of the country was Urganj, which, however, was then more generally known as Khwārizm (properly the name of the whole province). Formerly, he adds, the capital city was Fīl, but the government was shifted first to Manṣūrah and then to Urganj. The city of Kāth had in former times (he says) been known as Jurjānīyah (this, however, is undoubtedly a mistake), and

he then names a number of the more important towns, among which are Hazārasp, Darghān, and Madmīnīyah, with many others whose names it is impossible to identify, finally Khīvah, a small provincial town (or *Ḳaṣbah*) which had recently been the abode of the Shaykh Najm-ad-Dīn Kubrī. We thus learn that already in the fourteenth century A.D. Khīvah was rising to importance; it is merely mentioned in the list of towns by the earlier Arab geographers, but Yāḳūt, writing a century before the time of Ḥamd-Allah, has devoted a short article to it (ii, 512), spelling the name Khīvaḳ, adding that the common people of Khwārizm then already called it Khīvah. Under the spelling Khīvaḳ the town and its governor are mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd, and this was the scene of one of the early adventures in the life of Timur, who at a later period caused its walls to be carefully rebuilt (*Ẓafar Nāmah*, i, 62, 449).

Chapter 18. *Māzandarān.*

Contents: Jurjān city, 190*h*; Astarābād, 190*p*; Āmul, 190*q*; Dihistān, 190*t*; Rustamdār, 190*u*; Rūghad, 190*v*; Sārī, 190*x*; Kabūd Jāmah, 190*y*; Nīm-Murdān, 190*z*.

The mountainous region lying along the south coast of the Caspian, towards the east, was called Ṭabaristān in the early middle ages, *Ṭabar* having the signification of 'mountain' in the local dialect, whence Ṭabaristān would have had the meaning of 'the Mountain Country.' This name, however, about the time of the Mongol conquest, gave place to that of Māzandarān; the new province being taken to include Jurjān on the east, which formerly had been reckoned as a separate district and not included in the older Ṭabaristān. Māzandarān is divided by Mustawfī into seven districts, namely, Jurjān, Mūrustāḳ (with variants Murdistān, etc.; the *Jihān Numā*, p. 339, has Bard-Mūrustāḳ), Astarābād, Āmul with Rustamdār, Dihistān, Rūghad, and Siyāh Rastān (other variants of this last in the MSS. being Wastān, Sitān,

Sāristān, and in the *Jihān Numā*, Sāstān). Of these seven, the positions of three, namely, of Mūrustāḳ, of Rūghad, and of Siyāh Rastān, are entirely unknown, and these names are not apparently mentioned by any other geographer.

In his Appendix on the Rivers Mustawfi notes that the district of Jurjān was watered by two rivers, namely, by the lower part of the Āb-i-Atrak (L. 212*a*), which had its springs near Khabūshān and in the famous plain of Nisā (now Darrah-Gaz) of Khurāsān; and next by the Jurjān river (L. 213*u*), on which stood the city of Jurjān; both the Jurjān river and the Atrak flowing out to the Caspian within the Jurjān territory. Jurjān City in the time of Mustawfi was a ruin, Astarābād being the capital of the district. Dihistān lay on the northern frontier; the ruins of it are probably those now known as Mashhad-i-Miṣriyān, and it was the outpost against the Turks and Kurds on the road to Khwārizm.

Āmul has always been the capital of Ṭabaristān, and Rustamdār is the district already noticed in Chapter 2 as lying along the bank of the Shāhrūd which as Rūdbār was counted as of Persian 'Irāḳ. According to the *Nuzhat* Rūghad (Rū'ad in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 341) was a medium-sized town, being also the name of the surrounding district; the site is unknown, but it lay presumably in Ṭabaristān, among the mountains overlooking the Caspian. The city of Sārī is still a flourishing place, and its district was that which Mustawfi names Kabūd Jāmah, while Nīm-Murdān (neither name being mentioned by the Arab geographers, though both are copied into the *Jihān Numā*, p. 341) was a populous island or peninsula, with Shahrābād for chief town, at the south-eastern angle of the Caspian, presumably now represented by the tongue of land forming the northern limit of Astarābād Bay. As of Ṭabaristān, Mustawfi mentions the mountains called Kūh Ṭāriḳ and Kūh Haram, or Hajam (L. 205*r*, 207*a*), where marvellous caves and wondrous sights were to be seen, but the position of neither mountain is given, and these names do not appear on our present maps.

Chapter 19. *Ḳūmis.*

Contents: Khuvār, 191*d*; Dāmghān, 191*e*; Samnān, 191*h*; Busṭām and Āhūvān, 191*j*; Girdkūh, 191*l*; Fīrūzkūh, 191*m*; Damāvand, 191*n*; Firrim, 191*p*; Khurḳān, 191*r*.

Ḳūmis was the name of the province lying along the desert border south of the great mountains of Ṭabaristān; most of the towns mentioned by Mustawfi still are found, but now included in Khurāsān, for as a separate province Ḳūmis no longer exists, and the name even is gone out of use. In the vicinity of Dāmghān was a mountain called Kūh-i-Zar—'Gold Mountain'—where mines of the precious metal were worked (L. 204*q*), and Dāmghān itself is still an important city. Khuvār [**1**] is the town now called Aradūn, but the district round is known under the old name, and Khuvār or Aradūn, called Khuvār of Ray or Maḥallah-i-Bāgh, is on the great eastern high road from Ray into Khurāsān (see Route ix). Samnān [**2**] stands half-way between Khuvār and Dāmghān, Busṭām (Bisṭām or Basṭām) lying further to the eastward of this last, while Āhūvān [**3**] is a Rubāṭ or Guardhouse between Dāmghān and Samnān.

The fortress of Girdkūh [**4**], called also Diz-i-Gumbadhān—'the Domed Fort'—lay in the mountains three leagues distant from Dāmghān, and Manṣūrābād was in its vicinity. The celebrated stronghold of Fīrūzkūh [**5**] stands at the head-waters of the stream flowing down to Khuvār; due west of it lies the town of Damāvand [**6**], which Mustawfi says was originally called Pashyān, the town lying a considerable distance to the south of the famous Damāvand mountain of Ṭabaristān. The position of Firrim, mentioned also by Yāḳūt (iii, 890) and other Arab geographers, has not been identified. Khurḳān was a town of the district of Busṭām, lying four leagues distant therefrom, on the road towards Astarābād, as is mentioned by Yāḳūt (ii, 424) and Ḳazvīnī (ii, 243).

Chapter 20. *Gīlān.*

Contents: Iṣfahbad, 191*v*; Tūlim, 191*x*; Tamījān, 191*y*; Rasht, 191*z*; Shaft, 192*a*; Fūmin, 192*b*; Kūjasfahān, 192*c*; Kawtam, 192*d*; Karjuyān, 192*e*; Lāhijān, 192*f*; Ta'sar, 192*h*.

Gīlān, or the Jīlānāt Province, was backed by the mountains of Daylam, and lay on the shore of the Caspian at the mouth of the river Safīd-rūd. Iṣfahbad, or Ispahbid, as is well known, was the name given to the semi-independent governors of this province under the Sassanian kings, and the Ispahbids continued to rule as princes under the early Caliphs; the city of Ispahbudān is mentioned by Yāḳūt (i, 298) as lying two miles from the sea-shore, but apparently no trace of it now remains. In the time of Mustawfi, however, Iṣfahbad was a medium-sized town surrounded by a district with nearly a hundred villages, and its revenues amounted to 29,000 dīnārs, or about £7,000. Tūlim is now the name of a district lying west of Rasht, the town of Tūlim [**1**] having presumably gone to ruin, both this and the town of Tamījān (or Taymjān) having disappeared from the map. Mustawfi is one of the first authorities to mention Rasht,[1] now the chief town of Gīlān, and it was already in his day famous for its silk stuffs.

The town of Shaft [**2**] no longer exists, but the district of this name lies south of Rasht, and to the westward of it is the Fūmin [**3**] district, with the town of Fūmin as its chief place. Of Kūjasfahān (Kujastān is the spelling given in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 344, with Kujḳān, Kūjfahān, and other

[1] In the *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* (vols. iii, 52, 53, and ix, 282), a series of copper coins is described, bearing the numbers 107, 107*a*, 107*b*, 108, which are dated 595 A.H. and 598 A.H., and attributed to the mint-city of Rasht. These coins bear the name and titles of Sulaymān II, the Saljūḳ Sulṭān of Rūm, and if the reading *Rasht* be accepted, would go to prove that the Saljūḳs of Rūm exercised sovereign rights in Gīlān, and that Rasht was already an important city at the close of the sixth century A.H. The reading, however, does not appear, on examination of the coins, to be tenable; and the facts as known to us from history are decidedly against Rasht having ever belonged to Sulaymān II of Rūm.

readings in the MSS.), originally built by Ardashīr Bābgān and named Sahmish, nothing is now known; and the same has to be said of the town of Karjuyān, given also as Kirjān or Kaḥyān in the MSS., but not named elsewhere. Kawtam [**4**], on the sea-shore, a good port near the mouth of the Safīd-rūd, though mentioned by Yāḳūt (iv, 316), is apparently now lost, being represented by the modern Kūhdam district lying eastward of Shaft. Lāhijān [**5**] still exists, and by Mustawfi is held to be the capital of Gīlān, being famous for its fruit gardens; but for Ta'sar, the last place mentioned in the list (with variants in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 344, of Bishīshāh, also Nīsar, Nīr, and Tastar in the MSS.), I am unable to offer any identification.

APPENDIX I. The Itineraries.

For convenience of reference the Itineraries given consecutively by Mustawfi are in the following pages divided up into thirty-three Routes. Many of these are identical with the routes given by Ibn Khurdādbih and Ḳudāmah in their Road-books, and are found in other of the mediæval Arab geographers. Some of the routes not given by the Arabs are found copied from Mustawfi into the pages of the *Jihān Numā* of Ḥājjī Khalfah. The distances are given in Farsakhs, each equivalent to a league, or one hour's march.

Route I. — Sulṭānīyah to Hamadān and Kanguvār (L. 192*w*).— Sulṭānīyah 5 farsakhs to Bajshīr village, thence 4 to the Ribāṭ of Atabeg Muḥammad ibn Ildagiz, thence 4 to Karkahar village in the Hamadān province, thence 6 to Ṣājī village of Hamadān, thence 5 to Walaj village, thence 6 to the city of Hamadān, thence by the pass over mount Arvand (Elvend) in 7 farsakhs to Asadābād, and thence 6 to Kanguvār, the first village in Kurdistān.

As far as Hamadān these stages are not given in any of the Arab Itineraries — Sulṭānīyah, as already said, only having been built and made the capital of the Īlkhāns in the reign of Uljaytū—and most of the names of places mentioned in the list are uncertain.[1] Thus, Dīh Bajshīr is given in the various MSS. as Lajshīr, Valāshjird, and Dīh Bakshih (*Dīh* being the Persian for 'village,' omitted or added, indifferently), and this may be Bijtayn, a village at the right distance south of Sulṭānīyah; the various readings given above would then be due merely to confusion in the placing of diacritical points. For Dīh Karkahar some MSS. have Karkaharand, possibly for the present Kabatrung.

[1] Much of this country is described in *Notes of a Journey from Kazveen to Hamadan*, by J. D. Rees (Madras, 1885), but the names given by Mustawfi do not occur.

Variants of Ṣājī are Ṣāḥibī, Masāh-jīn, and Ṣājū. Muḥammad ibn Ildagiz, the founder of the Ribāṭ mentioned above, was Atabeg of Adharbayjān and virtual ruler of 'Irāḳ from 568 to 581 (1172 to 1185). The word *Ribāṭ* (pronounced also *Rubāṭ* and *Rabāṭ*), which occurs frequently in the names of post-stations, means literally 'a tying-up place' and came to signify a hospice, or guardhouse, notably on the frontier.

Route II.—Kanguvār to Ḥulwān (L. 192*z*).—Kanguvār in 5 farsakhs to Ṣihnah village, thence 4 to Jamjamāl City, thence in 6 farsakhs—the statue of the horse Shabdīz lying to the right of the road, with the portraits of King Khusraw and Queen Shīrīn at a place where two springs gush out that turn two mills—to Kirmānshāhān, thence 6 to Khushkarīsh, thence 5 to Jākāvān, thence 6 to the villages of Kirind and Khūshān, thence by the Pass of Ṭāḳ-i-Kizā in 8 farsakhs to Ḥulwān city, the first place in Arabian 'Irāḳ; but by the Gīl wa Gīlān road this last stage is easier, though one farsakh longer.

The stages from Hamadān going south-west, but given the reverse way, are part of the great eastern high road leading from Baghdād to Marv, found in all the Arab Itineraries. Khushkarīsh is the reading in Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 19); the *Nuzhat* MSS. give various readings, as Ḥakārmish, Chakārish, etc., and no place of this name now exists. The next place, Jākāvān, is not identical with any stage mentioned by the Arab Itineraries, and many variants are given, e.g., Dīh Ḥisākavān, Khafārkān, Ḥafākadān, Janākān, and Khiyārkavān. No village of Khūshān (or Ḥarshān as a variant) is to be found on the map anywhere near Kirind; but the road down by Gīl wa Gīlān, and the Ṭāḳ-i-Kizā pass, are mentioned (L. 216*n*) as the place where one of the affluents of the Nahrawān takes its rise (see above, Chapter 1).

Route III.—Ḥulwān to Baghdād and Najaf (L. 193*c*).—Ḥulwān in 5 farsakhs to Ḳaṣr Shīrīn, thence 5 to Khāniḳīn city, thence 5 to Rubāṭ Jalūlā built by Malik-Shāh the Saljūḳ, thence 5

to Hārūnīyah, thence — with Shahrabān lying 2 farsakhs distant to the right of the road—in 7 farsakhs to Ba'ḳūbā city, and thence 8 to Baghdād. From Baghdād it is 2 farsakhs to Ṣarṣar village, thence 7 to Farāshah, thence in 7 farsakhs—the city of Bābil lying on the Euphrates half a league away on the right hand—to the Nīl Canal, then 2 farsakhs to the city of Ḥillah, thence—passing the place where Nimrod threw Abraham into the Fire at Kūthā Rabbā, lying one league to the left of the road—after 7 farsakhs comes the city of Kūfah, thence 2 farsakhs distant lies the Mashhad (Place of Martyrdom) of 'Alī, the Commander of the Faithful, at Najaf on the desert border.

Most of the places mentioned in this and the next two Routes are given on my Map for Ibn Serapion. The Rubāṭ (Guardhouse) of Jalūlā, a place famous in Abbasid history, is probably the present Caravanserai of Ḳizil Rubāṭ. Dih Farāshah, nine leagues south of Baghdād, is not given by any other authority; other variants in the MSS. are Ḳarājah, Khawāshah, and Bādiyah-Farrash—'the Carpet-spreader's plain'—but the readings are most uncertain. The text of the *Nuzhat* after this gives the Routes beyond Najaf for the pilgrims crossing Arabia to Mecca and Medina, but these are here omitted, as belonging to countries outside the limits of Īrān, with which alone the present paper deals.

Route IV.—Baghdād to Baṣrah, and thence by sea to the Island of Ḳays (L. 195*g*). — Baghdād 5 farsakhs to Madāin, thence 10 to Dayr-al-'Āḳūl, thence 7 to Jabbul, thence 10 to Famaṣ-Ṣilḥ, thence 9 to Wāsiṭ, thence 10 to Nahrabān, thence 8 to Fārūth, thence 5 to Dayr-al-'Ummāl, thence 7 to Ḥawānīt; thence passing by the canal called the Shaṭṭ-al-Mā to the Swamps, and on through the Nahr-al-Asad, after 30 farsakhs is the beginning of the Blind Tigris estuary, by which and the Nahr Ma'ḳil after 10 farsakhs is Baṣrah. From Baṣrah it is 12 farsakhs to 'Abbādān, whence 2 by fresh water to the open sea, thence 50 leagues to Khārik Island, thence 80 leagues to Al-Ān Island, thence 7 to Abrūn Island, thence 8 to the island of Chīn or Khayn, which is uninhabited, and thence 8 to the emporium of Ḳays Island.

The towns on this and the next two Routes will be found on the Ibn Serapion Map. For the islands in the Persian Gulf, see above, Chapter 12; a part of this Route is given in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 456.

Route V.—Baghdād to Raḥbah (L. 195*v*).—Baghdād 3 farsakhs to Tall-'Aḳarkūf, which is a hillock so high that it can be seen from the desert eleven leagues away; thence 8 farsakhs to the city of Anbār; thence by the way across the Samawāt desert you may reach Damascus direct in ten days, it being 100 leagues distant; or from Anbār you go to Raḥbah (on the Euphrates), which last is 70 leagues from Baghdād.

Route VI.—Baghdād to Mosul (L. 195*x*).—Baghdād 4 farsakhs to Baradān, thence 5 to 'Ukbarah, thence 3 to Bāḥamshā, thence 7 to Ḳādisīyah, thence 3 to Sāmarrah, thence 2 to Karkh, thence 7 to Jabultā, thence 5 to Sudaḳānīyah, thence 5 to Bārimmā, thence 5 to the Bridge over the Lesser Zāb, a tributary of the Tigris, thence 12 to Ḥadīthah, thence 7 to Banī Ṭām'ān, and finally 14 farsakhs to Mawṣil (Mosul).

The name of the place called Bāḥamshā or Bājamshā by Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 93), a dozen leagues north of Baghdād, is uncertain; the *Nuzhat* MSS. give the name variously as Jamī'ā, Ḥamsāsah, and Ḥamyā, with other variations. Banī Ṭam'ān, the last stage before Mosul, is also uncertain; variants are Banī Ṭahān in the MSS., and in Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 93) Ṭamyān, Ṭahmān, etc., are given.

Route VII.—Kanguvār to Isfahān (L. 195*q*).—Kanguvār 5 farsakhs to Bīdastān, thence 3 to Nihāvand city, thence 4 to Farāmurz village, thence 4 to the city of Burūjird. Beyond Burūjird the road to Sābūrkhwāst turns off to the right hand, while going left from Burūjird it is 4 farsakhs to Ḥasanābād, thence 8 to Miyān-Rūdān, thence 3 to Minār, thence 5 to the city of Karaj. From Karaj it is 4 farsakhs to Dūnsūn, thence 5 to Āsan: here the more direct road to Isfahān turns off to the right, while going left from Āsan it is 6 farsakhs to Sangān, thence 6 to Jūy-Murgh-Kuhtar, thence 7 to Ashḳurān, thence 7 to Tīrān, thence 6 to Jūy-i-Kushk, and finally 4 leagues to Isfahān.

The road going eastward from Kanguvār to Isfahān, in the Arab Itineraries, follows a different route to the one given by Mustawfi, though both pass by Karaj of Abu Dulaf, the position of which has been noticed in Chapter 2. The MSS. give a few variants; the name of the village of Farāmurz beyond Nihāvand is written Ḳarāḳirḳ in some copies, and Ḥasanābād appears as Junābād. Miyān-Rūdān—'Between Streams'—is on the upper waters of the eastern tributary of the Burūjird river, south-east of this town and south-west of Karaj of Abu Dulaf. From Karaj to Isfahān many of the places named on the map are not found, and the variants in the MSS. are Āsan or Māsan; for Sangān, Sītakān or Ṣakwīn. Ashḳurān or Ashghurān is marked on the map and given by Yāḳūt (i, 281) as Ashkūrān; he also mentions (i, 446) Bāb Kushk as one of the great quarters at the gate of Isfahān, and though this name has now disappeared, Tīrān is a village marked on the map.

Route VIII.—Sulṭānīyah to Sūmghān (L. 196*d*).—Sulṭānīyah in 5 farsakhs to the village of Ḳuhūd, which the Mughāls call Ṣā'īn Ḳal'ah, thence 4 to the city of Abhar, thence 4 to Fārisjīn, thence—with the city of Ḳazvīn lying 4 leagues distant on the left hand—in 6 farsakhs to Sūmghān, which the Mughāls call Aḳ Khwājah. Beyond this place the way divides; to the right one road turns off, going to Sagzābād in 5 farsakhs (see Route XXVI), while the main road towards Khurāsān continues onward, as given in the next Route.

The name Ḳuhūd is now not known, Ṣāin Ḳal'ah having taken its place; the three next places will all be found on the map. Sūmghān, however, is wanting, and apparently is not mentioned by any other geographer; also the reading of the name is uncertain. Ḥamd-Allah, as will have been seen in Chapter 15, gives it as the uppermost limit of the Great Desert, and in the various MSS. the name appears as Sumḳān, Suwīḳān, Sūsḳān or Sūshḳān, Sūbīḳān, Siyūti'ān, and Sūs'an. It evidently was a place of some importance, and its position is fixed by the distances given between it, Fārisjīn, Ḳazvīn, and Sagzābād or Sagziābād.

Route IX.—Sūmghān to Busṭām (L. 196*d*).—Sūmghān in 5 farsakhs to the village of Māmarah, thence 8 to Dahand, thence 5 to Sunḳurābād, thence 5 to Dīh Khātūn, thence 5 to the Place of Martyrdom (Mashhad) of the Imām-zādah 'Abd-al-'Aẓīm, thence 3 to the city of Ray, thence 6 to Varāmīn, thence 6 to the Rubāṭ of Khumārtakīn, thence 6 to Khuvār of Ray, which is called Maḥallah-i-Bāgh (the Garden-Place), thence 6 to Dīh Namak (Salt Village), thence 6 to Rās-al-Kalb (Dog's Head), thence 6 to Dīh Surkh (Red Village), thence 4 to Samnān, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Āhuvān, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Hurmuz, also known as Jarm-Jūy (Hot-stream), thence 6 to Dāmghān, thence 6 to Ḥaddādah, otherwise known as Mihmān-dūst (Guest-friend). From this place one road branches to the right, going direct to Nīshāpūr by Sabzivār; to the left is the high road which passes through Jājarm, and from Ḥaddādah by this it is 7 farsakhs to the city of Busṭām.

The name Māmarah, one stage out from Sūmghān, is uncertain; the MSS. give various readings, as Yāharah, Mārbīn, Hāmrīn, and Hāmarah. Also the next stage is variously given as Dīhand, Dīh Pahand, or Sahand, and this name occurs again as one among the villages of Ḳazvīn mentioned in Chapter 2 (L. 146*r*). The remaining stations are for the most part those of the Arab itineraries, and will be found on the map; Rās-al-Kalb (Dog's Head), which Yāḳūt (ii, 733) refers to as a *Ḳal'ah* or Castle, is possibly identical with the present Lasjird, as already stated in the Introduction. Places named in the next two Routes have already been noticed in Chapters 17 and 19, or else will be found on our present maps; these being also for the most part identical with the stages given in the Arab itineraries.

Route X.—Busṭām to Nīshāpūr (L. 196*n*).—From the city of Busṭām it is 7 farsakhs to Maghaz, thence 7 to Sulṭānīyah village (or Dīh-i-Sulṭān), thence 3 to Rubāṭ Savanj, and thence 6 to Jājarm. From Jājarm it is 8 farsakhs to the village of Āzadvār, the birthplace of Khwājah Shams-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāḥib Dīvān, thence 4 to Khūdāshāh, thence 3 to Baḥrābād village, the abode of Shaykh Sa'd-ad-Dīn of Ḥamāh, thence 5 to Barzamābād, thence 4 to Tūdah (or Nūdah), thence

8 to Ṭaḳān-kūh, thence 6 to Rubāṭ Būzinagān at the village of Aḥmadābād, and thence 4 farsakhs to Nīshāpūr.

Route XI.—Nīshāpūr to Sarakhs and Marv-ar-Rūd (L. 196*u*).—Nīshāpūr 7 farsakhs to Dīh Bād, whence the road to Herāt branches to the right hand (Route XV); and from Dīh Bād, turning left, it is 5 leagues to Khākistar village, thence 3 to Rubāṭ Sangbast, thence 6 to Rubāṭ Māhī, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Tūrān (or Nūrān); thence in 7 farsakhs, across two passes each of half a league, you go to Rubāṭ Ābgīnah, thence 6 to Sarakhs, thence 9 to Rubāṭ Ja'farī, thence 7 to Mīl 'Omarī, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Abu Nu'aym, thence 5 farsakhs across the desert sands with no water to Āb-Shūr, thence 2 to Diz Hind, and thence 5 to the city of Marv-ar-Rūd.

Route XII.—Marv-ar-Rūd to Balkh and the Oxus (L. 197*a*).—Marv-ar-Rūd 7 farsakhs to Rubāṭ-i-Sulṭān, thence 5 to the village of Karajābād (or Kūchābad), thence in 7 farsakhs—the city of Ṭāliḳān lying 6 leagues distant on the right hand of the road—to Āb-i-Garm (Hot-Spring), thence 5 to Kabūtar-khānah; thence 7 to Masjid Rāzān; thence in 7 farsakhs—the city of Fāryāb lying two leagues distant on the right of the road—to Astānah, thence 6 to Rubāṭ Ka'b, thence 9 farsakhs across a waterless plain to the city of Shaburḳān. Thence it is 2 farsakhs to the village of Sulbarān, thence 9 to Rubāṭ 'Alawī (the Alid Guardhouse), thence 1 to Dastagird, thence 5 to the village of Pārah at the Bridge of Jamūkhiyān, and thence 2 to Balkh. From the city of Balkh it is 6 farsakhs to Siyāh-kūh (the Black Hills), and thence in 6 farsakhs you come to the Oxus river over against Tirmid.

*Route XII*A.—In the British Museum MS. (Add. 16,736) is the following duplication, in part, of the preceding route:—Marv-ar-Rūd 5 farsakhs to Araskan, thence 7 to Asrāb, thence 6 to Ganjābad, thence 6 to Ṭāliḳān, thence 5 to Kashhān, thence 5 to Arghūn in the district of Jūzjān, thence 5 to Ḳaṣr Ḥūṭ; thence 5 to Fāryāb, thence 9 to Kā', thence 9 to Shaburḳān, thence 6 to Ṣidrah, thence 5 to Dastagird, thence 4 to 'Awd, and thence it is 3 farsakhs to Balkh.

The first of these two routes is given, in part, in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 329), and between them they fix within narrow limits the positions of Ṭāliḳān and Fāryāb, two

important towns of the Jūzjān District, the names of which have apparently entirely disappeared from the map. Their probable sites have been discussed in Chapter 17.

Route XIII.—Busṭām to Farāvah (L. 197*j*).—From Busṭām by the pass called Nardibān-Pāyah it is 7 farsakhs to Dih Ganj, thence 6 to the village of Mīlābād, thence 5 to Mūsā-ābād village, thence 5 to the city of Jurjān. From Jurjān there are two roads to the northern frontier—one direct by the waterless desert, the other by Dihistān. By this last from Jurjān it is 9 farsakhs to Bīstān, thence 7 to the village of Muḥammadābād, thence 7 to Dihistān; from here it is 7 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Kursī (or Gazbīni), thence 9 to Rubāṭ Abu-l-'Abbās, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Ibn Ṭāhir, and thence 7 farsakhs to the city of Farāvah.

The MSS. give many variants both in this and the next route for the intermediate stages, which in the desert were mostly Rubāṭs or Guardhouses. For the part north of Jurjān city Sir H. C. Rawlinson may be consulted in the *Proceedings of the Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1879 (i, 170), and for Bīstān, which the MSS. give variously as Bāraz, Sārar, Sār-rūd, and Sard-rūd, he adopts the reading Sināb-rūd, "a name restored to agree with the modern Sunībar." Farāvah, a place frequently mentioned by the Arab geographers, is probably to be identified with the modern Ḳizil Arvāt, this last being a corruption for Ḳizil-Rubāṭ, 'the Red Guardhouse.'

Route XIV.—Farāvah to Urganj (L. 197*l*).—From the city of Farāvah it is 8 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Khisht-Pukhtah, thence 8 to Khūshāb, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Ṭaghmāj, thence 7 to Karvān-gāh, thence 9 to Rubāṭ Sarhang, thence 7 to Minārah-gāh, thence 8 to Saīl-Balī, thence 7 to Mushk Mabnā, thence 9 to Rubāṭ Maryam, thence 8 to the town of New Khwārizm, thence 6 to New Ḥalam (or Khulm), and thence 4 farsakhs to Urganj, the capital of Khwārizm.

The stages of this desert road to Urganj, the city which the Arabs knew as Jurjānīyah, are given with a variety of readings in the MSS. The variants, however, are of no

great importance, since the stages merely represent halting-places, not towns or villages. Khwārizm-i-Naw — New Khwārizm—must be the capital of the province built to replace the town destroyed by the Mongols, and the ruins of *New* Khwārizm are now known as *Old* Urganj—Kuhnah Urganj; but what the place which Mustawfi calls Ḥalam or Khulm-i-Naw may represent—lying between the newer and the old capital of his time—it is difficult to determine. For Khwārizm in general see the concluding paragraphs of Chapter 17; also below, Route XIX.

Route XV.—Nīshāpūr to Herāt (L. 197*r*).—Nīshāpūr in 7 farsakhs to Dīh-Bād, where the road to Sarakhs already given (Route XI) goes off to the left, thence 7 to Rubāṭ-Badi'ī, thence 7 to Farhādān village, thence 7 to Sa'īdābād village, thence 5 to Dīh Khusrū, thence 7 to the city of Būjkān (or Būzjān), thence 6 to Gulābād, thence 10 to Kūshk Manṣūr, thence 6 to the city of Fūshanj (or Būshanj), and thence 8 farsakhs to Herāt.

Dīh-Bād—'the windy village'—is the place named in the Arab itineraries Ḳaṣr-ar-Rīh, which has a similar signification; it is now called Dizbād-Pāyin. As noticed in Chapter 17, the city of Būjkān, or Būzjān, also written in two words Pūch-Kān, is by the Arab geographers called Zām or Jām, and is now known as Turbat-i-Shaykh-Jām, from the tomb of the Saint buried here. Fūshanj or Būshanj (see also Chapter 17) is the modern Ghūriyān, but when the town took this last name appears to be unknown.

Route XVI.—Nīshāpūr to Turshīz (L. 197*x*).—From Nīshāpūr going through a populous, well-watered country where are 80 villages, it is 5 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Sih Dīh (Guardhouse of the Three Villages), thence 4 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Nūr-Khān, thence 3 to Chāh Siyāh (Black Pit), thence 5 to the village of Dāyah, thence 4 to Dīh Murd, and thence 7 farsakhs to Turshīz. From Turshīz it is 25 farsakhs to Tūn, and 36 to Ḳāyin, and likewise 36 to Būjkān.

Of the route here given none of the villages appear now to exist; their names are not found in the Arab itineraries;

and further, the readings of the *Nuzhat* are uncertain. In the MSS. the first stage out is often given as Rubāṭ Sayyidī Ghar. Dīh Dāyah appears as Dānah, Dār, or Vānah; Dīh Murd as Nimr, Nimrud, ʿUmrad, or Bamrū, also as Dīh Ghar.

The following Route is not found in the Bombay Lithographed Text; it is practically identical with the road described by Muḳaddasī (p. 350) and the other Arab geographers.

Route XVII.—Herāt to Zaranj, given in the British Museum MS. (Add. 16,736).—Herāt one march to Jamān, thence the same to Kūh-i-Siyāh (Black Hills), thence the same to Ḳanāt Sarāy, thence the same to Khāstān (or Jāstān), which is Asfuzār, thence the same to Kūstān, thence the same to Darah, thence the same to the city of Farah, thence the same to Pūl-i-Rūd-i-Farah (Bridge over the Farah river), thence the same to Sirishk, thence the same to Kanjar, thence the same to Bast (or Bastak), thence the same to Juvayn, thence the same to Bastar, thence in 4 farsakhs you come to and cross the Hirmand river to Karkūyah, and thence in 3 farsakhs to (Zaranj, capital of) Sīstān.

Route XVIII.—Herāt to Marv-ar-Rūd and on to the city of Marv (L. 198*a*).—Herāt in 5 farsakhs to Hangāmābād, thence 5 to Bādghīs, thence 5 to Tūn, thence 5 to Marghzār Darrah, thence 8 to Baghchī Shūr, thence 5 to Usrūd (or Lūs-rūd), thence 4 farsakhs to Marv-ar-Rūd. From Marv-ar-Rūd it is 5 farsakhs to Ḳaṣr Aḥnaf ibn Ḳays, thence 4 to Khawrāt (Khawrzān or Khūrāb), thence 6 to Asadābād (or Astarābād), thence 7 to Ḳarīnayn, thence 5 to Yaḥyā-ābād, thence 7 to Mahdī-ābād, thence 6 to Fāz, and thence 7 farsakhs to the city of Marv.

The first part of this route, from Herāt to Marv-ar-Rūd (Bālā Murghāb), for the most part is identical with that given in the Arab itineraries; it lies through a country where now there are no towns and hardly any villages, though in the middle ages Bādghīs was a populous province.

From Marv-ar-Rūd to Great Marv the route is that of the Arab geographers, and follows the course of the river Murghāb; Ḳaṣr Aḥnaf is the present Marūchak or Marv-i-Kuchik (Little Marv), having been called after one of the

palaces of Aḥnaf, son of Ḳays, the Arab leader in the first Moslem conquest of Khurāsān. The stages named are not those now found on the map.

Route XIX.—Marv to Urganj (L. 198*e*).—Marv in 5 farsakhs to Dīh Saḳrī, thence 2 to Dīh Ābdān Ganj, thence 8 to Rubāṭ Sūrān, thence 5 to Chāh Khāk (Dry Well), thence 7 to Chāh Ṣāchī, thence 7 to Chāh Hārūn; thence in 7 farsakhs—of which 2,000 yards are across the Moving Sands—to Rubāṭ-i-Naw-Shāgīrd, thence 7 to Sangābād, thence 6 to Rubāṭ Ṭāhirī, thence 5 to Rubāṭ Būdīnah, thence crossing the frontier of Khwārizm in 7 leagues to the city of Jaḳarband, thence 9 to Darghān, a city of Khwārizm, thence 5 to the Rubāṭ of Dahān-i-Shīr (the Guardhouse of the Lion's Mouth), where precipitous rocks form the Narrows of the Oxus, thence 4 to Sadūr (or Sandbūr), thence 10 to Hazārasp, thence 9 to Dīh-Zardūḳ, thence 7 to Rakhushmīthan, thence 6 to Andarābiyān (Andarabnān or Ūzārmand), thence 2 to the city of Nuzvār (Ruzvand or Sūrāvān), and thence 6 farsakhs to the city of Urganj, the capital of Khwārizm.

This route is also given in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 457), but the first portion across the desert is not found in any of the earlier Arab geographers. The names of the stages here are many of them uncertain, being differently written in the various MSS. of the *Nuzhat*. Cultivation began at Rubāṭ Ṭāhiri, or Ṭāhirīyah, on the Oxus, the first place in Khwārizm. This is mentioned by the Arab geographers, who name many of the stages given after this in their notices of the Khwārizm Province. The Narrows of the Camel's Neck, or Lion's Mouth, have been referred to in Chapter 17; but the names of the stages between Hazārasp and Urganj are most uncertain, and should be compared with those given by Muḳaddasī (p. 344).

Route XX.—Sulṭānīyah to Bājarvān (L. 198*n*).—Sulṭānīyah in 5 farsakhs to Zanjān, thence 7 to the village of Tūt (or Būb) Suvārī, thence 7 to the city of Kāghadh Kunān, thence by the Pass of Burūlaz on the river Safīd-rūd in 6 farsakhs to the village of Sanjīdah and Khalkhāl, thence 6 to the

village of Mālish (Bālish, or Ṭālish), thence 6 to the city of Ardabīl, thence 8 to Rubāṭ Arshad, thence 8 to the village of Varanḳ, to the east of which, one farsakh distant, lies Barzand, formerly a city, now a mere village, and thence 4 farsakhs to Bājarvān, formerly a city, now only a village.

This route, which is found in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 389), gives the position of Kāghadh Kunān or Khūnaj, already mentioned in Chapter 2, which was a mint city. The name of the pass near the Safīd-rūd is doubtful; it is variously given in the MSS. as Girīvah-i-Pardahlīs, Buzurgtar, or Barūlah, and the Sanjīdah is also a river mentioned among the affluents flowing into the Safīd-rūd. North of Ardabīl the ruins of Barzand exist, and this fixes the position of Bajarvān; for Arshad some MSS. give Arand; and for Varanḳ the variants are Varlaḳ, Dharīḳ, Dartaḳ, with other readings.

Many of the places on this route, with those to be mentioned in Route xxi, have been already referred to in the notes to Chapter 4 on Mūghān.

Route XXI.—Bājarvān to Maḥmūdābād (L. 198*s*).—Bājarvān in 8 farsakhs to Pīlsuvār, thence 6 to Jūy-i-naw (New Canal), and thence 6 to Maḥmūdābād Gāvbārī.

Route XXII.—Bājarvān to Tiflīs (L. 198*u*).—Bājarvān in 7 farsakhs to the village of 'Alī Beg, thence 6 to the village of Bakrābād, thence 2 to the bank of the river Aras, which is the frontier of Ḳarābāgh, thence 3 to the village of Har, thence 5 to Gharḳ, thence 4 to the village of Labandān, thence 3 to Bāzārchūḳ, thence 4 to the city of Bardā', thence 1 to the city of Jūzbīḳ, thence 4 to Dīh Isfahānī, thence 5 to Khānḳāh Shutur, thence 5 to Ganjah city, thence 2 to the city of Shamkūr, now in ruins, thence 3 to Yūrt-Shādāḳ-Bān, thence 6 to the Aḳtavān river, thence 5 to Yām, and thence 4 farsakhs to the city of Tiflīs.

On this road to Tiflīs, Bardā' and Ganjah exist, also Shamkūr, but for the intermediate stages the MSS. give a variety of readings. Gharḳ is given as Farḳ, Kūra', Ḳirḳ, or Tūraḳ. Labandān appears as Dīh Shuturān, or Katrān;

and the next stage may be read Darhūḳ. For Jūzbīḳ we get Jūzīnaḳ, Khūranḳ, or Ḥūrish; and the name Shādāḳ is given as Sadmīyān or Sārīḳiyān; finally, Yām may be read Bām or Māndam.

Route XXIII.—Bājarvān to Tabrīz (L. 199*b*).—Bājarvān in 4 farsakhs to Barzand (as aforesaid), thence 6 to Rubāṭ-i-Ayvān built by the Vazīr Khwājah Tāj-ad-Dīn 'Alī Shāh Tabrīzī, thence 8 to the village of Bahlatān (Baylaḳān, Dīh Sulṭān, or Sahlaḳān) known as the village of the Ṣāḥib Dīvān, thence in 8 farsakhs passing the Rubāṭ (Guardhouse) built by the Vazīr 'Alī Shāh aforesaid standing in the valley called Darrah Farūjāy to the city of Ahar, thence in 6 farsakhs by the Pass of Gūlchah-Nīl (the Blue Lake), in which stand two Guardhouses—one the Rubāṭ built by Khwājah Sa'd-ad-Dīn, the other by Amīr Niẓām-ad-Dīn Yaḥyā of Sāvah—to the village of Armīnān (or Arminiyān), thence passing another Rubāṭ built by the Vazīr 'Alī Shāh aforesaid at the stage of Yaldūḳ (or Baldūḳ) it is 8 farsakhs to Tabrīz.

The name of the valley called Farūjāy is in some MSS. given as Ḳirdjāy or Ḳarūjāy; Gūlchah Nīl appears as Kūkjay or Kavīlah Nīl, while Armīnān or Arminiyān has the variants Aranmiyān or Larsān. Apparently none of these places are marked on our maps, but this route is copied into the *Jihān Numā* (p. 389), and in Appendix III, already quoted in the remarks on Chapter 3, Mustawfi (L. 217*y*) mentions many of these places when describing the course of the Ahar river.

The next four Routes, giving the Itineraries from Sulṭānīyah westward to Sīvās, and from Sūmghān (already mentioned in Route viii) southward *viâ* Isfahān to Shīrāz, need no comment, for the places mentioned will for the most part be found on the map, and have already been dealt with in Chapters 2, 3, 7, and 12.

Route XXIV.—Sulṭānīyah to Tabrīz (L. 199*h*).—Sulṭānīyah in 5 farsakhs to Zanjān, thence 6 to Rubāṭ Nikbāy built by the Vazīr Khwājah Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn Amir Muḥammad Rashīdī, and another Rubāṭ has been built here by his brother Khwājah

Jalāl-ad-Dīn, thence in 7 farsakhs to Sarcham, thence by a pass in 6 farsakhs to Miyānij, thence 6 to the village of Turkmān Kandī called Dayr Kharrān, which formerly was a city, thence 4 to the village of Shankalābād, thence 4 to the city of Awjān, thence 4 by a pass to Sa'īdābād (or Sa'dābād), and thence in 4 farsakhs to the city of Tabrīz.

Route XXV.—Tabrīz to Sīvās (L. 199*n*).—Tabrīz 11 farsakhs to Marand, thence 12 to Khuvī (Khoi), thence 6 to Shakmābād, thence 5 to Shahr-i-Naw, thence 3 to Band-Māhī, thence 8 to Arjīsh, thence 8 to Malāsjird, thence 10 to Khanūs, thence 5 to the Pass of Aḳ Aftan, thence 5 to Basīn, thence 6 to Arzan-ar-Rūm, thence 10 to Asjah of the district of Vasīrjān, thence 10 to Khumān Ḳubūḥ at the foot of the pass, thence 4 to Arzanjān, thence 5 to the village of Khwājah Aḥmad, thence 7 to Arzanjak, thence 8 to Aḳ-Shahr, thence 5 to Akarsūk, thence 8 to Zārah, thence 10 to Rubāṭ Khwājah Aḥmad, and thence it is 4 farsakhs to Sīvās.

Route XXVI.—Sūmghān called Āḳ-Khwājah to Isfahān (L. 199*v*). —From Sūmghān it is 5 farsakhs to Sagzābād—this last being 24 farsakhs or 5 stages distant from Sulṭānīyah (see Route VIII)—and from Sagzābād it is 6 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Ḥājib, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Dawānīḳ, thence 5 to the city of Sāvah, thence 4 to Āvah, thence 6 to Ḳum, thence 12 to Kāshān, thence 8 to the village of Ḳuhrūd, thence 6 to the village of Wāsiṭah, thence it is 6 farsakhs to the Rubāṭ Murchah Khūrd, and 6 on to the village of Sīn—or else from Wāsiṭah it is 12 farsakhs direct to Sīn by the Miyānī Road, but on this way are no habitations—and from the village of Sīn it is 4 farsakhs to Isfahān.

Route XXVII. — Isfahān to Shīrāz (L. 200*c*).—Isfahān in 3 farsakhs to the village of Isfahānak, thence 5 to the village of Mihyār on the frontier of Fārs, thence 6 to Ḳūmishah, thence 5 to the village of Rūdkān, thence 7 to Yazdikhwāst, from here the winter road down to Band-i-'Aḍudī turns off to the left, while the (shorter, western, or) summer road is to the right, by Kūshk-i-Zard, namely, from Yazdikhwāst in 8 farsakhs to Dīh Girdū, thence 7 to Kūshk-i-Zard aforesaid, thence 8 by the Girīvah-i-Mādar wa Dukhtar (Mother and Daughter Pass) to the Rubāṭ of Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn in the plain called Dasht Rūn, thence 3 to the Guardhouse at

the Bridge called Pūl-i-Shahriyār, thence 7 farsakhs through the very stony Pass of Māyin to the town of Māyin, thence in 4 farsakhs—passing by the Castles of Iṣṭakhr and Shikastah which overhang the road on the left hand—to Pūl-i-Naw (New Bridge), thence 5 to Dīh Gurg (Wolf village), and thence in 5 farsakhs to the city of Shīrāz.

Route XXVIII.—Shīrāz to the Island of Ḳays and by sea to India (L. 200*l*).—Shīrāz 5 farsakhs to Shahrak village, thence 5 to the city of Kavār, thence by the Girīvah-i-Zanjīrān (Pass of Chains), leaving Fīrūzābād 7 farsakhs distant away to the right hand, in 5 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Chamankān, thence 5 to Maymanah, thence 6 to the beginning of the Ṣimkān District, thence 6 to the end of this District, thence in 7 farsakhs to Kārzīn by the Pass of Sang-i-Safīd (the White Stone), which is one farsakh short of Kārzīn, thence it is 5 farsakhs to Lāghir, thence 6 to the Fāryāb District, thence 6 to the city of Ṣaj, thence 5 to Āb-Anbār-i-Kinār, thence 5 to Haram, thence in 6 farsakhs by many steep passes to the village of Dārūk, thence 6 to Māhān, thence in 6 farsakhs by the Pass of Lardak to Ḥuzū on the sea-shore. From here you cross the water in 4 leagues to the city of Ḳays (on the island of that name). From this island it is 18 farsakhs to the Island of Abarkāfān, thence 7 to the Island of Urmūṣ, thence in 70 leagues you come to the Island of Bār on the frontier of Sind, and thence it is 80 to Daybul, which lies 2 leagues from the mouth of the Mihrān (Indus), which is the great river of Sind.

From Shīrāz to Ḳārzīn and Lāghar this road may be followed on the map, and the 'Pass of Chains' north of Fīrūzābād is still so named; but south of this, to Ḥuzū on the coast (given by the Arab geographers as the port for Ḳays Island and city) the route is found in no other authority, and has not, I believe, been followed by any traveller in modern times. Variants are numerous in the MSS. The name of the city called Ṣaj may be Ṣaḥ, Ḥaj, or Ḍaḥ, with many other combinations of the diacritical points as Khabakh and Ḥanaj, etc. Haram appears as Sīram or Marmaz. Dārūk may be Dārzak, Ūrak, or Dāvrak; finally, Māhān is given as Hāmān or Māyān. From Ḳays

Island the sea road to India is that in continuation of Route IV already given, and in regard to the names of the islands in the Persian Gulf these have all been discussed in Chapter 12.

Route XXIX.—Shīrāz to Kāzirūn (L. 200*x*).—Shīrāz in 5 farsakhs to the Wall of Ḥājjī Ḳawwām, thence 8 to Dasht Arzin, thence 6 to the Rubāṭ (Guardhouse) at the head of the Mālān Pass, which is very steep, thence by the Hūshang Pass, also very steep, in 3 farsakhs to Kāzirūn.

The two passes named before Kāzirūn are those now known as the Kūtal-i-Pīr-i-Zan and the Kūtal-i-Dukhtar—the Passes of the Old Woman and of the Maiden: for the other places see Chapter 12.

Route XXX.—Shīrāz to Hurmūz (L. 200*z*).—Shīrāz in 12 farsakhs to Sarvistān, thence 8 to the city of Fasā, thence 6 to Tīmaristān village, thence 8 to Dārkān (or Zārkān), from which, turning to the left in 4 farsakhs, you reach the city of Ig, the capital of Shabānkārah. To the right from Dārkān it is 10 farsakhs to Dārābgird, thence 3 to the village of Khayr, thence 6 to Shabankān, thence 3 to Rustāḳ, and thence 3 farsakhs to Burk (Forg); from here it is 6 farsakhs to Tāshkū, thence 6 to Tārum, thence to the frontier of the Lār Province at Janād (or Chinār) it is 4 farsakhs, thence 8 to Chāh Chil, thence 8 to Tūsar on the sea-coast, whence by water it is 4 leagues to the Island of Hurmūz.

The places along the route have been for the most part noticed in Chapters 12 and 13. Tāshkū beyond Forg is mentioned by Dupré (*Voyages en Perse*, ii, 489); the MSS. give Tashlū, Dāshlū, Shalū, with many other readings; but Tāshkū is doubtless the true version. Tūsar, the port on the Persian Gulf, whence the crossing is made to Hurmūz Island, is given as Dūsar, Lawhar, and Luvīlīr in the various MSS. It must occupy, more or less, the position of the harbour named Shahrū by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 170) and Sūrū or Sārū by Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 226), being identical with the later Gombroon, which is written Gumrū by Ḥājjī Khalfah (*Jihān Numā*, p. 260); and this last is generally held to have been

a corruption of Gumruk, the Turkish name for 'Custom-house' (from the Greek *κουμερκί*), which came into common use all over the East.

Route XXXI.—Shīrāz to Kirmān (L. 201*f*).—Shīrāz in 8 farsakhs to Dāriyān, thence 8 to Kharramah, thence 4 to Khūlanjān, thence 6 to Kand (or Kīd), thence 6 to Khayrah, thence 5 to Chāh 'Uḳbah, thence 8 to Bulangān, thence 8 to Chāhik, thence 8 to Chāhik City, thence 8 to Sarūshak, thence 8 to Shahr-i-Bābak, thence 8 to Kūshk Nu'mān, thence 4 to Abān, thence 10 to the city of Sīrjān, from which it is 20 farsakhs to Kirmān (city).

This is the road by the southern side of Bakhtigān Lake to the towns of Little and Great Ṣāhik (or Chāhik) given by the Arab itineraries. The present ruins at Dīh Chāh and Chāh Khushk probably represent these places. Great Ṣāhik was a city of some importance in the middle ages, where the road from Persepolis to Kirmān — along the northern shore of Lake Bakhtigān by Abādah City—joined the route here given coming from Shīrāz. For the reading Shahr Chāhik (Great Ṣāhik of the Arabs) nearly all of the MSS. give Shahr Atābeg, which possibly may have been the name of this place in the fourteenth century, though apparently not so given by any other authority.

The next route needs no commentary; it follows the nomenclature of the Arab geographers, and most of the places named will be found on the map, and have been noticed in Chapter 12.

Route XXXII.—Shīrāz to Yazd (L. 201*k*).—Shīrāz in 5 farsakhs to the village of Zargān, thence 3 to the dam called Band-i-Amīr on the Kur river, thence 3 to the village of Kinārah in the districts of Ḥafrak and Marv Dasht, thence 3 to Fārūḳ, thence 3 to Kamīn, thence 4 to Mashhad-i-Mādar-i-Sulaymān —'Shrine of the Mother of Solomon,' namely, the Tomb of Cyrus—thence 6 to Rubāṭ Mashk, thence 12 to the city of Abarḳūh, thence 13 to Dīh Shīr (Lion village), thence 6 to Dīh Jawz (Nut village), thence 4 to Ḳal'at-i-Majūs (Magiau's Castle), thence in 5 farsakhs to the city of Kathah or Yazd, standing in its Jūmah (District, otherwise Ḥūmah).

Route XXXIII.—Shīrāz to Arrajān and Bustānak (L. 201*p*).—Shīrāz in 5 farsakhs to Juvaym, thence 5 to Khallār, thence 5 to Kharrārah, thence 4 to Kuvār, which is of the district of Tīr Murdān, thence 3 to Karkān, thence 3 to Nawbanjān, thence 4 to Khābadān, thence 6 to Kishish, thence 5 to Gumbadh Mallaghān, thence 4 to Chawhah, thence 4 to Jīsh, thence 6 to Furzuk, thence 4 to Arrajān, and 4 farsakhs on to Bustānak, which is the frontier of Fārs and Khuzistān.

These stages for the most part are given in the Arab itineraries, and in the reverse order this is the route followed by Timur when on his march from Shustar to Ḳal'ah Safīd and Shīrāz, as given in the *Ẓafar Nāmah* (i, 600). Juvaym (marked Goyun on the map) and Khullār exist, also the ruins of Nawbanjān or Nawbandajān, which last name the MSS. more often give as Būhanjān or Lāhijān, and in a variety of other mistaken readings. This Nawbanjān, a celebrated city throughout the middle ages, lies some twenty-five miles due north of the ruins of Shāpūr, and was close to the famous valley of Sha'b Bavvān. Our maps now show another Nawbanjān, a village about twenty-five miles distant due west of Shāpūr; this place is not mentioned by the mediæval geographers, and the *city* of Nawbanjān or Nawbandajān must not be confounded with this modern village. Khabādhān, or Khwāndān, was on the river of that name already mentioned in Chapter 12, and Gumbadh Mallaghān is doubtless the modern Du Gumbadān (Two Domes), near which are some extensive ruins. The remaining stages to Arrajān are difficult to identify, and the MSS. give a variety of readings. Kishish appears as Kish or Mālish, Chawhah as Ṣāfah or Ṣā'ighah, Jazrak as Khawrak or Marzaḳ; but the same uncertainty is found in the corresponding Arab itineraries of Ibn Ḥawḳal and Muḳaddasi, and as none of these names are now found on the map it is impossible to get to any certainty in the matter.

In conclusion, I have two corrections of some importance to add, which have come to hand since the earlier portions of this paper were published. In the April number (p. 249) it

is stated that "the Urmīyah Lake appears to have been known to Ḥamd-Allah under the name of Khanjast," and it is added that the spelling of this name is uncertain. Professor P. Horn, of Strassburg, has since written to me that the true reading is *Chīchast* (differing from Khanjast only by a variation of the diacritical points), this being a modification of the name given to the Urmīyah Lake in the Avesta where the ancient spelling is *Chaēchasta*. Hence in the *Shāh Nāmah* (Turner-Macan, p. 1860, l. 4, and p. 1927, l. 6 from below) *Chīchast* should be read for 'Khanjast.'

The second correction is for the July number (p. 530), in the matter of the true site of Sīrjān, the earlier of the two capitals of the Kirmān province. In his recent work *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, which is reviewed on another page, Major P. Molesworth Sykes describes (p. 431) the ruins of a fortress and town called Ḳal'ah-i-Sang, covering a hill-top, which is some 5 miles to the eastward of Sa'īdābād on the road to Bāft. These ruins are also known as Ḳal'ah-i-Bayzā, 'the White Castle,' and appear beyond reasonable doubt to be those of Sīrjān, the fortress of which was destroyed by the orders of Tīmūr (see J.R.A.S., April, 1901, p. 284). The position of Ḳal'ah-i-Sang is, it is true, rather more to the westward and further from Kirmān city than the distances given in the Arab geographers would seem to warrant, but this is probably explicable by the very varying estimate given to the *Marḥalah*, or Day's March, on which we have to rely when, unfortunately, the stages in farsakhs are not given.

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ART. XXV.—*Three Arabic MSS. on the History of the City of Mayyāfāriqīn.* By H. F. AMEDROZ.

MAYYĀFĀRIQĪN, like many a Moslem city, was not without its historian, but hitherto he has been a name only—Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqi—known to us by the quotations from his history in the biographies of Ibn Khallikān. Now, however, the British Museum has acquired a nearly complete copy of the Ta'rīkh Mayyāfāriqīn, Or. 5,803. Its date of composition is 572 A.H. The MS. is written in a good hand, and was copied probably at Damascus, and in the seventh century of the Hijra. It contains 200 folios of about twenty-two closely written lines a side: the first eight folios, to 17 A.H., are wanting; a gap, covering the years 567–9, follows folio 194, and the years 571–2 are wanting at the end.

And recently the Museum has acquired a fragment of an earlier version of the same history—Or. 6,310—composed, as appears from a passage on folio 94*b*, in 560 A.H. Its form is more concise, owing to the absence of much of the non-local matter of the later version, and its contents correspond with the latter half of that version, and do not cover the first two and a half centuries of the Hijra. It may be that this period, during which Mayyāfāriqīn had no history of its own apart from that of the Caliphate, was therein dealt with briefly.[1]

[1] This MS. is in a more formal hand than Or. 5,803; it contains 138 folios of ten short lines a side; it commences at 255 A.H. (fol. 103*a* of Or. 5,803), proceeds through 130 folios to 543 A.H., when there occurs a gap of a year (fols. 173–4 of Or. 5,803), and then extends to 548 A.H. (fol. 178*a* of Or. 5,803). There is also a gap at fol. 25*b*, line 3, which is covered by the matter on fols. 121–125 of Or. 5,803, being the period between the revolt at Mayyāfāriqīn against the Dailamite garrison of Ṣamṣām al-Daula the Buwaihid and the seizure of Āmid by Ibn Damnah early in the reign of Mumahhid al-Daula the

Some details of Ibn al-Azraq's career may be gathered from his history, but beyond the fact that he was the grandson of 'Ali, his name had to be sought elsewhere[1] Fortunately Professor D. S. Margoliouth drew my attention to a citation from the Bodleian MS., Marsh 333, in the "Life and Letters of Abu'l-'Alā," Oxford, 1900, relating to the bequest of a library to Mayyāfāriqīn. This bequest was mentioned also in Or. 5,803 (fol. 135*a*) and Marsh 333, which is a geographical and historical description of Mesopotamia (Bodl. Cat., i, No. 945), proved to contain copious quotations from Ibn al-Azraq's history, and to give its author's full name as Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. 'Ali.[2] 'Ali b. al-Azraq, the grandfather, is mentioned (fol. 149*a*) as holding the office of Nāẓir of Ḥuṣn Kayfā at the taking of Mayyāfāriqīn by Ibn Jahīr in 478 A.H., when he was party to a pious fraud through which the late Marwānid Vizier, Ibn al-Anbāri, was saved from death at the hands

Marwānid. And the contents from fol. 88*b*, line 5, to fol. 90*b*, line 6, are out of place, and should follow on fol. 92*a*, line 9, owing, no doubt, to the copyist's original having been out of order. Being generally unpointed, this MS. forms a useful exercise in reading, with Or. 5,803 as a key.

[1] The name Abu Muḥammad given to Ibn al-Azraq by Wüstenfeld, (Gesch. No. 256) is erroneous. The person referred to is a Zāhid and miracle-worker. (See the passage cited, Abu'l-Fidā, iii, 624.)

[2] The authorship of Marsh 333 is not settled (see Nicoll's note, Bodl. Cat., ii, p. 602), but the manuscript may now, I think, be safely regarded as the second volume of al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīra fi Dhikr Umarā al-Shām wa'l-Jazīra, by the Kātib 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād of Ḥalab (Brockelmann, Gesch., i, p. 482), for on fol. 36*b* of the MS. the author mentions as his work the Sīrat al-Sulṭān al-Malek al-Ẓāhir, i.e. Baibars, and of this work 'Izz al-Dīn was the author. (See Ḥāji Khalīfa, No. 7,330, and also Ṣafadi, List of Authorities to his Wāfi bil-Wafayāt, Vienna, No. 1,163, i, 18*b*.) The MS. would, indeed, have been identified as the above work by Nicoll, but for the error of Ḥāji Khalīfa (No. 935) in attributing al-A'lāq to Bahā al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, who died in 632 A.H. (Brockelmann, Gesch., i, p. 316), whilst the author of Marsh 333 was writing in 679 A.H. Ḥāji Khalīfa does, in fact, attribute al-A'lāq to 'Izz al-Dīn, but under the name of al-Durrat al-Khaṭīra (No. 4,934). Further, the Ḥāfiẓ Zain al-Dīn, who is suggested by Nicoll as a possible author of the MS., is mentioned therein as an actor in the narrative. It is noticeable that Ibn Shaddād's account of Bād the Kurd, the founder of the Marwānid line (fol. 79*b*), is given on the authority of Ibn al-Athīr (ix, 125) on the ground that he is not mentioned by Ibn al-Azraq. This is untrue of Or. 5,803 (see fol. 121*a*), but is true of the other MS. as it stands, owing to the gap in the text at fol. 25*b*, and there are many indications that the version used by Ibn Shaddād must have been more akin to this one than to Or. 5,803. More about the Bodleian MS. follows *infra*. I am indebted to the Librarian of the Bodleian, Mr. E. W. Nicholson, for the advantage of having been able to compare it with the History of Ibn al-Azraq.

of Ibn Jahīr, by whom he was credited with a too accurate knowledge of the amount of Marwānid treasure which had been got in.

'Ali is again mentioned (fol. 150*a–b*) as one of a deputation of inhabitants sent to the Sultan's court in 481 to procure the removal of the Governor, Abu 'Ali al-Balkhi, who had succeeded Ibn Jahīr. In 482, under Ibn Jahīr's son, 'Amīd al-Daula, the new Governor, he is mentioned (fol. 151*a*) as Nāẓir and Governor of Arzan, and in the earlier version (fol. 76*b*) he is included among the leading persons of Mayyāfāriqīn who accompanied 'Amīd al-Daula on his departure to Baghdād late in 484 by way of Iṣpahān, when they were admitted to the Caliph's palace and treated with much honour.

His grandson, the historian, was born at Mayyāfāriqīn in 510 A.H. (fol. 160*a*). His first public mission was to Māridīn in 529 (fol. 167*b*), and during the next twenty years he repeatedly records his presence in various cities of Mesopotamia and Syria. In 536 he was at Āmid with his father (fol. 170*a*); in 542 at Mu'dan, buying copper for an issue of coinage by the Ortoqid Ḥusām al-Dīn (fol. 172*b*); in 544 at Mosul, selling iron on behalf of this sovereign, when he was present on the Maidān at the meeting between the Atābek Quṭb al-Dīn Maudūd and the Qāḍi Kamāl al-Dīn al-Shahrazūri on his release from prison (fol. 174*b*)—see his life in Ibn Khallikān (Sl. Eng., ii, 646), whose account of the meeting seems to be taken from this history—and when he had from Kamāl al-Dīn particulars of the killing of Zangi at the siege of Qal'at Ja'bar in 541, and how its commander's confident trust in succour from Allah was justified (see Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 81, and his History of the Atābeks of Mosul, "Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux," vol. ii, pt. 2, p. 131). He was in the camp of Ḥusām al-Dīn late in the year when he received the surrender of Dārā (fol. 174*b*), his absence from Mayyāfāriqīn being due to his holding the office of Mutawalli Ashrāf al-Waqf, i.e. superintendent of charitable property, outside its territory (fol. 174*a*).

Baghdād he visited three times. First, in 534 (fol. 169*a–b*), when he stayed six months, and studied under various teachers, whom he enumerates. He relates how he saw the Caliph Muqtafi receive the homage of the Khwāja 'Izz al-Mulk[1]; and how he was present at the Bāb al-Ḥujra on the arrival of the Sultan Mas'ūd's sister,[2] and also at the marriage of the Sultan with the Caliph's daughter, when the Vizier Sharaf al-Dīn 'Ali b. Ṭirād al-Zainabi acted as proxy, as he had acted for the Caliph on his marriage. From one prominent official—Abu 'Abd Allah Muḥammad b. 'Abd 'l-Karīm al-Anbāri, who was nephew to the above-mentioned vizier of that name, and was long in the service of the Caliphs from Mustaẓhir onwards, in the Dīwān al-Inshā', refusing the post of vizier (fol. 153*b*), until his death in 558 (fol. 186*a*; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 196)—he received a full account of the conflict between the Sultan Mas'ūd and the Caliphs Mustarshid and Rāshid, their deaths, and the accession of the Caliph Muqtafi (fols. 165–6).[3]

[1] "Abu'l-'Izz Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al Barūjirdi," forced on Sultan Mas'ūd as vizier by Qarā Sunqur in 533 in place of Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain the treasurer (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 42, *sub 532*, and al-Bundāri's abridgment of Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahani, "Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides," by Houtsma, vol. ii, at p. 187, where the treasurer is named Muḥammad b. 'Ali, and he is called, too, al-Manāzi in the Zubdat al-Tawārīkh, B.M. Stowe, Or. 7, 62*a*).

[2] Her father, Sultan Muḥammad, had given her mother to his Mamlūk Qarājā al-Sāqi before 508 A.H., when she entered Mayyāfāriqīn as his wife (fol. 159*b*; as corrected by earlier version, fol. 99*b*). Fāṭima, her daughter, had been espoused to the Caliph three years before (Ibn Khallikān, Sl. Eng., ii, 234). The Halls (Ḥujra) were added to the palace by Mustarshid (Yāqūt, i, 144), and in one of these Fāṭima lived until her death in 542. (See "Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate," Oxford, 1900, by G. Le Strange, p. 273.)

[3] This account accords in substance with that given by Ibn al-Athīr (xi, 14–17, and Atābeks, 87–98), but Ibn al-Azraq's informant, who was an eye-witness of, and actor in, the proceedings, adds many interesting particulars. He relates how Mustarshid started on the campaign against Mas'ūd in opposition to the advice both of himself and of the Vizier al-Zainabi, who instanced the fatal move of al-Ḥusain from Mecca to 'Irāq, to all of which the Caliph's reply was that, if death was inevitable, a coward's death was a poor one to choose:

اذا لم يكن من الموت بد فمن الغبن ان تموت جبانا

He said, too, that the Caliph's assassination whilst a prisoner in Mas'ūd's camp was by many attributed to Mas'ūd, acting perhaps on the advice of his uncle, the Sultan Sinjār; and by some to the instigation of the Mazyadid Dubays b. Ṣadaqa, the Caliph's bitter enemy. That the people of Baghdād believed both Sultans to be guilty is shown by the recollection of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahāni,

His second visit was in 546 A.H. (fol. 175*a*), when he arrived in Ramaḍhān, and, whilst there, attended the classes

who was there in 549 A.H. (see al-Bundārī, op. cit., p. 178), and the killing of Dubays by Mas'ūd is regarded by Ibn Khallikān (Sl. Eng., i, 506) as a device for laying the deed to his charge. Neither of these theories has the support of Ibn al-Athīr. On the contrary, he suggests that Dubays' death was due to Mas'ūd having no longer occasion to play him off against the Caliph (vol. xi, p. 19). Al-Anbārī went on to say how he, and the other advisers of the late Caliph, were now summoned by Mas'ūd from the fortress of Sarjahān, where they had been imprisoned since their defeat—a place which the historian mentions he saw when at al-Rayy in 549 A.H.—and were consulted as to what was to be done about the Caliphate. The Sultan held very Erastian views as to the position of the Caliph towards the Saljūq power. When the vizier said that the office had passed to the designated successor, Rāshid, who had received homage on that occasion and again lately, he replied that he would never confirm his appointment. Rāshid, he said, meant to revolt, like his father, Mustarshid, who had attacked his brother Maḥmūd twice and himself once, with the result that, till the end of time, they would have to bear the odium of a Caliph's death, after having restored the dignity to his house—an allusion, no doubt, to the suppression of the revolt of al-Basāsīri and the restoration of the Caliph Qāim by his ancestor, Tughril Beg, in 450 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 445). His wish was to have someone appointed who would not interfere in matters outside the faith, and not put himself at the head of a party hostile to him and his dynasty. An Abbasid of some years should be chosen—there were plenty to select from—a man of sense and judgment, who must bind himself to be duly obedient and to keep at home, and he told them not to leave out of sight Hārūn (the words are لا تعرّجوا عن هرون, see the same form used with الى in the sense of turning the attention to taking another's territory, Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 520, l. 19), Hārūn being a son of the Caliph Muqtadi, for he was an elderly man and would not be inclined to rebellion; he was, moreover, recommended to him by his uncle Sinjār. The historian then enumerates the descendants of Muqtadi, Mustaẓhir, Mustarshid, and of Rāshid, who had over twenty children, the eldest born to him when he was 9 years of age only, and the historian dwells on this instance of precocity and cites other cases (fol. 166*a*). Then, resuming the narrative, he tells us that Mas'ūd, whilst recommending Hārūn, added that, in pursuance of the advice of his uncle Sinjār, a guarantee for the behaviour of the person appointed would be required from the vizier, the treasurer, and Ibn al-Anbārī, whereupon the vizier said that, having regard to this liability, it was for them to select, and that their choice fell on the most fit of them all, namely, Mustaẓhir's son, Abu 'Abd Allah, for whose acts they would go surety. (He was, in fact, the vizier's son-in-law, having married his daughter when his father was Caliph and hers Chief Naqīb.) The Sultan assented, and advised secrecy, lest the nominee should be murdered in Baghdād. Later they proceeded there with Mas'ūd. Then follows (fol. 166*b*) an account of the doings of Rāshid, and his offer to Zangi to procure the Sultanate for Alp Arslān, son of Mas'ūd's brother Maḥmūd, and then under Zangi's charge, and that Zangi should be Atābek (guardian) to both Sultan and Caliph. Zangi advanced to Baghdād, but had to retire before Mas'ūd, and Rāshid, seeing that his fall was inevitable, assembled all the members of the house of 'Abbās in an underground chamber, which he ordered should be closed. And the historian was told by a chamberlain that Rāshid had handed him a sword, saying he was to help him in killing them all, and so leave no one eligible for the Caliphate, as the enemy might substitute one of them for himself; and that he then ordered the chamber to be opened. Just then came the news of Zangi's flight to Mosul after pillaging the Ḥarīm of Ṭāhir, and the Sultan's arrival at Nahrawān, whereupon they both threw

of the Preacher Quṭb al-Dīn al-'Abādi;[1] he also saw the Sultan Mas'ūd on his coming to pass the winter there, "and

away their swords, and, seizing some valuables, started off with the Chief Qāḍi al-Zainabi, and the lately appointed vizier Ibn Ṣadaqa, to join Zangi at Mosul.

[Ibn al-Athīr attributes the pillage to the criminal class, and Zangi's withdrawal, not flight, to discord among the allies and to the irresolution (تلوّن) of the Caliph (Atābeks, p. 94). He is always favourable to the Mosul dynasty.]

Al-Anbāri went on to say that on reaching Baghdād in 530 A.H. he and the rest gave the required guarantee, and afterwards waited on Abu 'Abd Allah, when the Vizier stipulated that he should abide by the conditions imposed, and informed him that they had already guaranteed this. (It appears from al-Bundāri, op. cit., p. 235, and from the Zubdat al-Tawārīkh, 71*b*, that one condition was not to keep any Turkish mamluks, which the Caliph evaded by hiring Armenians and Greeks. Ibn al-Athīr records that a similar condition was submitted to by Rāshid, vol. xi, p. 62.) Abu 'Abd Allah assented, and they informed the Sultan, who fixed the day following for the ceremony of homage. On that day (fol. 167*a*) they first removed from the palace various instruments of music and other improper objects, and then took the evidence of its inmates that Rāshid was given to fermented beverage, whereupon his deposition was pronounced by Abu Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. al-Karkhi, the Chief Qāḍi of the Shafeite sect (in the absence of al-Zainabi at Mosul, Ibn al-Athīr, xi, p. 27). Next they presented the new Caliph with a list of titles, which included 'Muqtafi,' 'Mustaḍi,' and 'Mustanjid' — in the earlier version (115*a*) 'Mustajīr.' He left the choice to them (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, p. 28, attributes the choice to a dream), and al-Anbāri, being asked for his opinion, chose Muqtafi. The Caliph said, "May it be blessed," whereupon the Vizier and the rest of them kissed the Caliph's hand and did homage in these terms:—

بايعتُ سيدنا ومولانا المقتفى لامر الله امير المومنين على كتاب الله وسُنة رسول الله واجتهاده

whilst al-Anbāri substituted, after the titles, the words—

على ما بايعتُ عليه اباه وابن اخيه فى ولاية عهده

for he had done homage to Mustaẓhir as Wakīl al-Dār in 490 and to Mustarshid when in the Dīwān al-Inshā' in 507, and also to Rāshid, presumably on his designation as successor. (Earlier in the MS., on fol. 135*a*, is given the form used on the accession of al-Qāim in 422 A.H. The Ḥājib asked each person in turn—

تبايع الامام القايم بامر الله على الرضى بالالتزام بطاعته وامامته

to which the person replied "Yes," and kissed the Caliph's hand.)

[1] "Al-Muẓaffar b. Ardashīr." He had come to Baghdād in 541 on a mission from Sultan Sinjār to the Caliph, when his sermons were largely attended; he died in the year 546 in Khūzistān, whilst on a mission from the Caliph to the Saljūq Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd, and was buried in Baghdād (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 78 and 103).

his elephant, parrot, and monkey"; and he says that the Sultan died in the following year outside Ḥamadhān,[1] the news reaching him at Takrīt on his way homewards.

And he was again in Baghdād in 568 or 569 A.H., for he tells us (fol. 91*a*) that he then visited the tomb of Abu 'Abd Allah Sufyān b. Sa'īd b. Marzūq b. Mundhir al-Thauri,[2] and (fol. 92*b*) that of the Imām Mūsa al-Kāẓim, but the narrative of these years is unfortunately wanting in the MS.

In 548 the historian was for some time at the Court of the king of the Abkhāz, Demetrius, son of David the Restorer. Having recorded the occupation of Tiflīs by David in 515, after his defeat of the Ortoqid Najm al-Dīn Īl Ghāzi and his Moslem allies outside that city, and that many of the prisoners were still in captivity, he says (fol. 161*b*) that he saw the field of battle when he went to Tiflīs in 548 to the Court of Demetrius; that he accompanied the King in a journey of over seventy days through his kingdom, passing by Ablān and Darband to the province of Abkhāz; that there they came to a fortress in which the King told him was a prisoner of Īl Ghāzi's force, 'a Must'arab,' and that he ought next day to visit him and ask him whence he came; that he was prepared to do this, but at night came tidings of disturbances which compelled their sudden departure, and so prevented his seeing the captive. On fol. 162*a* he records the regulations respecting the Moslem inhabitants of Tiflīs, which he describes as eminently favourable to them, and that in 548 they were still in force. Further, that he had seen King Demetrius, when on a visit to Tiflīs, attend at the Mosque on a Friday and take his seat on a raised bench (دكّة) opposite the Khaṭīb, and listen to his address, and that on leaving he gave 200 dinars for the benefit of the Mosque; and that his conduct towards men of learning and piety was both honourable and liberal; in fact, he had seen Moslems treated by him

[1] This passage is quoted by Ibn Khallikān in his life of Mas'ūd (Sl. Eng., iii, 357).

[2] Imprisoned by order of the Caliph Manṣūr in Mecca in 158 A.H. with members of the Alide family; died in 161 (Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 23 and 38).

with a respect that they would not have met with even in Baghdād itself.[1] It was on this journey that he heard of the death of Īl Ghāzi, in Dhu'l-Qa'da, 548, for he says (fol. 176*b*) that when near Darband, in Muḥarram, 549, the King sent for him and told him his master was dead, and that the news had just reached him. On his return by way of Greek territory (fol. 180*a*) Ibn al-Azraq resisted an attempt by Niẓām al-Dīn Yāghi Siyān b. Dushmand[2] to

[1] After the city had been taken by assault and pillaged for three days David promised the inhabitants protection and fair treatment. He remitted various taxes during that year; at the request of the Moslems he provided that no swine should be allowed to be slaughtered in their quarter of the city; he issued coin bearing on one side the names of the Caliph and Sultan, and on the other the names of Allah and of the Prophet, with his own name on the border (and some of these coins are in existence, see "Suites Monétaires de la Georgie," V. Langlois, p. 45; Paris, 1870); he made proclamation that he would refuse to protect anyone injuring a Moslem; that these should have the right of calling to prayer, and of praying and reading openly, and of pronouncing the Khuṭba from the pulpit on Friday for the Caliph and the Sultan, but for these only; that no Georgian, Armenian, or Jew should enter the baths of Ismā'īl at Tiflīs; and he fixed the yearly payment due to himself, خدمة, for Georgians at five, for Jews at four, and for Moslems at three dinars (fol. 162*a*). This statement by a Moslem historian is strong evidence of David's toleration. Moslem practice was otherwise. 'Amīd al-Mulk, governor of Mayyāfāriqīn in 580, hearing the call to prayer (ناقوس) sounding from a Nestorian monastery on a hill near, exclaimed, "This is sounded on Moslem hill-tops, whilst we need authorization (اذن نحن) at Constantinople!" and being told the edifice was once a mosque, he had it reconverted (fol. 150*a*, earlier version 74*a*). Both these episodes are told by Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzi in the Mir'āt al-Zamān (Paris, 1506, 306*a* and 202*b*), and are doubtless taken from this history, and the former is given also by al-'Aini (Brock., ii, 52) in his history; Petersb. As. Mus. Rosen, 177 (see Brosset's Hist. Géorgie, vol. i, Add. 240–1). Ibn al-Athīr (x, 399) mentions only the pillage, not the toleration. In his account of the recapture of Tiflīs by the Moslems under Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārizm Shāh in 623 (xii, 293–6) he draws attention to the strength of the Georgians in holding the city so long against all Moslem attacks.

[2] I.e. of the Dānishmand family. See Lane-Poole's "Mohammedan Dynasties," p. 156. Both forms of the name occur in the MS., fols. 186*a*, 197*a*, and 200*a*. In the list of this dynasty given in Jannābi's History (Bodl., Pocock 177 and Laud 238) this Yāghi Siyān appears as the third ruler, being son to Muḥammad al-Ghāzi, whom he succeeded in 537. He died in 562. He is mentioned again in the MS. under 570 A.H. (fol. 200*a*) as having been at some date deprived of his territory by the Sultan (of Rūm).

retain him in his service, and went on to Akhlāṭ, and thence to al-Rayy by way of Arjīsh, Barkari, Nūshahr, Qaṭwar, Khuwayyi, Marand, Tabrīz, Zaraknān, and the river. At al-Rayy he visited the tomb of Chosroes, and of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the pupil of Abu Ḥanīfa,[1] and then retraced his steps to Akhlāṭ.[2] In 549 (fol. 181*a*) he was again in Mayyāfāriqīn.

In 558 he was at Akhlāṭ (fol. 186*a*), when the news arrived of the defeat of the Georgian king by a coalition of Moslem rulers, viz., Shāh Arman, the Saljūq Arslān Shāh of 'Irāq, Shams al-Dīn Īldigiz of Adharbījān, and Fakhr al-Dīn of Arzan. He says that the king fled to some densely wooded ground, three days off, a spot known to him from his visit in 549, and he describes the rejoicings at Akhlāṭ, when 300 oxen were slaughtered and distributed among the needy.

In 562 (fol. 190*b*) he records his appointment as superintendent of charitable property at Mayyāfāriqīn, and in 563 (fol. 191*b*), having journeyed to Damascus by way of Ruhā, Manbij, Ḥalab, Ḥimṣ, and Ḥamāh (and the journey lasted from the middle of Sha'abān to the 17th Ramadhān), the Chief Qāḍi, Kamāl al-Dīn al-Shahrazūri, appointed him Nāẓir of charitable property there. He was at Damascus at the time of the severe earthquake in 565, which, he says, was fatal to only one person there (fol. 193*a*), and in Rabī' II, 566 (fol. 194*a*), he witnessed the starting of a remarkable caravan for Egypt, in which travelled Saladin's brother, Shams al-Daula (Tūrān Shāh), with his children and nephews and their families and dependants, and which consisted, it was said, of over 70,000 camels, with as many as eight persons on a camel—three women and five small children. It arrived in safety and was met by Saladin.[3]

On the 13th Jumāda I in the same year (fol. 194*b*) he

[1] His life is given by Ibn Khallikān, Sl. Eng., ii, 590.
[2] For this route see Iṣṭakhri, p. 194.
[3] The departure is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr (see Atābeks, p. 258, and Ibn Khallikān, Sl. Eng., iv, 497).

started homewards, and retracing his steps to Manbij, reached Mayyāfāriqīn, through Ḥarrān, Ra's al-'Ain, and Māridīn, in the middle of Jumāda II. In 570 (fol. 198*b*) he is journeying by Āmid, to Ḥamāh, on to Ḥāni, and thence home by the Monastery of the Cross.

And in 571 (fol. 200*a*), after another successful campaign against the Georgians, he was at Akhlāṭ when the remains of a deceased vizier of Shāh Arman arrived there, and witnessed the grief and mourning of the ruler and people. How long he lived after 572 is uncertain, as I have been unable to find any biographical notice of him. From his constant journeys it would appear that, like his grandfather, he was connected with state business—in two instances he says so—and various passages in his history indicate that he was interested in public works; on bridges, for instance, he has much to say, and seems to look at them with a practised eye.[1]

Ibn al-Azraq says (fol. 7*a*) that his history had originated in a perusal of the Kitāb Baghdād, with its description of the building of that city by al-Manṣūr, and of the Kitāb al-Mauṣil, composed by al-Shimshāṭi for the Oqailid Qirwāsh, and extending to about 440 A.H. Of this last work and of

[1] He mentions that a bridge at Aqrāmān, over the Sātīdamā river, gave way in 539 (fol. 171*a*); that an attempt to rebuild it in 541 failed owing to the foundations being undermined by a flood; that the person charged with the work was saddled with the cost; and that his successor did his work excellently, the bridge being completed in 548 (fol. 171*b*). He states its height as over sixty cubits "bi'l-Najjār" (i.e. one larger by a sixth than the ordinary cubit; see Ibn Ḥauqal, 112 (*c*), and Gloss Geogr. *sub* "Najar"). He says, too, that it was the first bridge to be built in Diyār Bakr; and proceeds to instance other bridges of later date (fol. 179*b*), one of these being that over the Yāryār river between Fanak and Jazīrat ibn 'Omar, built by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Iṣbahāni, the vizier at Mosul, who contemplated another over the Tigris at Bāfatā below Jazīra, but did not live to complete it (ib. and 185*b*). On fol. 195*b* he records, too, that in 570 Banafsah, a slave girl belonging to the Caliph, made a second bridge of boats (Jisr) over the Tigris for which the chain, which cost 1,500 dinars, was procured from Ḥāni (where there were iron-mines, Yāqūt, ii, 188); that it was moored below the Tāj palace, the old bridge being removed to near the entrance of Darb Zakhi near the college of Muwaffaq; and that the new bridge proved of great use. (The building by Banafsah of a bridge near the Shūnīziyya quarter, probably the 'Thorn bridge,' is mentioned in "Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate," by G. Le Strange, p. 79, on the authority of the Ta'rīkh-i-Guzīdah of Ḥamd-Allah. Perhaps the bridge was misdescribed by Ḥamd-Allah.)

its author nothing is known,[1] but the Kitāb Baghdād is the well-known work by Ibn abi Ṭāhir Ṭaifūr, the prototype of all subsequent histories of Baghdād. (See Brockelmann, Gesch., i, p. 138.)[2] The earlier version of Ibn al-Azraq's history (Or. 6,310) is smaller in compass than Or. 5,803, not so much owing to greater conciseness as to the absence of the matter added to the later version. The scope of the history is rather local than general, and, apart from the proof afforded by the existence of the earlier version, it would have been apparent that much of the non-local matter in Or. 5,803, at least in its latter half, which alone I have fully read, was an addition to an existing work. This foreign matter, down to the fall of the Marwānid dynasty in 478 A.H., consists in the main of scraps of Baghdād history with some notices of the Fatimide rulers, inserted, at times, in the middle of an episode, or out of order of date, or twice over, and under different dates. And many of the dates are at variance with those given in other histories. Later, from the time of Zangi onwards, when the centre of politics had shifted to Mosul and Damascus, when Māridīn and not Mayyāfāriqīn was the residence of the ruling dynasty, and when Ibn al-Azraq was himself a spectator of events, his history broadens somewhat, and is made up of unconnected notices of events occurring in Mesopotamia and elsewhere. To its close the

[1] This author must not be confused with 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Shimshāṭi, a poet at the Court of Saif al-Daula; see fol. 113*b* of this MS., Yāqūt, iii, 320, and Ibn Khallikān (Sl. Eng., ii, 335). Dhahabi (Or. 48, 2*b*) quotes a History by 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Shimshāṭi for warfare between Saif al-Daula and the Greeks in 351 A.H.

[2] I have found but one subsequent reference in the MS. to the Kitāb Baghdād—at fol. 95*a*, where it is quoted as fixing the death of the Imām Mālik in 199 A.H. at the age of 85 years. Ibn al-Azraq there says that he had already given the date otherwise and as he then believed it to be, and that he now gave this different date. And he had in fact stated (fol. 92*a–b*) that the Imām died in 179 A.H., aged 84 years, or, according to al-Wāqidi, aged 90 years. Ibn Khallikān's life of the Imām (Sl. Eng., ii, p. 547) contains a similar statement. Ibn al-Azraq was evidently struck by the discrepancy between the two dates. That given by Ibn Ṭaifūr unfortunately does not fall within the period covered by the fragment of his work (B.M. Add. 23,318) relating to the reign of Ma'mūn, which begins at 204 A.H. Ibn al-Azraq relates the foundation of Baghdād at fol. 89, but does not quote the Kitāb Baghdād.

work continues to be rather a patchwork than a tissue of history.

In the course of the opening narrative of the Moslem conquest of the country is inserted an account of the founding of Mayyāfāriqīn (fol. 7*b* et seq.), taken from a 'Tash'īth a' in the Melkite Church there, which a Christian translated for the author from the Syriac into Arabic. And Yāqūt, writing just half a century after Ibn al-Azraq, gives the same account in a more concise form in the Mu'jam al-Buldān, ed. Wüst., iv, 703.[1] The narrative proceeds under headings of successive Caliphs until, on fol. 110*a*, comes an account of the rise of the Hamdānids, and in particular of Saif al-Daula, who held Mayyāfāriqīn, with notices of his campaigns, of his Court, of the names of the literary men who frequented it (fol. 113*b*), of his death, and of his

[1] Some of the variants in the two texts are noticeable. The original name of Mayyāfāriqīn—'City of Martyrs'—in Yāqūt, 705, مدورصالا is, on fol. 9*b*, ميفرقت (see Assemani, B.O. i, 174). In the list of the city towers, Yāqūt's برج الزريّة و بيعة اليعاقبة و البيعة بالعقبة and برج الرومية is برج الزاوية. In the list of gates Yāqūt's الخنازير, قلونج, and الشهوة are, respectively, الجنايز, قولفج, and الهوة (though on fol. 140*a* the second of these appears twice as قلوفج). The meadow where the conquerors stuck up their spears (Yāqūt, 707), عين البيضة, is, on fol. 6*a*, عين النصبة. Further, the date of the Seleucid era, corresponding with 300 A.D. (the foundation of the city), given in Yāqūt as 623, is, on fol. 10*b*, erroneously 923, but the words which follow in Yāqūt, 706, l. 21, و قيل اول عمارتها فى ايام بطرس الملك فى ايام يعقوب النبى are, more probably, و قيل كان ذلك فى ولاية انطرس الملك و قيل انطوس و كان ذلك فى زمن يعقوب الذى بنى بيعة نصيبين i.e. the Bishop James, d. A.D. 338. (See Assemani, B.O. i, 17.)

elaborate funeral (117*a*).[1] Then follows an account of the conquest of Mayyāfāriqīn and the rest of Diyār Bakr by

[1] Among the expeditions of Saif al-Daula, one against Armenia in 328 A.H. (940 A.D.), mentioned on fol. 111*b*, contains some interesting names. It runs thus:—

و فى سنة ثمان و عشرين و ثلثماية سار سيف الدولة من ميفرقين الى ارمنية و نزل بطيطوانة على البحيرة واستدعى بابن جاجيق بن الديرانى و احمد بن عبد الرحمن و ابو المعز صاحب خلاط وذات الجوز و ارجيش و بركرى و عبد الحميد صاحب منازجرد و سبالوَرك و الهرك اشوط بن جرجور و بطريق البطارقة بارمنية وحضروا لديه و اخذ من ابن الديرانى حصن شهران والحامد و بلدانها و ماجوارها (*sic*) و اخذ من احمد بن عبد الرحمن بدليس و ما جاورها (*sic*) و اخذ من اشوط بلد السناسنة و فتحه و ملك قلعة قلب و حصن سليمن و اعمالها و ردّ ملوك . . . . تحت حكمه و فى خدمته و سار الى بلاد ابن المرزبان و بلد الخالدية فنهب و سبا منه خلقًا عظيمًا و فتح حصونهم اجمع و ذلك فى مدة خمسين يومًا و عاد

The names Gagic, Déranic, Ashot, and Grigor seem to be those of princes of the house of Ardzrouni (see their history in "Collection d'historiens Arméniens," by M. Brosset, vol. i, 248 and 263; St. Petersburg, 1874). The title 'Marzpan' (Marzubān) of Armenia occurs, ib. 210. The Baṭrīq al-Baṭāriqa is probably the 'Iṣḥkhān' or central king. The Sunāsuna, who are mentioned elsewhere in the MS. as hostile neighbours, were an Armenian tribe (Ibn al-Aṯhīr, ix, 306). For 'al-Ṭaiṭawāna,' see Yāqūt, iii, 570, and for 'Barkari,' Iṣṭaḵhri, 194. The latter is marked as 'Pergri' on Kiepert's map of Turkey in Asia, and as situate on the stream at the north-east corner of Lake Van, with Arjīsh, Dhāt al-Jauz, and Aḵhlāṭ lying along the north shore in succession westwards, Dhāt al-Jauz being "Ardzgë or 'Ādeldjiwāz," and on fol. 160*a* it occurs again as عاد الجوز. I am informed by Mr. A. G. Ellis that the word should more properly be 'Artskë,' the Armenian having probably been transliterated according to Constantinople pronunciation; further, that

'Aḍud al-Daula, with a notice of his literary Court, which included al-'Utbi, the author of the Kitāb Yamīni (fol. 120*a*). And then an account of how in 372, on the death of 'Aḍud al-Daula, Bād the Kurd succeeded in establishing himself in Diyār Bakr as an independent ruler, where he was followed in succession by his three nephews, the children of his brother-in-law Marwān, with Mayyāfāriqīn as their capital. Their dynasty—the Marwānid—with that of their successors, the Ortoqids of Māridīn, under whom Ibn al-Azraq lived, occupy the remainder of the MS. Of these I hope to give some account on a future occasion.

Ibn al-Azraq's quotations from other histories by name are few, and from the time of the Marwānid rulers onwards no historian is cited. In the earlier half of the MS., so far as I have perused it, I have found quotations from the following authors:—

Al-Wāqidi, Brockelmann, Gesch., i, p. 135, on fol. 92*b*; Ibn Qutaiba, Kitāb al-Ma'ārif, ib., p. 120, on fols. 88*b*, 90*a*, and 94*b*; al-Bilādhuri, Kitāb al-Buldān, ib., p. 141, on fol. 2*a*; Ibn Ṭaifūr, Kitāb Baghdād, ib., p. 138, on fol. 95*a*; Al-Dınawari, al-Akhbar al-Ṭiwāl, ib., p. 123, on fol. 12*b*; Al-Ṣūli, Kitāb al-Aurāq, ib., p. 143, on fol. 100*a*; and Hilāl al-Ṣābi, Ta'rīkh, ib., p. 323, on fol. 123*a*. And on fol. 108*a* an unknown historian, Ibn Shajara, is quoted for a strange gift to the Caliph Muqtadir, in 306 A.H., of the upper half of a huge fish's head, which was said to have remained in the palace until it was pillaged by al-Basāsīri (in 450 A.H.; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 442). The text is as follows:—

و قيل ما رواه ابن شجرة فى تاريخه انه اهدى الى المقتدر فى سنة ست و ثلثماية نصف راس سمكة الاعلى الذى فيه العينان سَمَكَةٌ

Lucas Injijian, in his Universal Geography, Venice, 1806, vol. i (Armenia) of the first part of the work (Asia), at p. 165 gives the modern name of the place as 'Aljavaz' or 'Atiljewaz.' 'Sibalwark' is the modern Turkish 'Sévérek.' 'Qalb' is included in the *list* of the towns and fortresses of Diyārbakr, given by Ibn Shaddād (Bodl., Marsh 333, 65*a*), which, he says, passed from one ruler to another as if they were pledges or chessmen.

اكثر من قامة وُزن بالرطل العراقى فكان وزنه سبعة الف وثلثماية رطل وكان قد جف وكان يقال انه بقى فى دار الخلافة الى زمن البساسيرى واخرج لما نهب دار الخلافة

I have found Ibn al-Azraq's history quoted or copied by Ibn Khallikān in the following passages of De Slane's English translation:—Vol. i, p. 127 (Or. 5,803, fols. 134*b*–135*a*), for the bequest by al-Manāzi of his library to two mosques; p. 158 (fols. 140*b*–141*b*), p. 506 (fol. 165*b*), and p. 602 (fol. 183*a*); vol. ii, p. 111 (fol. 121*a*), p. 581 (fol. 103*b*), p. 629 (fol. 182*a*), and p. 646, without mention of the history, being the above-mentioned passage relating to Kamāl al-Dīn al-Shahrazūri (fol. 174*b*); vol. iii, p. 338 (fol. 163*b*), p. 356 (fol. 175*a*), and p. 601, where our author's name is printed by error Ibn Zūlāk (fol. 189*a*).

Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzi, in the Mir'āt al-Zamān, quotes a History of Mayyāfāriqīn—meaning no doubt that by Ibn al-Azraq—B.M. Or. 4,619, fol. 216*b*, under 418 A.H., for the placing of a purse of money in the coffin of the Vizier al-Maghribi as a means of identification (see Or. 5,803, fol. 135*b*), and also (ibid., fol. 217*a*) for a statement, on the authority of a certain Abu Ḥawāri al-Wāsiṭi, that the vizier wished to be buried beneath the feet of al-Ḥusain, a statement which appears neither in Or. 5,803 nor in the earlier version.

And again, in the same work (Paris, 1506, fol. 69*a*), under 453 A.H., he quotes this history for many facts relating to the life of the Marwānid Naṣr al-Daula; again, on fol. 252*b*, in connection with the summoning of Qilij Arslān b. Sulaimān in 498 from Malaṭīyyah to rule at Mayyāfāriqīn, for the fact that his father, Sulaimān b. Quṭalmish, had been sent by Malek Shāh to conquer the former place; on fol. 258*a*, for the defeat of Qilij Arslān in 499 by Jāwali Saqāwah, a mamlūk of Sultan Muḥammad, and his death by drowning (see Or. 5,803, 158*a*); and on fols. 258*a* and *b*, in the notice of Qilij Arslān, under 500 A.H., for the statement that Muḥammad also despatched Jāwali to fight the Franks, and

ordered the local rulers to obey him; that Jakarmish of Mosul refused to do so, was defeated by Jāwali, and died of his wounds; that Qilij Arslān then occupied Mosul, but was also attacked by Jāwali and drowned; and that his infant son was sent to the Sultan Mas'ūd, and became the ancestor of the Saljūq line of Rūm. (This passage is not to be found in Or. 5,803.; the events are told by Ibn al-Athīr, x, 291 et seq.) Again, on fol. 306*b*, the passage relating to the earthquake at Janzah in 510 A.H. is taken verbatim from Or. 5,803, 162*a–b*, viz., that the town was attacked and pillaged by David (the Restorer), the captives being so numerous that they were conveyed to Tiflīs in waggons. Moslems were brought in there in flocks, and most of them were bought and released by the inhabitants—presumably the Moslem section—many of whom told the author (i.e. Ibn al-Azraq, on his visit in 548) that they became impoverished in that year.

Lastly, the author of the MS. Bodl. Marsh 333 drew from the history of Ibn al-Azraq about one-fourth of its contents. Of that MS. the probable author, as above stated, was 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād.

It remains to give some account of this author and of his works. Dhahabi, in the Ta'rīkh al-Islām, B.M. Or. 1,540, *sub* 684 A.H., has a notice of his death, as follows:—"The Kātib 'Izz al-Dīn Abu 'Abd Allah Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Ali b. Shaddād al-Anṣāri of Ḥalab, born there in 613 A.H., was a man of great culture and intelligence. He was the author of a History of Ḥalab, and of a life of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir al-Ṣāliḥi (i.e. Baibars). He had been in close attendance on the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf (i.e. the Ayyubid ruler at Ḥalab, 634–658 A.H.), and had gone on missions from him to Hūlāgū and others. Later, after the fall of Ḥalab, he settled in Egypt, and acquired position and respect at the Court of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir and al-Malik al-Manṣūr (i.e. Qalāun, 678–689, whose reign followed on those of the two sons of Baibars). He possessed

a courtier's ingratiating qualities, and was alert in rendering service to people. To some extent he imparted traditions, and some persons in Egypt derived them from him. He died in Ṣafar, and was buried at the foot of Muqaṭṭam (*sic* مقطم). He was offered the post of vizier under al-Malik al-Sadīd (probably al-Sa'īd Baraka Khān, Baibars' son and successor, ruled 676–8 A.H.), but he declined it. His monthly stipend was a thousand dirhams. He led an honoured and easy life."

This account accords very closely, as will be seen, with what the author of Marsh 333 says therein of himself.

The "History of Ḥalab" is doubtless the first volume of al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīra, composed not earlier than 678, which comprises Ḥalab and the adjacent district. Of this the British Museum possesses an incomplete copy of the seventeenth century, Cat. No. 1,323, and a fragment of the same, ib., No. 282 (2). There is, too, a copy at St. Petersburg—Asiatic Museum, 162. The British Museum possesses also a fine MS. of the third volume of the work—Cat. No. 1,324—comprising Damascus and Eastern Syria, which dates from the time of composition,[1] but which is imperfect, and so greatly damaged by water as to be largely illegible.

The MS. Bodl. Marsh 333 is a fine fourteenth-century copy. It was composed in 679 A.H., and copied in 789 A.H. by Sulaimān b. Ghāzi b. Muḥammad al-Īwāni; and it is both perfect and legible. It comprises the districts of Diyār Moḍar, Diyār Rabī'a, and Diyār Bakr. And there must have been yet another portion of the work, on Mosul, for the author says in his preface that he means to treat of it, for although not strictly part of Mesopotamia, yet it was adjacent, and under the Caliphate was included with it under one governor; and later, on fol. 46*a*, in his account

[1] The date of the composition of both volumes is given in the B.M. Catalogue, No. 1,324, as 674 A.H. But it appears from the former (Add. 23,334, 92*a*) that it was composed after the accession of Qalāun, in 678; and as regards the latter volume (Add. 23,335, on fol. 76*a*) the date 675 appears. As to this volume see concluding Note *infra*.

of the town of Sinjār, he says with reference to the Oqailid Muslim that his story was given in the history of Mosul.

The other work mentioned by Dhahabi—the Life of Baibars—is referred to in Marsh 333 on fol. 36*b*, when the author, speaking of Bīra as having been since 560 under governors appointed by Baibars, adds that the place underwent three sieges by the Tatars, "as shall be related in our history, under successive years, of the life of the Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir, may Allah perpetuate his rule."

Further, the author mentions two other historical works as his. On fol. 40*a*, in relating how the Ayyubids had called in Khwārizm Shāh to expel the Atābek Lu'lu' from Naṣībīn, he adds that this shall be set out fully "in our continuation (ذيل) to the history of Ibn al-Athīr." And, on fol. 107*b*, when relating the defeat and death of Jalāl al-Dīn Mankburni[1] in 628, he says that he will give some account of his doings "notwithstanding we have gone into this in detail in our work entitled جنا الحشين فى اخبار الدولتين," the two powers being presumably the Khwārizm Shāh and the Ayyubid of Ḥalab, al-Nāṣir Yūsuf.

As regards the employment of Ibn Shaddād by al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, the author of Marsh 333, in his account of Ḥarrān, tells us (fol. 20*b*) that in 640 A.H., after the town had passed to that sovereign, he was sent to inspect it; that he found its revenue at that date to amount to one million dirhams, whilst in the time of al-Ashraf (i.e. fifteen years earlier) the amount had been thrice as much; and that it still further declined later under Tatar rule.

Again, in his account of Jazīrat ibn 'Omar, which, on the death of its Atābek Maḥmūd in 648, passed to his son Mas'ūd, he says (fol. 62*a*) that in 649, after the return of al-Nāṣir from defeating the Egyptians, there arrived Tatar envoys, and with them merchants, who were the bearers of

[1] The name is written 'Mankoberti' by Houdas in his translation of the life of Jalāl al-Dīn by al-Nasawi, Paris, 1895; see preface and note on p. 3. But it is written 'Mankburni' in the thirteenth-century MS. of the same work (B.M. Or. 5,662) and elsewhere. Ṣafadi, in his notice of Jalāl al-Dīn in the Wāfi bil-Wafayāt (B.M. Add. 23,359, 23*a*), spells the name 'Mankūburni.'

orders on various sovereigns for the payment of sums of money,[1] viz., 200,000 dinars on al-Nāṣir, and smaller sums on the rulers of Rūm, Mosul, Māridīn, Mayyāfāriqīn, Jazīra, and Ḥuṣn Kayfā respectively. These all shifted their liability on to al-Nāṣir, on the plea that he was their suzerain, and that they could not satisfy the orders unless he did the same. The claim was accordingly presented to al-Nāṣir, and he was advised by Sulaimān al-Ḥāfiẓi[2] to satisfy it. But the author protested against this course on the ground that when Tāj al-Mulūk visited Kūyuk Khān in 643, similar documents (يغالغ) were made out to him, to the effect that they on their side should be under no liability to satisfy such orders, nor to provide any assistance in men. And the documents were fetched and bore this out. Thereupon al-Nāṣir sent the author with the envoys and merchants to the other rulers with instructions to traverse the claim (لإحاقتهم). In the meantime a message arrived from Mas'ūd

[1] The words are يغالغ تضمن حوالات عليه, meaning, apparently, orders for payment to the merchants of money due from the various rulers to the Tatars. The Turkish word يارليغ means a royal order; see Zenker, Dict. Turk., ii, 949.

[2] This is the person suggested by Nicoll (Bodl. Cat., ii, 603) as the possible author of the MS. He is mentioned on fol. 56*b*, under the name of Zain al-Dīn, as having given advice owing to which succour sent from Damascus to support al-Lu'lu''s son, al-Muẓaffar, in Sinjār against the Tatars was by them intercepted and the place taken. A notice of this Zain al-Dīn Sulaimān al-Ḥāfiẓi is given by Ibn Abi Uṣaibi'a (Brock., i, 325) in his "'Uyūn al-Anbā," Cairo, 1299, ii, 189, from which it appears that he was first in the service of al-Ḥāfiẓ Arslān Shāh, the son of al-'Ādil, ruler of Qal'at Ja'bar, and contributed to bring about its transfer to al-Nāṣir of Ḥalab (in 638, see fol. 35*b* of the MS.). He then went to Ḥalab, where he gained influence and wealth, and on al-Nāṣir acquiring Damascus (in 648) he accompanied him there. When the Tatars began pressing their demands on al-Nāṣir, he was sent as envoy to Hūlāgū, when he was completely gained over to the cause of the Tatars, and used his position to push their pretensions and to inspire al-Nāṣir, who was averse to warfare, with apprehension by exaggerating their resources as compared with his own. When Damascus submitted to the Tatars, Zain al-Dīn obtained a great position there under the Nā'ib, but when the Tatars were defeated by the Mamlūk Sultan Quṭuz, and Syria was restored to the Moslems, the Nā'ib fled, and with him Zain al-Dīn, afraid of the treatment he would receive at Moslem hands. His fears were misplaced. Ṣafadi, in the Wāfi bil-Wafayāt, Bodl., i, No. 668 (Seld. Arch. A. 23), records him under the name of Sulaimān b. 'Ali Zain al-Dīn Abu al-Muayyad Khaṭīb 'Uqbarā al-Ḥāfiẓi, and, after quoting the above statements of Ibn Abi Uṣaibi'a, says that he was accused by Hūlāgū of corresponding with the ruler of Egypt, and was put to death with his children and relatives, to the number of fifty persons. Ṣafadi adds that the ruler in question was al-Ẓāhir, i.e. Baibars, and the date 662 A.H.

complaining of the hostility shown to him since his father's death by Lu'lu' of Mosul, and offering to cede Jazīra to al-Nāṣir for a compensation. This offer al-Nāṣir did not immediately entertain, being fully occupied with Egyptian matters, but he directed the author to intercede with Lu'lu' on Mas'ūd's behalf, and to try and arrange matters. The author accordingly followed the envoys to Mosul, where he found he had been preceded by 'Abd al-Raḥīm Majd al-Dīn, son of the Ṣāḥib Kamāl al-Dīn 'Omar, known as Ibn al-'Adīm (the historian of Ḥalab), to condole on the death of Lu'lu''s son. Lu'lu' alleged various grievances against Mas'ūd, one being, apparently, that he had taught his daughter bad language, and he offered his guest an opportunity of overhearing a specimen, but received the reply that his statement was sufficient proof. He further said that Mas'ūd was wholly incompetent to guard his territory; that it ought to belong to someone who could do the Moslem cause some benefit; and he offered al-Nāṣir 50,000 dinars in gold if it were made over to him. The author did not encourage this plan, nevertheless Lu'lu' managed, through Majd al-Dīn, to come to a secret arrangement with al-Nāṣir to the effect that when the latter was rid of the Egyptian business he was to be at liberty to seize Jazīra. The author next proceeded to Jazīra, and Mas'ūd offered to leave the place in his charge whilst he went and saw al-Nāṣir, but the author declined this and went on to Māridīn.

The question of the money claims had been discussed between the envoys and the author, in Lu'lu''s presence, and had led to much recrimination. The envoys were insolent to Lu'lu'; he reproached the author with having come to his detriment; the author retorted that Lu'lu' was the cause of the envoys' outburst, and the latter were rebuked by the Tatar Nā'ib at Mosul. But to him and them alike the author was inflexible, and refused all payment, whether on the part of al-Nāṣir or his feudatories. Whilst the envoys were on their way to Irbil, Lu'lu' caused them to be attacked and killed to a man, and in answer to the Nā'ib's protests alleged that it had happened outside his territory,

but that he would make an enquiry. He then collected out of his fortresses all such as deserved to die, had them executed, and handed over their possessions to the Nā'ib, saying that they were the culprits. This quite satisfied the Nā'ib, and Lu'lu' told the author in confidence that his suzerain al-Nāṣir might with advantage act by his example. As regards Jazīra, the author says that Lu'lu', on hearing of al-Nāṣir's assent, hastened in 649 to seize the town unconditionally. Mas'ūd was shipped off to Mosul by river, but he never arrived, being drowned on the way. He was the last ruler of the line of Zangi.

The author also gives in the MS. an account of his embassy to Hūlāgū, or, more accurately, to his son Yashmūṭ, who was in command of the Tatar force besieging Mayyāfāriqīn in 656 A.H. It came about thus. The last Ayyubid ruler of Mayyāfāriqīn, al-Kāmil Muḥammad, who, in 645, succeeded his father, al-Muẓaffar Ghāzi b. al-'Ādil, had induced the Mongol Bātū to recall the Tatar troops who were besieging Mayyāfāriqīn in 650, on condition of his attending in person at the Court of Mangū (fol. 111*a–b*). Late in the year he did this, bearing rich gifts. His arrival coincided with that of al-Muẓaffar Qarā Arslān, the son of al-Sa'īd Najm al-Dīn Ghāzi, the Ortoqid ruler of Māridīn, and a contest for precedence arose between them which was decided by Mangū in favour of al-Kāmil, on the ground that his dominions were the more extensive. Both did homage to Mangū, who dismissed them with a letter of recommendation to his brother Hūlāgū, telling them they were not to attend on him again unless by order of Hūlāgū, for they were now under his supervision (امركم عايد الى هولاكو) (fol. 112*b*).

Al-Kāmil, on his return to Mayyāfāriqīn, threw off his allegiance to Mangū and imprisoned his representatives. Mangū showed no resentment, only ordering al-Kāmil to proceed with his troops to Baghdād.[1] He did not do this,

[1] In order to assist the Tatar besiegers. Al-Kāmil's disobedience to the order was one of the four acts alleged against him by Hūlāgū when he put him to death on the taking of Mayyāfāriqīn in 658 (fol. 120*a*).

and when Hūlāgū laid siege to Baghdād he removed to Ḥarrān, and from there wrote to the author, then at Ḥalab and on the point of starting on a mission, telling him to stop and await his arrival. He wrote also to al-Nāṣir announcing his coming, and on his encamping outside Damascus, al-Nāṣir came out to meet him in accordance with the opinion of all his advisers, except al-Ḥāfiẓi. Al-Kāmil urged on him that the Tatars meant conquest, and that it was useless to give way to them. Since 642, he said, his suzerain al-Nāṣir had been making payments to them, and to what purpose? For his part, seeing he must perish, he would prefer to die a martyr in Allah's cause. Why should not the Sultan and his army, including himself, go to the assistance of the Moslems of Baghdād? If they succeeded they would stand well with[1] the Caliph; if they failed they could avenge him. Many of al-Nāṣir's advisers supported this view. He, however, suggested sending an envoy to accompany al-Kāmil to Hūlāgū to negotiate. Al-Kāmil answered, "I base my appeal on religion: you take a worldly view.[2] If I chose to go to Hūlāgū, I could do so to greater advantage than you could, having already seen him twice." Eventually nothing was done and Baghdād fell. Then the two sovereigns agreed to aid each other when attacked. Al-Kāmil, on his return, met the author at Ḥalab, and was advised by him when he got home to remove his Ḥarīm, appoint a deputy in his place, and come and renew his attempts to instil resolution into al-Nāṣir (fols. 113*b*–114*b*).

In 656 Mayyāfāriqīn was attacked by the Tatars under Yashmūṭ, son of Hūlāgū, reinforced by troops from the rulers of Mosul and Māridīn. The knowledge that al-Kāmil was in the place caused the siege to be pushed hotly. Al-Nāṣir carried out his idea of despatching an envoy, for in 657 the author says (fol. 115*b*) that he left, accompanied

[1] The phrase is اليد البيضا. It is used again on fol. 135*a*.

[2] امر دنيوى and امر دينى.

by a grandson of Saladin and by the three sons of al-Nāṣir, together with his Ḥarīm, who were to be left in Ḥalab, and taking with him 1,500 dinars and a jewelled belt and sword as gifts for Yashmūṭ. After being attacked at Ḥāmah by Tatars, who were bought off with 2,000 dirhams, the party travelled by Ḥarrān to Māridīn, where the author was refused an audience by the Ortoqid Sa'īd because of the Tatars. At al-Ṣūr another Tatar attack was bought off. They then crossed the Euphrates, meeting with further rough treatment from the Tatars, their baggage being searched and some of it taken from them. Next day they were received in audience by the Īl Khān, and delivered their complimentary message, complaining at the same time of Tatar attacks and outrages on the inhabitants. The reply was that these were the aggressors, and that the only object on their side was to punish the Turkomans and Arabs. The envoy then demanded compensation, failing which they would throw off their allegiance; this was answered by threats.

The Tatars now tried to use the envoy as a means of drawing al-Kāmil out from the besieged city. They told him al-Kāmil wished to see him. He replied this was needless. Asked if he would go to him at their bidding, he pleaded the absence of instructions from his sovereign. As they insisted, he asked what he was to say to him; they replied, "Say you are come from al-Nāṣir to plead for permission for him to come out and submit to the Īl-Khān." This message he refused to take, whereupon he was taken past a heap of slain, and told that in an hour he would be as they were. He replied that destiny was inevitable. Pressed as to why he refused to go, he said that they meant through him to lure al-Kāmil out to destruction and to slaughter the inhabitants, all of which would have happened through his means. A chief urged him not to talk thus or he would be killed. Finally, he consented to go, on condition that al-Kāmil was not to come forth, and that when terms were agreed to the Tatars should depart. He was then conducted by a Tatar officer to the city gate, when they were met by

the Governor. Three days' negotiation followed, during which the besieged provided them with ample and varied food, to show their ability to endure the straits they were in. Eventually terms were agreed on, viz., a payment in money and in kind, including camels, mules, and horses, part forthwith, and the rest when the Tatars were gone. And the Tatars were actually moving eastwards on their way to depart, when a message came from Lu'lu' of Mosul announcing that certain coast inhabitants and Kurds were on their way to attack al-Nāṣir, who had resolved on flight. Letters came, too, addressed to the envoy, urging him to make peace, and get the Tatars away. On this the Tatars dissembled. The envoy was interrogated, and in spite of his explanation the operations against Mayyāfāriqīn were renewed, and he was ordered to depart. He withdrew accordingly to Māridīn. This time he saw its ruler, al-Sa'īd, who congratulated him on his efforts in the Moslem cause, and said that if he were granted a subsidy in men and money by al-Nāṣir he would make the Tatars raise the siege, and they could then unite in wresting Mosul from that hypocrite (منافق), i.e. Lu'lu'. And to this he bound himself by oath. The author then continued his journey to Ḥarrān, when he heard that the Tatars had regretted his departure, and had decided to reopen negotiations through him. At Ḥalab he heard that Yashmūṭ had raised the siege, but had left a force under a deputy to prevent al-Kāmil's escape, the cause of this being cold, want of supplies, and mortality among the horses. And during the whole of the year 657, messages reached Damascus from Mayyāfāriqīn imploring aid.

From Ḥalab the author was summoned to Damascus, and went to meet al-Nāṣir on his way back from Jerusalem. He told him of what had been suggested. To the proposal of the ruler of Māridīn no reply was sent.

These are the only fragments of the author's personal history to be found in the MS., but it is probable that more might be gathered from the volumes on Ḥalab and on Damascus.

The MS. contains references to the following writers on geography :—

Ya'qūbi (Brockelmann, Gesch. Arab. Lit., i, 226), on fol. 3*a* for Diyār Rabī'a; 26*a* for al-Ruhā; and 27*a* for Jazīrat ibn 'Omar.

Ibn Khurdādhbih (ib., 225), on fol. 3*a* for Diyār Rabī'a.

Ibn Ḥauqal (ib., 229), on fol. 21*a* for Raqqa; 41*a* for Dārā; and 44*b* for Sinjār.

Idrīsi (ib., 477), Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fi ikhtirāq al-Āfāq, on fol. 21*a* for Raqqa; and 26*a* on al-Ruhā.

Writers on philology and tradition :—

al-Sharqi b. Katāmi (Wüst. Gesch., 23), on fols. 65*b* and 66*b* for the origin of the names of Āmid and Mayyāfāriqīn.

Hishām al-Kalbi (Brockelmann, i, 139), on fols. 21*a* and 44*b* for the names of Raqqa and of Sinjār.

Jawālīqī (ib., 280), "al-Mu'arrab," on fol. 14*a* on the change of 'Arran' into 'Ḥarrān.'

And the following historians :—

Wāqidi (ib., 135), on fol. 26*a* for the conquest of al-Ruhā.

Bilādhuri (ib., 141), on fol. 37*a* for that of Naṣībīn.

Ṭabari (ib., 142), on fol. 14*a* for the founding of Ḥarrān, and 21*a* for the visit of Manṣūr to Raqqa (154 A.H.).

"*Ta'rīkh Muẓaffari*" (Wüst. Gesch., 205), on fol. 131*b* for Māridīn, under Muqtadir, 317 A.H.

Hamadhāni (ib., 232), 'Uyun al-Siyar (written 'Ūnwān), on fol. 11*a* for the Saffārids; on fol. 130*b* for Māridīn in the time of Mu'taḍid; and his "Tadhyīl," on fol. 132*a* for the fact that Mumahhid al-Daula reigned only a single year over Diyār Bakr, which, he says, is contradicted by the history of

Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqi (ib., 256), which is quoted largely, as above mentioned.

The Kāmil of *Ibn al-Athīr* is frequently quoted; once, on fol. 46*a*, for matter *sub* 502 A.H. relating to Sinjār, which does not appear in Tornberg's edition.

Ibn al-'Adīm's history of Ḥalab is quoted, on fol. 73*b*, for the revolt of 'Īsa b. al-Shaikh in Diyār Bakr in 255 A.H.

Lastly, on fol. 26*a* the author quotes Maḥbūb b. Qusṭanṭīn al-Manbiji for the Tower of Babel, and for Nimrod, the founder of al-Ruhā. This Maḥbūb is likewise quoted by Ibn Shaddād in the first volume of the A'lāq, relating to Ḥalab and its district,—B.M. Add. 23,334, *sub* "Antioch," on fol. 86*a*, for the rise of the Maccabee, John Hyrcanus; and again, *sub* "Manbij," on fol. 96*b*, as saying in his annals of the Mulūk al-Rūm that the life of Isaac, the son of Abraham, extended thirty-one years after the birth of Levi, the son of Jacob; and that during that period Queen Semiramis (سمريس) built a temple in a town on the Euphrates to an idol, with a staff of seventy priests, the town being called Hieropolis (?). This passage occurs somewhat differently in a work largely based on that of Ibn Shaddād, the Durr al-Muntakhab of Ibn Shiḥna (Brockelmann, Gesch., ii, 42); see B.M. Add. 22,673, 112*b*, and 23,337, 77*a*, where the quotation from Maḥbūb is made to appear part of a quotation from Ya'qūbi which precedes it in Ibn Shaddād's work. Mas'ūdi also, in his Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa'l Ishrāf (Bibl. Geogr. Ar., pt. viii, p. 154), when treating of the Christian Emperors before Islām, mentions Maḥbūb b. Qusṭanṭīn and Eutychius (Brock., i, 148) as the two best Melchite historians he was acquainted with. There is at Florence a MS. which is described by Assemani (Bibl. Med. Laur. et Pal. Cat. or. Florentiæ, 1742, No. 133) as a universal history by Maḥbūb b. Constantin, Jacobite Archbishop of Mabbūg (Manbij), extending from the creation to the author's own time, viz. 712 A.H. (1312 A.D.). But inasmuch as Mas'ūdi died in 345 A.H., the attribution of this MS. to Maḥbūb is inaccurate, or else it must include a continuation by another hand. And I am told by Mr. E. W. Brooks that the name of Maḥbūb

is not to be found in the list of Jacobite bishops given in the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian (B.M. Or. 4,402, 405*b*), which includes those ordained between 793 and 1166 A.D. Maḥbūb appears also to be quoted in the chronological work of Abu Shākir (Butrus b. Muhadhdhib), who wrote circ. 662 A.H.; see Dillmann, B.M. Cat. Ethiop., No. 36, under ch. 48.

Note.—A quotation from Ibn Shaddād's description of Damascus contained in the Bibl. Geog. Ar., pt. vi, preface, p. xii, has led to my being favoured with the following information by Professor de Goeje. He writes that the MS. from which the quotation was taken (Leyden, 1466) is entitled "Baraq al-Shām fi Maḥāsin Iqlīm al-Shām," and that a comparison of its contents with the description of vol. iii of "al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīra," given in the B.M. Cat., No. 1,324, shows the MS. in question to be the first and second parts of that volume, under a new title. And he adds the following extract from the description of the MS. to appear in the forthcoming revised edition of the Leyden Catalogue :—

"Quum hæc Capita in Exemplaribus operis الاعلاق desiderentur, codex noster pretiosus est; utilissimum nempe est opus ad res Syriæ Meridionalis et Palestinæ præsertim sæculis sexto et septimo cognoscendas. Ex Antiquioribus sæpe laudantur al-Balâdzori, Geographia al-Jaqûbîi, interdum Abu-Ḥanîfa ad-Dinawarî et Ibn Hauqal. Codex Anno 870 bene exaratus, continet 289 pag."

The concluding parts, therefore, both of vol. i and of vol. iii, relating to the dynasties which ruled at Ḥalab and at Damascus, as well as the part of the work relating to Mosul, are still to be sought for.

Since this article was in print Professor Sachau, now on a visit here from Berlin, has enabled me to identify, as I believe, yet another MS. as a part of al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīra of 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, viz. No. 9,800 in Ahlwardt's Catalogue. The Professor has been good enough to ascertain that the

account therein of the conquest of Mayyāfāriqīn and Āmid (fol. 47[a]) is given on the authority of "Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. 'Ali Ibn al-Azraq Ṣāḥib Tā'rīkh Mayyāfāriqīn wa Āmid." From the entry in the Catalogue it appears that the author of the Berlin MS. mentions his embassy to the Tatars in 657 A.H.; that he had written a continuation to the history of Ibn al-Athīr; and that he was writing this work in 679 A.H.;—which accords with the statements in the Bodleian MS. Marsh 333. Its contents seem to be covered by the Berlin MS., but the opening statement in the latter MS., that it was to include an account of Mosul, does not seem borne out by the Catalogue's analysis of its contents.

ART. XXVI. — *The Risālatu'l-Ghufrān :* by Abū'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī. Part II, including Table of Contents with Text and Translation of the Section on *Zandaḳa* and of other passages. By REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

(*Concluded from p.* 362.)

وقد أَطلْتُ فى هذا الفصل ونعود الآن الى الإجابة عن الرسالة فَهِمْتُ قولَه جعلنى الله فداءه لا يذهب به الى النِفاق ' وبُعْدِ ابن آدم من الوِفاق ' وهذه غريزةٌ خُصّ بها الشيخ دون غيره وتعايش العالم بخداع ' وأَضْحَوا من الكذب فى إبداع ' لو قالت شيرين الملكة لكسْرٰى ' جعلنى الله فداءَك فى إقامةٍ او سُرٰى ' لمخالبته فى ذلك ونافقته ' وإن راقته بالعَطَل ووافقته ' على أنّه اخذها من حالٍ دنيّه ' فجعلها فى النعمى السنيّه ' وعتبه فى ذلك الاحبّاء ' وجرَتْ لهم فى ذلك قِصَصٌ وأَنْباء ' وقيل له فيما ذُكِر ' والله العالم [P. 124 بمن جُدِبَ او شُكِر ' كيف تطيب نفس الملك لهذه المُومِس ' وهى الوالجة فى المغْمِس ' فضرب لهم المَثَل بالقَدَح ' واذا خُطِبَتِ الغانية فليست بالمفتقرة الى الصَدَح ' جعل فى الاناء الشَعْر والدَم ' وقال للحاضر ولا نَدَم ' أَتُجيب نفسك لشرب ما فيه ' وانّما يجنح الى تلافيه ' فقال إنّها لا تطيب ' وهى بالامجاس قطيب ' فأَراق ذلك الشىء وخسله[1] ' وهذّب وعاءه ثمّ غسله ' وجعل فيه من بعد

[1] MS. وغسله.

مُداما ' وعرضها على الندامى ' فكلّهم يهشّ ان يَشْرَبْ ' ومن يعاف العاتقة والغَرَبْ ' فقال هذا مَثَلُ شيرين ' فلا تكونوا فى السَفَه مُشيرين '

واما ما ذكره من حالى غُطِّيَ شخْصُهُ أَن يُلْحَظَ بنواظر الغِيَر ' ومُتِّعَ من مالٍ بجِيَر ' اى كثير قال الراجز

P. 127] يَا رَبَّنَا مَنْ سَرَّهُ أَنْ يُكْثِرَا
فَسُقْ لَهُ يَا رَبِّ مَالاً حِيَرَا

فطال[1] ما أَعطى الوثن سعودا ' فصار حضوره للجَهَلَة موعودا ' فإن سُررتُ بالباطل ' فشُهرتُ باتخاذ النياطل ' وإنّ الصابر مأجور محمود ' ولا رَيْبَ أن سَيُقَدَّرُ لمن ظعن شرْب مشمود ' وأحلفُ كيمين آمرئ القيس لمّا رغب فى مُقامه عند الموموقه ' ولم يفرق من الرامقة ولا المرموقه '

فَقَالَ يَمِينَ ٱللّٰهِ أَبْرَحُ قَاعِدًا
وَلَوْ قَطَعُوا رَأْسِى لَدَيْكِ وَأَوْصَالِى

. . . . . إنّى لمكذوب عليه كما كذبت العرب على الغول ' وإنّها عمّا يؤثَر لغى شغول ' وكما تَقَوَّلَ الامثال السائرة على الضَبّ ' وله بالكلدة إرباب الصبّ ' وكما تكلّمت على لسان الضَبُع وهى خرساء ' ما أَطْلَقَ لسانَها الوَضَحُ ولا المساء ' يُظَنُّ أنّنى من اهل العِلْم ' وما انا له بالصاحب ولا الحِلْم ' وتلك لعمرى بليّه ' تُفْتَقَد معها الجليّه ' والعلوم تفتقر[2] الى مِراس ' ودراسٍ P. 128]

[1] MS. فطا.

[2] MS. وتفتقر.

للكُتُب أَحْنَى دِراس ' ويقال انّنى من اهل الديـن ' ولو ظهر ما وراء السديـن ' ما اقتنع لى الواصف بسَبّ ' وودّ ان يسقينى جَوْزلاً بشَبّ ' وكيف للعلج الوحشىّ ' وانما ابد فى الـروض الحبشىّ ' أَنّ تغريده فى السحر اشعارٌ موزونه ' تأذن لنظيرها المخزونه ' وهل يُصَوِّرُ لعاقـلٍ لبيب ' أَنّ الغُراب الناعب صدح بتشبيب ' وأَنّ العصافير الطايرة بأَجْنِحَه ' كعصافير المُئذِر الكالئة المُتناحِكَه[1] ' وكيف يظنّ الظانّ أَنّ للطاير اساجيع حمامه ' وإنّه لَأَخْرس مـع الدمامه ' فبُعْدًا من زعم انّ الحجر متكلّم ' وأَنّه عند الضرب مـتـألّم ' ومـن التمس مـن اللقّام[2] كِسْوَه ' فانّه لا يجد إِسْـوَه ' ولو أَنّى لا اشعر بما يقال فىّ ' لَأَرِحْتُ من إنكارى وتـلافىّ ' وكنت كالوثـن سواءٌ عليه إن وُقِّرَ من الوَقار ' وإن وُقِرَ مـن الأَوقاز ' وكالارض السبخة مـا تحفل إن قيل هى مريعه ' او قيل لها بئست الـزريعه ' وكالغزير[3] المعتبَط ما يأبه لقول الآكل إنّه لساحٌ ' ولا اذا قُصِبَ إنّه بالدكّـة شاحٌ ' والله المُستنصَر على الإلاقى ' لـم يَؤُزّ[4] الراكدة بالأَواقى ' والإلاقىّ منسوب الى الإلاق وهو البرق الكاذب وكيف أَغْتَبِطُ اذا تُخُرِّصَ علىّ ' وعُزِيَتِ المعرفة إلىّ ' ولست آمنًا فى العاقبه ' فضيحةً غير مُصاقبه ' ومَثَلى إن جذلتُ بذلك مَثَلُ مـن اتُّهِمَ بمال ' فآعْتُقِدَ انّ ما ذاع من الخبر يأتيه بجمال ' فسرّه قول الجَهَلَة إنّه لحِلْفُ اليَسَار ' والذهب فى يمينه واليَسَار ' فطلب منه السلطان[5] ان يحمل اليه جملـةً

[1] MS. الكاينه للمتماحنه.

[2] MS. اللغام. اللقّام seems preferable to the reading adopted in the translation, اللِفام.

[3] MS. كالغرير.

[4] MS. يوز من.

[5] MS. السلاطين.

وافره ، فصادف كذوبةً زافره ، وضربه ليُقِرّ[1] ، وقُتل فى العقوبة ولم يُعْطَ البِرّ ، وقد شهد الله انّى اجذل بمن عابنى ، لأنّه [P. 129 ضدّق فيما رابنى ، وأهتمّ لثناءٍ مكذوب ، يتركنى كالطريدة العذوب ، ولو نُطِحْتُ بقَرْنَى الجراده ، لآمتنعتُ من كلّ إراده ، فاما رَوْق الوعل فأَعْوَزَه عندى نطيح ، لأنّى برَوْق الظبى أطيح ، فغفر الله لمن ظنّ حُسْنًا بالمُسئ ، وجعل حجّةً فى النسئ ، ولولا كراهتى حضورًا بين الناس ، وايثارى أن أموتَ ميتةَ عليبٍ فى كناس ، لآجتمع معى اولئك الخايلون ، لصحّ انّهم عن الرشد حايلون ، وانار لهم الحقّ الطامس ، وقبض على القياد اللامس ،

وامّا ما ذكره من حكاية القُطْرَبُّلىّ وابن ابى الازهر فقد يجوز مثله وما وضح انّ ذلك الرجل حُبس بالعراق فامّا بالشام فحبّسه [P. 140 مشهور وحُدّثتُ انّه كان اذا سُئل عن حقيقة هذا اللقب قال هو من النَبْوَة اى المرتفع من الارض وكان قد طمع فى شئٍ قد طمع فيه من هو دونه وانّما هى مقادير ، يُديرها فى العلوّ مُدير ، يظفر بها من وُفِّق ، ولا تُراعُ بالمجتهد أن يُخْفِق ، وقد دلّت اشياء فى ديوانه انّه كان متألّها ، ومثل غير مُمَرّ الناس متدلّها ، فمن ذلك قوله

يَجْزِى وَلَا قَابِلًا إِلَّا بِخَالِقِهِ
حُكْمًا

وقوله

مَا أَقْدَلَ[2] ٱللّٰهَ إِنْ يَجْزِى بَرِيَّتَهُ
وَلَا يُصَدِّقُ قَوْمًا فِى ٱلَّذِى زَعَمُوا

[1] MS. يقرّ.
[2] MS. اقدل.

واذا رُجع الى الحقايق فنطقُ اللسان ' لا يُنبّيء عن اعتقاد الانسان ' لانّ العالم مجبول على الكذب والنفاق ويحتمل[1] ان يظهر الرجل بالقول تديُّنا ' وانّما يجعل ذلك تزيُّنا ' أن يصل به الى ثَنَاء ' او غرضٍ من اغراض الخالبة أُمّ الفَنَاء ' ولعلّه قد ذهب جماعة هم فى الظاهرة متعبّدون ' وفيما بطن مُلحدون ' وما يلحقنى الشكّ فى انّ دِعْبِل بن علىّ لم يكن له دين وكان يتظاهر بالتشيّع[2] وانّما غرضه التكسُّب ' وكم أَشْبَتَ نَسَبًا بنُسُب ' ولا أرتابُ انّ دعبلًا كان على رأى الحَكَميّ وطبقته والزندقة فيهم فاشيه ' ومن ديارهم ناشيه ' وقد اخْتُلِفَ فى ابى نُواس ادُّعِيَ له التالُّه وأنّه كان يقضى صلوات نهاره فى ليله والصحيح انّه كان على مذهب غيره من اهل زمانه وذلك أنّ العرب جاءها النبىّ صلعم وهى ترغب الى القصيل ' وتقصر هُمومُها عن الفصيل ' فاتّبعه منها متّبعون ' والله اعلم بما يوعون ' فلمّا ضرب الإسلام بجِرانِه واتّسق مُلْكه على أركانِه ' [P. 141] مازج العرب غيرهم من الطوايف وسمعوا كلام الاطبّاء واصحاب الهيئة واهل المنطق فمالت منهم طايفة كثيرة ولم يزل الإلحاد فى بنى آدم على مَمَرّ الدهور حتّى أنّ اصحاب السِيَر يزعمون انّ آدم صلّى الله عليه بُعث الى اولاده فأنذرهم بالآخرة وخوّفهم من العذاب فكذّبوه وردّوا قوله ثمّ على ذلك المنهاج الى اليوم وبعض العُلماء يقول إنّ سادات قُرَيْش كانوا زنادقة وما أَجْدَرَهم بذلك وقال شاعرهم يرثى قَتْلَى بدر وِتْرًا[3]

[1] MS. ويحمل.

[2] MS. بالتشييع.

[3] MS. وترا لشداد بن الاسود الليثى. If وترا is sound, the remaining words must be a marginal gloss which has got into the text, but perhaps we should read وهو شدّاد الخ. See Professor Margoliouth's note, p. 319 *supra*. My translation has to be corrected in any case.

أَلَمَّتْ بِٱلتَّحِيَّةِ أُمُّ بَكْرٍ
فَحَيُّوا أُمَّ بَكْرٍ بِٱلسَّلَامِ
وَكَاءٍ بِٱلطَّوِيِّ طَوِيِّ بَدْرٍ
مِنَ ٱلْأَحْسَابِ وَٱلْقَوْمِ الكِرَامِ
وَكَاءٍ بِٱلطَّوِيِّ طَوِيِّ بَدْرٍ
مِنَ ٱلشِّيزَى تُكَلَّلُ بِٱلسَّنَامِ
أَلَا يَا أُمَّ بَكْرٍ لَا تَكُرِّي
عَلَيَّ ٱلْكَأْسَ بَعْدَ أَخِي هِشَامِ
أَلَا مَنْ مُبْلِغُ ٱلرَّحْمٰنِ عَنِّي
بِأَنِّي تَارِكٌ شَهْرَ ٱلصِّيَامِ
وَبَعْدَ أَخِي أَبِيهِ فَكَانَ قَرْمًا
مِنَ ٱلْأَقْرَامِ شَرَّابَ ٱلْمُدَامِ
إِذَا مَا ٱلرَّأْسُ زَايَلَ مَنْكِبَيْهِ
فَقَدْ شَبِعَ ٱلْأَنِيسُ مِنَ ٱلطَّعَامِ
أَيُوعِدُنَا ٱبْنُ كَبْشَةَ أَنْ سَنَحْيَا
وَكَيْفَ حَيَاةُ[1] أَصْدَاءٍ وَهَامِ
أَتَتْرُكُ أَنْ تَرُدَّ ٱلْمَوْتَ عَنِّي
وَتُحْيِينِي إِذَا بَلِيَتْ عِظَامِي

ولا يدّعي مثلَ هذه الدعوى إلّا من يستبسل وراءها للحِمام ، ولا يأسف له عند الإلمام ،

وامّا شكيّة اهل الزمان اليه فانّه سُلِكَ فى ذلك منهاج [P. 144
المتقدّمين وقد كثر المقال فى ذمّ الدهر حتّى جاء فى الحديث لَا تَسُبُّوا ٱلدَّهْرَ فَإِنَّ ٱللّٰهَ هُوَ ٱلدَّهْرُ وقد عُرف معنى هذا الكلام وأنّ باطنه ليس كظاهره اذ كان الانبيا عليهم السلام يذهب احدهم [الى] انّ الدهر هو الخالق ولا المعبود وقد جاء فى الكتاب الكريم وَمَا يُهْلِكُنَا إِلَّا ٱلدَّهْرُ وقول بعض الناس الزمان حركة الفلك لفظٌ لا حقيقةَ له وفى كتاب سيبويه ما يدلّ على انّ الزمان عنده مُضِيّ الليل والنهار وقد تُعُلِّقَ عليه فى هذه العبارة وقد حددتُه حدًّا ما أَجْدَرَه أن يكون قد سُبِقَ اليه إلّا أنّى لم اسمعْه وهو ان يقال الزمان شىءٌ اقلّ جزءٌ منه يُمكن ان يشتمل على شىءٌ كما يشتمل عليه الظروف فامّا الكون فلا بُدَّ [من] تشبّثه بما قلّ وكثر والذين قالوا ما يهلكنا الّا الدهر وغير ذلك من المقال فى مثل البيت المنسوب الى الاخطل وذكره حبيب ابن اوس لشمعلة التغلبىّ وهو

فَإِنَّ أَمِيرَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَفِعْلَهُ
لَكَٱلدَّهْرِ لَا عَارٌ بِمَا فَعَلَ ٱلدَّهْرُ

وقول الاخر[1]

أَلَا ٱلدَّهْرُ لَآءَمَ بَيْنَ أُلْفَتِنَا
وَكَذَاكَ فَرَّقَ بَيْنَنَا ٱلدَّهْرُ

وقول ابى صخر

عَجِبْتُ لِسَعْيِ ٱلدَّهْرِ بَيْنِى وَبَيْنَهَا
فَلَمَّا ٱنْقَضَى مَا بَيْنَنَا سَكَنَ ٱلدَّهْرُ

لم يُدَّعَ أنّ احدًا منهم يقرّب للافلاك الغَرابيين ولا يزعم انّها تعقل وانّما ذلك شىءٌ يتوارثه الأمم فى زمان بعد زمان فكان فى عبد القيس شاعر يُقال له شاتم الدهر وهو القايل [P. 145

[1] Munḳidh of Hilāl. See *Ḥamāsa*, p. 471.

وَلَمَّا رَأَيْتُ ٱلدَّهْرَ وَعْرًا سَبِيلُهُ
وَأَبْدَى لَنَا وَجْهًا أَزَبَّ مُجَدَّعَا
وَجَبْهَةَ قِرْدٍ كَٱلشِّرَاكِ ضَئِيلَةً
وَأَنْفًا وَلَوًّى بِٱلْعَشَانِينِ أَخْدَعَا
ذَكَرْتُ ٱلْكِرَامَ ٱلذَّاهِبِينَ أُولِي ٱلنَّدَى
وَقُلْتُ لِعَمْرٍو وَٱلْحُسَامِ أَلَا دَعَا

وامّا غَيْظُهُ فى الزنادقة والمُلْحِدين فآجره الله عليه كما [P. 145 آجره على الظماء فى طريق مكّة وآصطلاء الشمس فى عَرَفَة ومبيته بالمُزدلفة ولا رَيْبَ أنّه ابتهل الى الله سبحانه فى الايّام المعدودات والمعلومات ان يُرَيِّثَ[1] هِضابَ الإسلام ، ويُقِيمَ لمن كبعه[2] النَيِّرَ من الأعلام ، ولكن الزندقة دآء قديم ، طال ما حَلِمَ بها الاديم ، وقد رأى بعض الفقهاء انّ الرجل اذا ظهرتْ زندقته ثمّ تاب فَزَعًا من القتل لم تُقبَلْ توبته وليس كذلك غيرهم من الكفّار إلّا انّ المرتدّ اذا رجع قُبِلَ منه الرجوع ولا مِلّةَ إلّا ولها قومٌ مُلْحِدون يرون اصحابُ شَرْعهم انّهم مؤآلفون ، وهم فيما بطن مخالفون ، ولا بُدَّ من ان يتهتّك مُخادِع ، وتبدوَ من الشرّ جَنادِع ، وقد كانت ملوك فارس تقتل على الزندقة والزنادقة هم الّذين يسمّون الدهريّة لا يقولون بنبوّةٍ ولا كتابٍ وبشّار انّما اخذ ذلك عن غيره وقد رُوِىَ انّه

[1] MS. اريئبت.

[2] MS. لبعه.

وُجِدَ فى كُتُبه رقعةٌ مكتوب فيها إنّى اردت[1] ان أَهْجوَ فلان بن فلان الهاشمىّ فصفحتُ عنه لقرابته من رسول الله صلعم وزعموا أنّه كان يشاور[2] سيبويه وأنّه حضر يومًا حلقة يونس بن حبيب [P. 146 فقال هل هاهنا من يرفع خبرًا فقالوا لا فأنشدهم

بَنِي أُمَيَّةَ هُبُّوا مِنْ رُقَادِكُمُ
إِنَّ ٱلْخَلِيفَةَ يَعْقُوبُ بْنُ دَاوِدِ
لَيْسَ ٱلْخَلِيفَةُ بِٱلْمَوْجُودِ فَٱلْتَمِسُوا
خَلِيفَةَ ٱللهِ بَيْنَ ٱلنَّايِ وَٱلْعُودِ

وكان فى الحلقة سيبويه فيدّعى بعض الناس انّه وشى به وسيبويه فيما أُجيبَ كان أَجَلَّ موضعًا من أن يدخل فى هذه الدنيّات ' بل يعمد لأمورٍ سنيّات ' وحُكِىَ عنه انّه عاب عليه قوله

عَلَى ٱلْغَزَلَى مِنِّى ٱلسَّلَامُ فَطَالَ مَا
لَهَوْتُ بِهَا[3] فِى ظِلِّ مَخْضَرَةٍ[4] زَهِرِ

فقال سيبويه لم تستعمل العرب الغَزَلَى[5] فقال بشّار هذا مثل قولهم البَشَكَى والجَمَزَى[6] ونحو ذلك وجآء بشّار فى شعره بالنينان جَمْعِ نون من السمك فيقال انّه انكره عليه وهذه اخبار لا تثبت و فيما

[1] MS. ارت.
[2] MS. يشار.
[3] MS. به.
[4] MS. مخضرة. Agh. has مرؤمة.
[5] MS. الغزلا.
[6] MS. الجمزا.

رُوِىَ فى كتاب سيبويه أنّ النون يُجْمَعُ على نينان فهذا نقضٌ للخبر وذكر من نقل اخبار بشّار انّه توعّد سيبويه بالهجآء وأنّه تلافاه واستشهد بشعره ويجوز ان يكون استشهاده به على نحو ما يذكره المتذكّرون فى المجالس ومجامع القوم واصحاب بشّار يروون له هذا البيت

وَمَا كُلُّ ذِى لُبٍّ بِمُؤْتِيكَ نُصْحَهُ
وَمَا كُلُّ مُؤْتٍ نُصْحَهُ بِلَبِيبِ

وفى كتاب سيبويه نَصُفُ[1] هذا البيت الآخر وهو فى باب الإدغام لم يُسَمِّ قايلُهُ وزعم غيره انّه لأبى الاسود الدؤلىّ ويقال انّ يعقوب بن داود وزير المهدىّ تحامل على بشّار حتّى قُتِلَ وٱختُلِفَ فى سنّه فقيل كان يومئذٍ ابن ثمانين سنةً وقيل اكثر والله العالم [P. 147 بحقيقة الامر ولا احكم عليه باتّه من اهل النار وانّما ذكرت ما ذكرت فيما تقدّم لانّى عقدته بمشية الله وإنّ الله لَحليمٌ وهابٌ وذكر صاحب كتاب الورقة جماعةً من الشعرآء فى طبقة ابى نواس ومن قبله ووصفهم بالزندقة وسرايـر الناس مغيبة[2] وانّما يعلم بها علّام الغيوب وكانت تلك الحال تُكتم فى ذلك الزمان خوفًا من السيف فالآن ظهر مجيث[3] القوم وٱنفضّت[4] التريكة عن اخبث رأْلٍ وكان فى ذلك العصر رجلٌ له اصدقآء من [المتشيّعة] وصديقٌ زنديقٌ فدعا المتشيّعة فى بعض الايّام فجاء الزنديق فقرع حلقة[5] الباب وقال

[1] MS. يصف.
[2] MS. معيبة.
[3] MS. مجيب.
[4] MS. انغاضت.
[5] MS. خلفه.

أَصْبَحْتُ جَمَّ بَلَابِلِ ٱلصَّدْرِ
مُسْتَقْسِمَ ٱلْأَشْجَانِ وَٱلْفِكْرِ

فقال صاحب المنزل وَيْحَكَ ممّا ذا فتركه الزنديق ومضى فلقيه صاحب المأدبة فقال له يا هٰذا أَردتَ ان تُوقِعَنى فيما اكره خوفًا من ان يظنّ اصدقاؤه انّه زنديق فقال ٱدْعُهم ثانيةً وأَعلِمْنى بمكانهم فلمّا حصلوا عنده جاء الزنديق فقال

أَصْبَحْتُ جَمَّ بَلَابِلِ ٱلصَّدْرِ
مُسْتَقْسِمَ ٱلْأَشْجَانِ وَٱلْفِكْرِ

فقالوا ويحك بما ذا فقال

مِمَّا جَنَاهُ عَلَى أَبِى حَسَنٍ
عُمَرُ وَصَاحِبُهُ أَبُو بَكْرِ

وانصرف ففرح الشيعة بذلك ولقيه صاحب المنزل [فقال] جُزِيتَ عنّى خيراً فقد خلّصتنى من الشبهة وكان يجلس فى مجلس البصرة جماعة من اهل العلم وكان فيهم رجل زنديق له سيفان قد [P. 148] سَمَّى احدهما الخَيْر والآخر الفَلَح فاذا سلّم عليه رجل من المسلمين قال

صَبَّحَكَ ٱلْخَيْرُ وَمَسَّاكَ ٱلْفَلَحْ

ثمّ يلتفت الى اصحابه الّذين قد عرفوا مكان السيفَيْن فيقول

سَيْفَانِ كَٱلْبَرْقِ إِذَا ٱلْبَرْقُ لَمَحْ

فامّا قول الحكمىّ

تِيهُ مُغَنٍّ وَظَرْفُ زِنْدِيقِ

فقد عيب عليه هذا المعنى وقيل إنّه اراد رجلًا من بنى الحارث

كان معروفًا بالزندقة والظرف وكان له موضع من السلطان وقوله فى صدر هذا البيت

نَدِيمُ قَيْلٍ مُحَدِّثُهُ مَلِكٍ

فهو نحوٌ من قول امرء القيس

فَٱلْيَوْمَ أَشْرَبْ غَيْرَ مُسْتَحْقِبٍ
إِثْمًا مِنَ ٱللّٰهِ وَلَا وَاغِلِ

وليس ينبغى ان يُحمل على قول من وقف على الهآء كما قال

يَا بَيْدَرَهْ يَا بَيْدَرَهْ يَا بَيْدَرَهْ

وكما قال الآخَرُ

يَا رُبَّ أَبَّازٍ مِنَ ٱلْعُضْمِ[1] صَدَعْ
تَقَبَّضَ ٱلذِّئْبُ[2] عَلَيْهِ فَٱجْتَمَعْ
لَمَّا رَأَى أَلَّا دَعَهْ وَلَا شِبَعْ
مَالَ[3] إِلَى أَرْطَاةِ حِقْفٍ فَٱضْطَجَعْ

لانّ هذا حَسَنٌ فيه إظهار الهاء اذا كان الكلام تامًّا يحسن عليه السكوت وقوله مُحَدِّثُهُ مَلِكٍ مضاف ومضاف اليه فلا يحسن فيه مثل ذلك اذا كان الاسمان كاسمٍ واحدٍ وامّا صالح بن عبد القدّوس فقد شُهر بالزندقة ولم يَقُلْ ولَه العلم حتّى ظهرت عنه مقالات توجب ذلك ويروى لأبيه عبد القدّوس

[1] Ṣaḥāḥ has العفر.

[2] So in Ṣaḥāḥ. MS. الطل.

[3] MS. مالى.

كَمْ أَهْلَكَتْ مَكَّةُ مِنْ زَايِرٍ
خَرَّبَهَا ٱللّٰهُ وَأَبْيَاتَهَا
لَا رَزَقَ ٱلرَّحْمٰنُ أَحْيَاءَهَا
وَأَشْوَتِ ٱلرَّحْمَةُ أَمْوَاتَهَا

وقد كان لصالح ولدٌ حُبِسَ على الزندقة حبسًا طويلاً وهو الذى يُرْوَى له

خَرَجْنَا مِنَ ٱلدُّنْيَا وَنَحْنُ مِنَ ٱهْلِهَا
فَمَا نَحْنُ بِٱلْأَحْيَاءِ فِيهَا وَلَا ٱلْمَوْتَى
إِذَا مَا أَتَانَا زَايِرٌ مُتَفَقِّدٌ
فَرِحْنَا وَقُلْنَا جَآءَ هٰذَا مِنَ ٱلدُّنْيَا

وامّا رجوعه عن الزندقة لمّا احسّ بالقتل ، فانّما ذلك على سبيل التمثّل ، فصلّى الله على محمّد فقد رُوِىَ عنه انّه قال بُعِثْتُ بالسيف والتخيير مع السيف والخير فى السيف والتخير بالسيف وفى حديث آخر لا تزال امّتى بخير ما حملتِ السيوف والسيف حمل صالح على التصديق ، وردّه عن رأى الزنديق ، وتلك آية من آيات الله اذا هى ظهرت للنفس الكافرة فقد فنى لا رَيْبَ زمانُها ، ولا يُقْبَلُ هناك إيمانُها ، لَمْ تَكُنْ آمَنَتْ مِنْ قَبْل ، وللسفه طلٌّ وَبْل ، وامّا القصّار ، فجَهِلَ يُجْمَعُ ويُصار ، ولو تبع حقًّا مقروبا ، لَكُفِىَ سمًّا مشروبا ، ولكنّ الغرايز أَعَاد ، ولا بُدَّ من لقاء الميعاد ، وامّا المنسوب الى الصنادبق ، فانّه يُحسب من الزنادبق ، واحسبُهُ الذى كان يُعْرَفُ بالمنصور ظهر سنة سبعين و مائتَيْن واقام برهةً باليمن وفى زمانه كانت القيان تلعب بالدفّ ويقول

خُذِى ٱلدُّفَّ يَا هٰذِهِ وَٱلْعَبِى
وَبُثِّى فَضَايِلَ هٰذَا ٱلنَّبِى
تَوَلَّى نَبِىُّ بَنِى هَاشِمٍ
وَقَامَ نَبِىُّ بَنِى يَعْرُبِ
فَمَا يَنْبَغِى ٱلسَّعْىُ عِنْدَ ٱلصَّفَا
وَلَا زَوْرَةُ ٱلْقَبْرِ فِى يَثْرِبِ
إِذَا ٱلْقَوْمُ صَلُّوا فَلَا تَنْهَضِى
وَإِنْ صَوَّمُوا فَكُلِى وَٱشْرَبِى
وَلَا تَحْرِمِى نَفْسَكِ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِيـ
ـنَ مِنْ أَقْرَبِينَ وَمِنْ أَجْنَبِ
فَكَيْفَ حَلَلْتِ لِذَاكَ ٱلْغَرِيبِ
وَصِرْتِ مُحَرَّمَةً لِلْأَبِ
أَلَيْسَ ٱلْغِرَاسُ لِمَنْ رَبَّهُ
وَرَوَّاهُ فِى عَامِهِ ٱلْمُجْدِبِ
وَمَا ٱلْخَمْرُ إِلَّا كَمَاءِ ٱلسَّحَا
بِ طِلْقٌ فَقَدْ سِتِّ مِنْ مَذْهَبِ

فعلى معتقد هذه المقالة بهلة المبتهلين وهذه الطبقة لعنها الله تستعبد الطغام باصناف مختلفة فاذا طمعت فى دعوى الربوبيّة لم تثبت فى الدعوى ، ولا لها عمّا قبح رعوى ، واذا علمت ان فى الانسان تميّزا ، ادّبته الى ما يحسن تحيّزا ، وقد كان باليمن رجلٌ يحتجب فى حصن له ويكوّن الواسطة بينه وبين الناس خادمًا له اسود قد سمّاه[1] جبريل فقتله الخادم فى بعض الايّام وانصرف فقال

[1] MS. سما.

بعض المُجّان تبارک الله فی عُلاه فرّ من الفسق جبريل ' وظلّ من تزعمون ربًّا وهو على عرشه قتيل ' ويقال انّه حمله على ذلک ما يُكَلِّفُهُ من الفسق واذا طمع بعض هؤلاى فانّه لا يقنع بالإمامة ولا النبوّة ولكنّه يرتفع صُعُدًا فى الكَذَب ' ويكون شرّبه من تحت المِعْذَب ' اى الطُحْلُب ولم تكن العرب فى الجاهليّة تقدم على هذه العظايم ' والأُمور غير النظايم ' بل كانت عقولهم تجنح الى رأى الحكماء ' وما سلف من كُتُب القدماء ' اذ كان اكثر الفلاسفة لا يقولون بنبىّ ' وينظرون الى من زعم ذلک بِعَيْن[1] الغبىّ ' وكان ربيعة بن اميّة بن خلف الجُمَحىّ جرى له مع ابى بكر الصدّيق رحمة الله [عليه] خطْبٌ فلحق بالروم ويروى انّه قال

P. 151] لَحِقْتُ بِأَرْضِ ٱلرُّومِ غَيْرَ مُفَكِّرٍ
بِتَرْكِ صَلَاةٍ مِنْ عِشَآءٍ وَلَا ظُهْرِ
فَلَا تَشْكُرُونِى مِن صَبُوحِ مُدَامَةٍ
فَمَا حَرَّمَ ٱللهُ ٱلشَّلَافَ مِنَ ٱلْخَمْرِ
إِذَا أُمِّرَتْ تَيْمُ بْنُ مُرَّةَ فِيكُمُ
فَلَا خَيْرَ فِى أَرْضِ ٱلْحِجَازِ وَلَا مِصْرِ
فَإِنْ يَكُ إِسْلَامِى هُوَ ٱلْحَقَّ وَٱلْهُدَى
فَإِنِّى قَدْ خَلَّيْتُهُ لِأَبِى بَكْرِ

وافتنّ الناس فى الضلالة حتّى استجازوا دعوى الربوبيّة فكان ذلک تنطّسًا فى الكُفْر ' وجمعًا للمعصية فى المزاد الوَفْر ' وانّما كان اهل الجاهليّة يدفعون النبوّة ولا يجاوزون ذلک الى سواه ولمّا اجلى عمر بن الخطّاب رحمة الله عليه اهل الذمّة عن جزيرة العرب شقّ

[1] MS. يعنى.

ذلک على الجالين فيقال ان رجلاً من يهود خَيْبَر يُعرف بسديد بن ادكن قال فى ذلـک

يَصُولُ أَبُـو حَفْصٍ عَلَيْنَـا بِـدِرَّةٍ
رُوَيْدَکَ إِنَّ ٱلْمَرْءَ يَطْفُـو وَيَرْسُبُ
كَـأَنَّکَ لَمْ تَتْبَعْ حَمُولَةَ مَـاقِـطٍ
لِتَشْبَعَ إِنَّ ٱلزَّادَ شَـيْءٌ مُجَبَّبُ
فَلَوْ كَـانَ مُوسَى صَادِقًا مَـا ظَهَرْتُـمُ
عَلَيْنَا وَلَكِـنْ دَوْلَةٌ ثُمَّ تَـذْهَـبُ
وَنَحْنُ سَبَقْنَاكُمْ إِلَى ٱلْمَيْنِ فَٱعْرِفُوا
لَنَا رُتْبَةَ ٱلْبَادِى ٱلَّذِى هُوَ أَكْذَبُ
مَشَيْتُمْ عَلَى آثَارِنَـا فِـى طَرِيقِنَا
وَبُغْيَتُكُمْ فِـى أَنْ تَسُودُوا وَتُـرْهِبُـوا

وما زال اليمن منذ كان معدنًا للمتكسّبين بالتديّن ، والمحتالين على السُحْت بالتـزيّـن ، وحدّثنى من سافر الى تلـک الناحية انّ بـه اليوم جماعة كلّهم يزعم انّه القايم المنتظَر فـلا يعدم جبايةً مـن مال ، يصل بـهـا الى خسيس الآمـال ، وحُكى لى انّ للقرامطـة بالأَحْسَآء بيتًا يزعمون انّ امامهم يخرج منـه ويقيمون على بـاب ذلـک البيت فرسًا بسرج ولجـام ، ويقولون للهمج والطغام ، هـذا الفرس لـركاب المهدى ، يركبه متى ظهر بحـقّ بـدى ، [P. 152 وانما غرضهم بدلک خدع وتعليل ، وتوصّل الى المملكة وتضليل ، ومن اعجب ما سمعتُ أنّ بعض رؤساء القرامطـة فى الدهر القديم لمّا حضرته المنيّة جمع اصحابه وجعل يقول لهم لمّا احسّ بالموت إنّـى قـد عزمتُ على النـقـلة وقـد كنتُ بعثتُ موسى وعيسى ومحمّدًا ولا بُدَّ لى ان ابعث غيرهؤلاى فعليه اللعنة لقد كفر اعظم

الكفر فى الساعة ٱلتى يجب ان يؤمن فيها الكافر ' ويؤب الى آخرته المسافر ' وامّا الوليد بن يزيد فكان عقله عقل وليد ' وقد بلغ سنّ الكهل المجليد ' ما أغنته نيّةٌ نافجه[1] ' ولا نفعت البَنافجه[2] ' وشُغِلَ عن الباطيه ' بجريرة النفس الخاطيه ' دحاه الى سقرٍ داح ' فما يغترف بالأقداح ' وقد رُوِيَتْ له اشعار ' يلحق به منها العار ' كقوله

أَدْنِيَا[3] مِنِّى خَلِيلِى عَبْدَلاً دُونَ الإِزَارِ
فَلَقَدْ أَيْقَنْتُ أَنِّى غَيْرُ مَبْعُوثٍ لِنَارِ
وَٱتْرُكَا مَنْ يَطْلُبُ ٱلْجَنَّةَ يَسْعَى فِى خَسَارِ
سَأَرُوضُ[4] ٱلنَّاسَ حَتَّى يَرْكَبُوا دِينَ ٱلْحِمَارِ

فالعجب لزمان صيّر مثله اماما ' واورده من المملكة جماما ' ولعلّ غيره ممّن ملك يعتقد مثله او قريبًا منه ولكن يساتر ويخاف وممّا يروى له

أَنَا ٱلْوَلِيدُ ٱلإِمَامُ مُفْتَخِرًا
أَجُرُّ بُرْدِى وَأَسْمَعُ ٱلْغَزَلَا
أَسْحَبُ ذَيْلِى إِلَى مَنَازِلِهَا
وَلَا أُبَالِى مَنْ لَامَ أَو عَذَلَا
مَا ٱلْعَيْشُ إِلَّا سَمَاعُ مُحْسِنَةٍ
وَقَهْوَةٌ تَتْرُكُ ٱلْفَتَى ثَمِلَا
لَا أَرْتَجِى ٱلْحُورَ فِى ٱلْخُلُودِ وَهَلْ
يَأْمُلُ حُورَ ٱلْجِنَانِ مَنْ عَقِلَا

[1] MS. سابجه.

[2] MS. البُنابجه.

[3] MS. ادنيا, which I formerly took as the dual, must = أَدْنِيَنْ. *Dele* the second sentence of note 3, p. 342 *supra*.

[4] MS. سآء روض, which I have wrongly retained in the translation.

إِذَا حَبَّكَ[1] ٱلْوِصَالَ غَانِيَةٌ
فَجَازِهَا بَذْلَهَا كَمَنْ وَصَلَا

P. 153] ويقال انّه لمّا أُحيط به دخل القصر واغلق بابه وقال

دَعُوا لِيَ هِنْدًا وَٱلرَّبَابَ وَفِتْيَةٌ[2]
وَمُسْمِعَةً حَسْبِي بِذٰلِكَ مَالَا
خُذُوا مُلْكَكُمْ لَا نَبَّتَ ٱللّٰهُ مُلْكَكُمْ
فَلَيْسَ يُسَاوِي بَعْدَ ذَاكَ عِقَالَا
وَخَلُّوا سَبِيلِي قَبْلَ عَيْرٍ وَمَا جَرَى
وَلَا تَحْسِدُونِي أَنْ أَمُوتَ هِزَالَا

فأَلَبَ عن تلك المنزلة أَىّ أَلَب ، ورئ رأسه فى فم كلْب ، كذلك نقل بعض الرُّوَاة ، والله القايم بجزاء الغُوَاة ، ولا حيلةَ للبشر فى امّ دَفَر ، أَعْيَت كلّ حَضَر وسَفَر ، كان حقّ الخلافة ان تُفْضِىَ الى من هو بنسك معروف ، لا تصرفه عن الرشد صُروف ، ولكن البليّة خُلقت مع الشمس ، فهل يخلص من سكن فى رمس ، وامّا ابو عيسى بن الرشيد ، فليس بالناشد ولا النشيد ، وان صحّ ما رُوِىَ عنه فقد باين بذلك أَسلافَه ، واظهر لاهل الديانة خِلافَه ، وما يحفل ربّه بالعبيد صائمين للخيفة ولا مُفْطِرين ، ولكن الإنس غدوا مُخْطِرين ، وربّما كان الجاهل والمتجاهِل ، ينطق بالكلمة وخَلَدُه بضدّها آهِل ، وانّما اقول ذلك راجيًا انّ ابا عيسى ونُظراءَه ، لم يتبعوا فى الغىّ أُمراءَه ، وأنّهم على سوى ما علن يُبَيِّتون[3] ، لقد وعظهم المَيِّتون ،

[1] MS. جبتک .
[2] MS. وفتيتى . In marg. وفرتنى .
[3] MS. يبتون .

ورأى بعضهم عبد السلام بن رغبان[1] المعروف بديك الجنّ فى النوم وهو بحسن حال فذكر له الابيات الغائيّة التى فيها

هِىَ ٱلدُّنْيَا وَقَد نَعِمُوا بِأُخْرَى
وَتَسْوِيفُ ٱلظُّنُونِ مِنَ ٱلسَّوَافِ

اى الهلاك فقال انّما كنت اتلاعب بدلك ولم اكن اعتقده ولعلّ كثيراً ممّن شُهر بهذه الجهالات تكون طويّته إقامة الشريعه ' [P. 154 والإرتاع برياضها المريعه ' فانّ اللسان طمّاح ' و[لا] له بالعقل إسماح ' وكان ابو عيسى المذكور يُستحسن شعره فى البيتَيْن والثلثة وانشد له الصولىّ فى نوادره

لِسَانِى كَتُومٌ لِأَسْرَارِهِ
وَدَمْعِى نَمُومٌ بِسِرِّى مُذِيعُ
وَلَوْلَا دُمُوعِى كَتَمْتُ ٱلْهَوَى
وَلَوْلَا ٱلْهَوَى لَمْ يَكُنْ لِى دُمُوعُ

فان كان فترمن صيام شهر ' فلعلّه يقع فى تعذيب الدهر ' ولا ييأس من رَوْح الله إلّا القوم الكافرون وامّا الجنّابىّ فلو عوقب بلدٌ بمن يسكنه لجاز ان توخذ به جنّابه ' ولا يُقْبَل لها إنابه ' ولكن حُكْم الكتاب المُنزل اجدرُ وأَحْرَى ' أن لا تَزِرُ وَازِرَةٌ وِزْرَ أُخْرَى ' وقد اختُلف فى حديث الركن معه فزعم من يدّعى الخبرة به انّه اخذه ليعبده ويعظّمه لانّه بلغه انّه يد[2] الصنم الذى جُعل على خلق زُحَل وقيل جعله مَوْطِئًا فى مُرْتَفَقٍ وهذا تناقُض فى الحديث وانّ ذلك كان فعليه اللعنة ما رسا ثَبير ' وهَمَى صَبير ' وامّا

[1] MS. دعبان.
[2] MS. بد.

العلوىّ البصرىّ فذكر بعض الناس انّه كان قبل خروجه يذكر انّه من عبد قيس ثمّ من انمار وكان اسمه احمد فلمّا خرج تسمّى عليًّا والكذب كثير جمّ ' كان فى النظر طودًا اشمّ[1] والصدق لديه كالحصاة ' توطّأ باقدام عُصاة ' وتلك الابيات المنسوبة اليه مشهورة وهى

أَيَا حِرْفَةَ ٱلزَّمْنَى أَلَمَّ بِكِ ٱلرَّدَى
أَمَا لِى خَلَاصٌ مِنْكِ وَٱلشَّمْلُ جَامِعُ[2]
إِنْ قَنِعَتْ نَفْسِى بِتَعْلِيمِ صِبْيَةٍ
يَدَ ٱلدَّهْرِ إِنِّى بِٱلْمَذَلَّةِ قَانِعُ
وَهَلْ يَرْضَيَنْ حُرٌّ بِتَعْلِيمِ صِبْيَةٍ
وَقَدْ ظَنَّ أَنَّ ٱلرِّزْقَ فِى ٱلْأَرْضِ وَاسِعُ

وما امنعُ ان يكون حمله حبّ الطِحطام[3] على ان غرق [P. 155 فى بحرٍ طام ' يسبح فيه ما دامت السموات والارض إلّا ما شاء ربّك إنّ ربّك فعّال لما يريد وقد رُوِيَتْ له ابيات تدلّ على تألّهٍ وما ادفعُ ان تكون قيلت على لسانه لانّ من خبر هذا العالم حكم عليه بفجور ومَيْن ' واخلاق تبعد من الزَيْن ' والابيات

فَتَلْتُ ٱلنَّاسَ إِشْفَاقًا عَلَى نَفْسِىَ كَىْ تَبْقَا
وَحُزْتُ ٱلْمَالَ بِالسَّيْفِ لِكَىْ أَنْعَمَ لَا أَشْقَا
فَمَنْ أَبْصَرَ مَثْوَاىَ فَلَا يَظْلِمْ إِذًا خَلْقَا
فَوَا وَيْلِى إِذَا مَا مُتُّ عِنْدَ ٱللّٰهِ مَا أَلْقَا
أَخُلْدًا فِى جِوارِ ٱللّٰهِ أَمْ فِى نَارِهِ أَلْقَا

[1] MS. شم.

[2] On p. 345 *supra*, instead of "when the last gathering brings mankind together," read "when things are set right."

[3] So in marg. The text has الطعام.

وانشدنى بعضهم ابياتًا قافيّةً طويلة الوزن وقافيتها مثل هذه القافية قد نُسبت الى عضد الدولة وقيل انّه افاق فى بعض الايّام فكتبها على جدار الموضع الذى كان فيه وقد مُحِىَ بها نَحْوُ ابيات البصرىّ واشهدُ أنّها متكلّفة ضنعها رقيعٌ من القوم وأنّ عضد الدولة ما سمع بها قطّ

فامّا الحُسَيْن بن منصور، فليس جُمَّله بالمحصور، واذا كانت الأُمّة ربّما عبدت الحَجَر، فكيف يأمن المحصيف[1] البُجر، اراد ان يُدير الضلالة على القُطْب، فانتقل عن تدبير العُطْب، ولو انصرف الى علاج البِرْس، ما بقى ذكرٌ عنه فى طِرْس، ولكنّها مقادير، تغشى الناظرَ بها سمادير، فكون ابن آدم حصاة او [P. 157 صخرة، اجملُ به [من] ان يُجْعَلَ سخرة، والناس الى الباطل سِراع، ولهم الى الفِتَنِ أشراع، وكم افترَى للحلّاج، والكذب كثير الخِلاج، وجميع ما يُنسب اليه ممّا لم تجر[2] العادة بمثله فانّه المَيْن المخبريت، لا اصدق به ولو گرِيت، وممّا يُفتعل عليه أنّه قال للذين قتلوه اتظنّون ايّاى تقتلون انّما تقتلون بغلة المادرانىّ وأنّ البغلة وُجدت فى اصطبلها مقتولةً وفى الصوفيّة الى اليوم من يرفع شانه، ويجعل مع النجم مكانه، وبلغنى انّ ببغداد قومًا ينتظرون خروجه وانّهم يقفون بحيث صُلِبَ على دجلة يتوقّعون ظهوره وليس ذلك ببدعٍ من جهل[3] الناس، ولو عبد عابدٌ ظَبْيَ كناس،

[1] MS. الخصيف.
[2] MS. تجرى.
[3] MS. حمل.

فقد نزل حظّ على قِرد ، فظفر باكرم الوِرْد ، وقالت العامّة اسجُدْ للقرد فى زمانه وأنا اتحوّب من ذكر القرد الذى يقال انّ القُوّاد فى زمن زُبَيْدة كانوا يدخلون لسلام عليه وانّ يزيد بن مَزْيَد[1] الشيبانىّ دخل فى جملة المسلّمين فقبّله وقد رُوِىَ انّ يزيد بن معاوية كان له قرد يحمله على اتانٍ وحشيّة ويُرسلها مع الخيل فى الحلبة واتما الابيات التى على الياء

يَا سِرَّ سِرٍّ يَدِقُّ حَتَّى
يَجِلُّ عَنْ وَصْفِ كُلِّ حَىِّ
وَظَاهِرًا بَاطِنًا تَبَدَّى
مِنْ كُلِّ شَىْءٍ لِكُلِّ شَىْءٍ
يَا جُمْلَةً لَسْتَ أَهْلَ غَيْرِى
فَمَا ٱعْتِذَارِى إِذًا إِلَىَّ

فلا بأْسَ بنظمها فى القوّة ولكن قوله إِلَىّ عاهة فى الابيات إن قيّد فالتقييد لمثل هذا الوزن لا يجوز عند بعض الناس فان كسر [P. 158 الياء من إِلَىّ فذلك ردىء قبيح

ويُنشَد لفتًى كان فى زمن الحلّاج

إِنْ يَكُنْ مَذْهَبُ ٱلْحُلُولِ صَحِيحًا
فَإِلَاهِى فِى حُرْمَةِ ٱلزَّجَّاجِ
عَرِضَتْ فِى غَلَالَةٍ بِطِرَازٍ
بَيْنَ دَارِ ٱلْعَطَّارِ وَٱلثَّلَّاجِ [P. 159
زَعَمُوا لِى أَمْرًا وَمَا صَحَّ لٰكِنْ
هُوَ مِنْ إِفْكِ شَيْخِنَا ٱلْحَلَّاجِ

[1] MS. يزيد.

وهذه المذاهب قديمة تنتقل فى عصر بعد عصر ويقال انّ فرعون كان على مذهب لحلوليّة فلذلك ادّعى انّه ربّ العزّة وحُكِيَ عن رجلٍ منهم انّه كان يقول فى تسبيحه سبحانك سبحانى غفرانك غفرانى وهذا هو الجنون الغالب إنّ من يقول هذا القول معدود فى الأنعام ' ما عرف كُنْه الإنعام ' وقال بعضهم انا انت بلا شكّ فسبحانك سبحانى ' وإسخاطك إسخاطى وغفرانك غفرانى ' ولِمَ أجلَد يا ربّ اذا قيل هو الزانى ' وبنو آدم بلا عقول وهذا امر يُلَقَّنُهُ صغير عن كبير ' فيكون بالهلكة أوْفَى صبير ' أَمْ تَحْسَبُ أَنَّ أَكْثَرَهُمْ يَسْمَعُونَ أَوْ يَعْقِلُونَ إِنْ هُمْ إِلَّا كَالْأَنْعَامِ بَلْ هُمْ أَضَلُّ سَبِيلًا ويُروى لبعض اهل هذه النحلة

رَأَيْتُ رَبِّى يَمْشِى بِلَا كِفِ
فِى سُوقِ يَحْيَى فَكِدْتُ أَنْفَطِرُ
فَقُلْتُ هَلْ فِى ٱلْتِصَالِنَا طَمَعٌ
فَقَالَ هَيْهَاتِ يَمْنَعُ ٱلْحَذَرُ
وَلَوْ قَضَى ٱللّٰهُ أُلْفَةً بِهَوًى
لَمْ يَكُ إِلَّا ٱلسُّجُودُ وَٱلنَّظَرُ

وتُؤَدِّى هذه النحلة الى التناسخ وهو مذهب عتيق يقول به اهل الهند وقد كثر فى جماعةٍ من الشيعة نسأل الله التوفيق والكفاية ويُنشد لرجلٍ من النُصَيْرِيّة

إِعْجَبِى أُمَّنَا لِصَرْفِ ٱللَّيَالِى
جَعَلَتْ أُخْتَنَا سَكِينَةَ فَارَهْ
فَٱزْجُرِى لِهذِهِ ٱلسَّنَانِيرَ عَنْهَا
وَٱتْرُكِيهَا وَمَا تَضُمُّ ٱلْغِرَارَهْ

وقال آخر منهم

P. 160] تَبَارَكَ [ٱللّٰهُ] كَاشِفُ ٱلْمِحَنِ
فَقَدْ أَرَانَا عَجَايِبَ ٱلزَّمَنِ
حِمَارُ شَيْبَانَ شَيْخِ بَلْدَتِنَا
صُيِّرَهُ جَارُنَا أَبُو ٱلسَّكَنِ
بُدِّلَ مِنْ مِشْيَةٍ بِجُلَّتِهِ
مِشْيَتَهُ فِي ٱلْحِزَامِ وَٱلرَّسَنِ

P. 161] وفى الناس من يتظاهر بالمذهب ولا يعتقده يتوصل به الى الدنيا الفانيه ، وهى اغدر من الورهاء الزانيه ، وكان لهم فى المغرب رجلٌ يُعرف بابن هانئ وكان من شُعَراءهم المُجيدين وكان يغلو فى مدح المُعزّ ابى تميم معدّ غلوًّا عظيمًا حتّى قال يخاطب صاحب المظلّة

أَمُدِيرَهَا مِنْ حَيْثُ دَارَ لَشَدَّ مَا
زَاحَمْتَ تَحْتَ رِكَابِهِ جِبْرِيلَا

وقال فيه وقد نزل بموضعٍ يقال له رقّادة

حَلَّ بِرَقَّادَةَ ٱلْمَسِيحُ
حَلَّ بِهَا آدَمُ وَنُوحُ
حَلَّ بِهَا ٱللّٰهُ ذُو ٱلْمَعَالِي
وَكُلُّ شَيْءٍ سِوَاهُ رِيحُ

وحضر شاعر يُعرف بابن القاضى بين يدَىِ ابن ابى عامر صاحب الاندلس فانشده قصيدةً اوّلها

مَا شِئْتَ لَا مَا شَاءَتِ ٱلْأَقْدَارُ
فَٱحْكُمْ فَأَنْتَ ٱلْوَاحِدُ ٱلْقَهَّارُ

ويقول فيها اشياء فأنكر عليه ابن ابى عامر و امر بجلده ونفيه ودل كُتُب[1] الحلاج ان يكون شَعْوَذِيًا ' لا ثاقب الفهم ولا أَحْوَذِيًا ' على انّ صوفيةً تُعظّمه منهم طايفه ' ما هى لامرهم شايفه ' وامّا ابن ابى عَوْن ' فانّه اخذ فى لون بعيد بعد لَوْن ' غُرَّ البائس بأبى جَعْفَرَه ' فما جعل رِسْلَه فى أَوفَرَه ' وقد تجد الرجلَ حاذقًا فى الصناعة بليغًا فى النظر والحُجّة فاذا رجع الى الديانة أَلْفِىَ كأنّه غير مقتاد ' وانّما يتبع ما يعتاد ' والتأنّه موجود فى الغرايز ' يُحسب من الأَلجآء الحرايز ' ويُلَقَّنُ الطفل الناشئ ما سمعه من الاكابر ' [P. 162 فيلبث معه فى الدهر الغابر ' والذين يسكنون فى الصوامع ' والمتعبّدون فى الجوامع ' يأخذون ما هم عليه كنقل الخبر عن المُخْبِر ' لا يميّزون الصدق عن الكذب لدى المُعْبِر ' فلو انّ بعضهم الفى الأَسْرة من المجوس لخرج مجوسيًا ' او من الصابئة لاصبح لهم قرينًا سِيًا ' واذا المعقول جُعِلَ هاديا ' نفع بريّه صاديا ' ولكن اين من يصبر على احكام العقل ' ويصقل فهمَه أَبْلَغَ صقل ' هيهات عدم ذلك فيمن تطلع عليه الشمس ' ومن ضُمِّنَهُ فى الرِمَم رمْس ' إلّا ان يشذّ رجلٌ فى الأُمَم ' يَخُصُّ من فضلٍ بعَمَم ' ربّما لقينا من نظر فى كُتُب الحُكَمَاء ' وتبع بعض آثار القُدَمَاء ' فألفيناه يستحسن قبيح الأُمور ' ويبتكر بِدَعٍ مغمور[2] ' إن قدر على فظيعٍ ركبه ' وإن عرف واجبًا نكّبه ' كأنّ العالِمَ سأْوٌ[3] له فى إفقاد ' فهو يعتقد شرّ[4] اعتقاد ' وإن أُودِعَ وديعةً خان ' وإن سُئِلَ عن شهادة

[1] MS. رتب.
[2] MS. معمور.
[3] MS. سعوا.
[4] MS. ستر.

مان ' وإن وصف لعليلٍ صفةً فما يحفل أَقَتَلَهُ بما قال ' أم ضاعف عليه الأثقال ' بل غرضُهُ فيما يَكْتَسِب ' وهو الى الحكمة مُنْتَسِب ' ورُبَّ زارٍ بالجهالة على اهل مِلَّه ' وعِلَّتُهُ الباطنة أَدْهَى عِلَّه ' وإنّ البشر لكما جآء فى الكتاب العزيز كُلُّ حِزْبٍ بِمَا لَدَيْهِم فَرِحُونَ والإماميّة يقربون بالتعفير ' فعدّه بعض المتديّنة ذنبًا ليس بغفير ' ويحضر المجالس انـاسٌ طاغون ' كأنّهم للرشد [P. 163 باغون ' واولئك عَلِمَ الله اصحابُ البدْع والمَكْر ' ومن لك بزَيْجٍ فى ذِكْر ' كم متظاهرٍ باعتزال ' وهو مع المخالف فى نِزال ' يزعم ان ربّه على الذرء يُخلد النار ' بَلْهَ الدرهم وبَلْهَ الدينار ' وما ينفكّ يحتقب من المآثم عظايم ' ويقع بها فى اطايم ' ينهمك على العهار والفِسْق ' ويظعن من الاوزار الموبقة بأَوْفَى وِسْق ' يقنت على رهط الأَجْبار ' ويسند الى عبد الجبّار ' يُطيل الدأَب فى النهار واللَّيْل ' ويُضمر ان شيخ المعتزلة غير طاهر الرُّدْن ولا الذَّيْل ' قد صيّر الجَدَل مصيده ' ينظم به من الغثّ قصيده ' وحُدّثتُ عن إمام لهم يُوقِّر ويُتبَع ' وكانّه من الجهل رَبع ' انّه كان اذا جلس فى الشَّرْب ' ودارت عليهم المُسكرة ذات الغَرْب ' وجآءه القدح يشربه فاستوفاه[1] ' واشهد من حضره على التوبة لما اقتفاه ' والاشعريّة اذا كُشف [بعضهم] ظهر نُمّىّ ' تلعنه الارض الراكدة والسُمىّ ' انّما مثله مثل راعٍ حُطَمَه ' يخبط فى الدهمآء المُظلِمَه ' لا يحفل علامَ هَجَمَ بالغَنَم ' وأَن يقع بها فى اليَنَم ' وما أَجْدَرَهُ أن يأتى بها سراحين ' يضمنّ لجميعها أن يحيين ' ممّن له لا يسدّ حِجى ' كانّما وُضِع فى دُجى ' إلّا من عصمه الله باتّباع السَلَف ' وتحمّلِ ما يُشْرَعُ من

[1] MS. omits the suffix.

الكُلَف ، وأنا لأكفِرُ [من يزعم] انّ الله ربّنا [له] يدا[1] البَدَن[2]، لا يدرى متى صفقهما[3] لدَدَن[4] ، إن شعر قلّد السكينَ هواه ، فانّما وثق بما أغواه ، وإن بحث عن السِرّ وتبصّر ، قصر عن الخُبْر [P. 164 وقصّر ، والشيعة يزعمون انّ عبد الله بن مَيْمون القدّاح وهو من باهلة كان من عِلْيَةِ اصحاب جعفر بن محمّد عليه السلام وروى عنه شيًا كثيرًا ثمّ ارتدّ بعد ذلك فحدّثنى بعض شيوخهم أنّهم يروون عنه ويقولون حدّثنا عبد الله بن ميمون القدّاح كأحسن ما كان اى قبل ان يرتدّ ويروون

هَاتِ ٱسْقِنِى ٱلْخَمْرَةَ يَا سَبَرُ
فَلَيْسَ عِنْدِى أَنَّنِى أَنْشَرُ
أَمَا تَرَى ٱلشِّيعَةَ فِى فِتْنَةٍ
يَغُرُّهَا مِن دِينِهَا جَعْفَرُ
قَدْ كُنْتُ مَغْرُورًا بِهِ بُرْهَةً
ثُمَّ بَدَا لِى خَبَرٌ يُسْتَرُ

[ويروون له]

مَشَيْتُ إِلَى جَعْفَرٍ حِقْبَةً
فَأَلْفَيْتُهُ خَادِعًا يَخْلِبُ

[1] MS. يدان.
[2] MS. لبدن.
[3] MS. صنقها.
[4] MS. البدن.

يَجُرُّ ٱلْعَلَآءَ إِلَى نَفْسِهِ
وَكُلًّا[1] إِلَى حَبْلِهِ يَجْذِبُ
فَلَوْ كَانَ أَمْرُكُمُ صَادِقًا
لَمَا ظَلَّ مَقْتُولُكُمْ يُسْحَبُ
وَلَا غَضَّ مِنْكُمْ عَتِيقٌ وَلَا
عَمِرْتُمْ[2] فَوَقْفُكُمُ[3] ٱلْخُطْبُ[4]

والحلوليّة قريبة من مذهب التناسخ وحُدّثتُ عن رجلٍ من رؤساء المنجّمين من اهل حرّان اقام فى بلدنا زمانًا فخرج مرّةً مع قومٍ يتنزّهون فمرّوا بثَوْرٍ يكرب فقال لأصحابه لا اشكّ فى ان هذا رجلٌ كان يُعرف بخَلَف بحرّان وجعل يصيح به يا خَلَفُ فيتّفق أن يخور ذلك الثور فيقول لأصحابه ألا ترون الى صحّة مـا خبّرتكم به وحُكِيَ لى عن رجلٍ آخر ممّن يقول بالتناسخ أنّه قال رأيتُ فى النوم أبى وهو يقول لى يا بُنَىَّ إنّ روحى قد نُقلتْ الى جَمَلٍ اعور [P. 165 فى قطار فلان وإنّى قد اشتهيت بطّيخةً قال فأخذتُ بطّيخةً وسألت عـن ذلك القطار فوجدت فيه جملًا اعور فدنوت منه بالبطّيخة فأخذها أخْذَ مُريدٍ مُشتهٍ أفلا ترى مولاى الشيخ الى ما رُمِيَ به هذا البشر من سوء التمييز، وتحييزهم الى ما يمتنع من التحييز،

[1] MS. وكل.

[2] MS. عمر.

[3] MS. فوفكم.

[4] MS. ايخطب.

وامّا الدامغ فما إخالُه دمغ إلّا من ألّفه ' وبسوء الخلافة [P. 166 خلّفه ' وفى العرب رجل يُعرف بدميغ الشَيْطان ' وهذا الرجل كذاوى الخَيْطان ' وانّما المُنكَر ' أنّه فى أَلواتِهِ يُذكَر ' دلّ ممّن وضعه على ضعْفِ دماغ ' فهل يُؤْذَنُ لصَوْتٍ ماغ ' من قولهم مَغَتِ ٱلْهِرَّةُ اذا صاحت[1]

رَمَانِى بِأَمْرٍ كُنْتُ مِنْهُ وَوَالِدِى
بَرِيًّا وَمِنْ جُولِ ٱلطَّوِيِّ رَمَانِى

رجع عليه حَجَرُه ' وطال فى الاخرة بُجْرُه ' بئس ما نُسِبَ الى راوند ' فهل قَدَحَ فى دباوند ' انّما هتك قميصه ' وابان للناظر خميصه ' وأجمع مُلْحد ومُهتد ' وناكب عن المحجّة ومُقتد ' أنّ هذا الكتاب الذى جآء [به] محمّد صلعم كتابٌ بهر بالإعجاز ' ولقى عدوّه بالإرجاز ' ما حُذى على مثال ' ولا اشبه غريبَ الامثال ' ما هو من القصيد[2] الموزون ولا الرجز من سهل الماقط والماقط الذى يكرى من بلد الى بلد وحُدّثتُ انّ امرأة بالكوفة يُدّعى لها مثل ذلك وقد سمعتُ من يُخبر انّ لابن الراوندى معاشر تذكر انّ اللاهوت سكنه ' وأنّه من علمٍ مكّنه ' ويخترصون له فضايلَ يشهد الخالق واهل المعقول ' انّ كذبها غير مصقول ' وهو فى هذا احد الكَفَرَه ' لا يُحسب من الكرام البَرَرَه ' وقد انشد له مُنشد ' وغيره التقىّ المُرشد '

P. 167] قَسَمْتَ بَيْنَ ٱلْوَرَى مَعِيشَتَهُمْ
قِسْمَةَ سَكْرَانَ بَيْنِ ٱلْغِلَطِ[3]

[1] MS. صاصت.
[2] MS. القصد.
[3] MS. الغلط.

لَوْ قَسَمَ ٱلرِّزْقَ هٰكَذَا رَجُلٌ
قُلْنَا لَهُ قَدْ خُنْتَ فَٱتَّعِظِ[1]

ولو تمثّل هذان البيتان لكانا فى الإِصْر[2] ، يطولان إِرَمَىْ مِصْر[3] ، فلو مات الفَطِن كمدًا لَمَا عُتِب ، فأَيْنَ مهرب للعاقل من شقاءٍ رُتِب ، أَكُلَّ ما خدع خادع ، أُرْسِلَتْ من الكفر مَصَادِع[4] والمصادع[5] السِهام وما مسكت[6] السَوْداء الغالبة بسفيهٍ دعواه ، إلّا وافق جهولاً عواه ، اى عطفه وقد ظهر فى الضَيْعة المعروفة بالنَيْرَب المقاربة لسَرْمِين رجلٌ يُعرف بأبى جَوْف ، لا يستتر من الجهل بخَوْف ، والخوف أُزَيِّرٌ من ادمٍ مشقَّق الاطراف السافلة تتّزر به الجارية وهى صغيرة وكان يدّعى النبوّة ويُخبر باخبار مُضحِكه ، ويثبت نيّته على ذلك ثباتَ المَحِكه ، وكان له قطن فى بيته فقال إنّ قطنى لا يحترق وامر ابنته ان تُدْنِىَ سراجًا اليه فاخذ فى العُطْب وخرجت النساء واجتمعت الجيرة وانّما الغرض إطفاءٌ وحدّثنى من شاهده أنّه يُكثر الضحك بغير مُوجِب ، ولا عند حَدَثٍ مُعْجِب ، فقيل له مِمَّ تضحك فقال كلامًا معناه انّ الانسان ليفرح ببين قليل ، فكيف من وَصْلِ العطاء الجليل ، وكان بيّن الجنون ، ليس خَبَله[7] بالمكنون ،

[1] MS. فاستعط.

[2] MS. الامر.

[3] MS. اصر. A later hand has stroked out the *alif* and inserted *mīm*.

[4] MS. مصارع.

[5] MS. والمصارع.

[6] MS. حسنت.

[7] MS. حبله.

فاتبعه الاغبيآء[1]، وكذّب ما يقولـه الانبيآء، حتّى قتلـه فى حلب حرسها الله وذلـك بعد مقتل البطريـق المعروف بالدوقس فى بلد افامية[2] وكان الذى حثّ على قتله جيش بن محمّد بـن صمصامة لان خبره رَقِيَ اليه فارسل الى سلطان حلب حرسها الله [P. 168 يقول آقتُلُـه وإلّا أنفذتُ اليه من يقتله وكان السلطان يتهاون به لانّه حقير، ورب شاةٍ نتج منها الوقير، اى قطيع الـغـنـم وبعض الشيعة يحدّث ان سلمان الفارسىّ فى نـفرمعه جاءوا يطلبون علىّ بـن ابـى طالب سلام الله عليه فلم يجدوه فى منـزلـه فبينما هم كذلـك جاءت بارقـة تتبعها راعدة واذا علىّ قد نـزل على إجّار البيت فى يده سيف مخضوب بالدم فقال وقع بـيـن فَتَيَيْن من الملائكة فصعدتُ الى السمآء لأُصْلِحَ بينهما والذين يقولون هذه المقالة يعتقدون ان الحسن والحُسَيْن ليسا من اولاده فحاق بهم العذاب الاليم

واذا كان الرجل خُثارما، لم يزل فى الكشك[3] آرما، [P. 174 إن رأى سمامةً من الطَيْر حسبها من السِمام، اورأى حمامةً فرق من الحِمام، كما قال الطائىّ

هُنَّ الحَمَامُ فَإِنْ كَسَرتَ عِيَافَةً
مِنْ حَائِـهِـنَّ فَإِنَّهُـنَّ حِمَامُ

وإن عرضتْ له خنساء من البَشَر، فإنّه لا يأمن الشرّ، يقول أخافُ

[1] MS. الاغنيا.
[2] MS. اقامه.
[3] MS. الكشلب.

من رفيقٍ يَخْنِس ، وأمرٍ يُدَنِّس ، وان كانت الخنساء من الوحوش ، نفر قلبه من الحوش ، وإن رآها سانحه ، ضرب[1] من رغبه جانحه ، يقول قد ذهب اهل عقلٍ وافر ، من ارباب المناسم وصَحْب الحافر ، يتطيّرون بالسنيح ، ويرهبون معه ذهاب المنيح ، وان اتته بقدرٍ بارحه ، عاين بها النَجْلاء الجارحه ، يقول الم يكن ذَوو[2] خَيْل وسَروح ، يخشون الغايلة من البَروح ، وان لقى رجلاً يُدْعَى أَخْنَس ، فكانّما لقى هِزَبْرًا[3] تَبَهْنَس[4] يقول ما يُؤْمننى أن يكون كأَخنس بنى زهرة فتربحُلَفآئه عن وَفْر ، وطُرحت القَشْلَى فى الجَفْر ، وان استقبل من يولع بذلك أَعْفَر ، فانّه ينتظر ان يُعَفَّر ، وان بصر بالأَدْمآء ، أَيْقن بسفك الدِمآء ، وان جبهه ذيّال ، فكأنّه الهصور العيّال ، يقول [P.175 ما أَقْرَبَنى من إذاله[5] ، تُبْطل كلام العذّاله[6] ، وان آنس نعامةً بقَفْر ، وهو مع الرَكْب السَفْر ، فما ياخذها من النعيم ، ويجعلها بالهلكة مثل الزعيم ، يقول من القندءو اللَعىّ[7] ، اوّلها نَعَى وانّما ذلك من النَعىّ ، وان عنّ له[8] فى الخوق ظليم ، فذلك العذاب الأليم ، يقول ليت شعرى مَنِ آلذى يظلِمُنى ، أَيأخذ نشبى أم يكلِمُنى ، وان نظر الى عُصْفُور ، قال عُصْفٌ من الحوادث وُفُور[9] ، فهو طولَ ابده فى

[1] MS. صرت .
[2] MS. ذو .
[3] MS. هربرا .
[4] MS. تهنس .
[5] MS. اداله .
[6] MS. العداله .
[7] MS. العى .
[8] MS. لى .
[9] MS. ووفور .

غَنَآء ' ولا بُدَّ له من الفَنَآء ' ولهذه الطويّة جعل ابن الرومىّ جعفرًا من الجَوْح والفرار ولو هُدى صرفه الى النهر الجَوَار لأنّ الجعفر النهر الكثير المآء

وكانّى به وعماعم[1] العجيج ' يرفعون التلبية بالعجيج ' [P. 197 وهو يفكر فى تلبيات العرب وإنّها جاءت على ثلثة انواع مسجوع لا وزن له ومنهوك ومشطور فالمسجوع كقولهم لبّيك ربّنا لبّيك والخير كلّه بيديك والمنهوك على نوعَيْن احدهما من الرجز والآخر من المنسرح فالذى من الرجز كقولهم

لَبَّيْكَ إِنَّ الحَمْدَ لَكْ
وَٱلْمُلْكَ لَا شَرِيكَ لَكْ
[إِلَّا شَرِيكٌ] هُوَ لَكْ
تَمْلِكُهُ وَمَا مَلَكْ
أَبُو بَنَاتٍ بِفَدَكْ

فهذه من تلبيات الجاهليّة وفدك يومئذٍ فيها اصنام وكقولهم

لَبَّيْكَ يَا مُعْطِى ٱلْأَمِرْ
لَبَّيْكَ عَنْ بَنِى ٱلنَّمِرْ
جِئْنَاكَ فِى ٱلْعَامِ ٱلزَّمِرْ
نَأْمُلُ غَيْثًا يَنْهَمِرْ
يَطْرُقُ بِالسَّيْلِ ٱلْخَمِرْ

والذى من المنسرح جنسان احدهما فى آخره ساكنان كقولهم

لَبَّيْكَ رَبَّ هَمْدَانْ
مِنْ شَاحِطٍ وَمِنْ دَانْ

[1] MS. عمايم.

جِئْنَاكَ نَبْغِي ٱلْإِحْسَانْ
بِكُلِّ حَرْفٍ مِذْعَانْ
نَطْوِي إِلَيْكَ ٱلْغِيطَانْ
نَأْمُلُ فَضْلَ ٱلْغُفْرَانْ

والآخَرُ لا يجتمع فيه ساكنان كقولهم

لَبَّيْكَ عَنْ بَجِيلَهْ[1]
ٱلْفَخْمَةِ ٱلرَّجِيلَهْ
وَنِعْمَتِ ٱلْقَبِيلَهْ
جَاءَتْكَ بِٱلْوَسِيلَهْ
تُؤَمِّلُ ٱلْفَضِيلَهْ

وربّما جاءوا به على قوافٍ مختلفة كماروا فى تلبية بكر بن وايل P. 198]

لَبَّيْكَ حَقًّا حَقًّا
تَعَبُّدًا وَرِقًّا
جِئْنَاكَ لِلنَّصَاحَه
لَمْ نَأْتِ لِلرَّفَاحَه

والمشطور جنسان احدهما عند الخليل من الرجز كما رُوِىَ فى تلبية [بكر]

لَبَّيْكَ لَوْلَا أَنَّ بَكْرًا دُونَكَا
يُشْرِكُكَ[2] ٱلنَّاسُ وَيَكْفُرُونَكَا
مَا زَالَ مِنَّا عَشَجٌ يَأْتُونَكَا

[1] MS. بحيله.
[2] MS. يشكرك.

والآخر من السريع وهو نوعان احدهما يلتقى فيه ساكنان كما يروون فى تلبية همدان

لَبَّيْكَ مَعْ كُلِّ قَبِيلٍ لَبُّوكْ
هَمْدَانُ أَبْنَاءُ ٱلْمُلُوكِ تَدْعُوكْ
قَدْ تَرَكُوا أَصْنَامَهُمْ وَآنْتَابُوكْ
فَٱسْمَعْ دُعَآءً فِى جَمِيعِ ٱلْأَمْلُوكْ

قولهم لبُّوك اى لزموا امرك ومن روى لبَّوْك فهو سناد مكروه والمشطور الذى لا يجتمع فيه ساكنان كقولهم

لَبَّيْكَ عَنْ سَعْدٍ وَعَنْ بَنِيهَا
وَعَنْ نِسَآءٍ خَلْفَهَا تَنِيهَا [1]
سَارَتْ إِلَى ٱلرَّحْمَةِ تَجْتَنِيهَا

والموزون من التلبية يجب ان يكون كلّه من الرجز عند العرب ولم يأت التلبية بالقصيد ولعلّهم قد لبّوا به ولم تنقله الرُّوَاة

[1] MS. تعنيها .

ART. XXVII.—*Account of a rare, if not unique, manuscript History of the Seljúqs contained in the Schefer Collection lately acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and now described by* EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p.* 610, *July Number.*)

7. *Sinjar b. Malikshâh* (ff. 70ᵃ–77ᵃ).

His full name and title ran *as-Sulṭánu'l-A'ẓham Mu'izzu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Abu'l-Ḥárith Sinjar b. Malikshâh Burhánu Amíri'l-Múminín.* His motto (*tawqí'*) was توكّلتُ على اللّٰه. His prime ministers were Mu'ínu'd-Dín Mukhtaṣṣ of Káshán, Shihábu'd-Dín Abu'l-Maḥásin b. al-Faqíhu'l-ajall (nephew of the Nidhámu'l-Mulk), Sharafu'd-Dín Abú Ṭáhir Mámísá of Qum, Yaghán (يغان) b. al-Káshgharí, Qiwámu'd-Dín Abu'l-Qásim, and Náṣiru'd-Dín Ṭáhir b. Fakhru'l-Mulk. His chamberlains were the Amír Ghuzughlú (غزغلى: cf. *Bundárí*, p. 185, l. 16, which has غُزْأُغْلى), Ḥusayn al-Ḥájib, Nidhámu'd-Dín Maḥmúd of Káshán, and Falaku'd-Dín 'Alí Chatrí (cf. *Bundárí*, p. 225, l. 1).

Alike in length of life and brilliant achievements Sinjar surpassed all the other Seljúq monarchs. From the time he was made king of Khurásán by Barkiyáruq he effected, during a period of 40 years, nineteen conquests. He took Ghazna and made Bahrámsháh king thereof, on the understanding that he should pay him 1,000 *dínárs* a day (f. 71ᵃ). He also took captive the king of Samarqand, for after Barkiyáruq's death Aḥmad Khán rebelled, but was defeated and taken prisoner in A.H. 524 (= A.D. 1130). He also took Sístán and Khwárazm, and made Atsiz (or Utsuz, أُتْسُز, as it is here pointed) b. Muḥammad b. Núshtagín غزجه ruler of the latter (Khwárazmsháh), and Táju'd-Dín Amír Abu'l-Faḍl governor of Nímrúz and Zábulistán.

On the death of his brother Sulṭán Muḥammad in A.H. 511 (A.D. 1117–8) he came from Khurásán to 'Iráq, where his nephew Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad had been crowned king. Maḥmúd was persuaded by his nobles to attack his uncle, but was defeated, and fled to Iṣfahán. His governor, 'Alí Bár, sent his *kadkhudá* or steward, Abu'l-Qásim Anasábádí (آنسابادی), to Sinjar to apologize for his nephew's conduct, and it was agreed that Maḥmúd should wait on his uncle and remain with him a month, foregoing, during the whole of this period, the outward signs of sovereignty enumerated (f. 71b) in the following words :—

.. بوقت بر نشستن و فرود آمدن بوق ترکی نزند و سراپردهٔ سرخ جهرمی ندارد و بوقت بر نشستن و فرود آمدنِ عمّ بیاذه در رکاب برود و آنچ شعار و آیین سلطنت است بگذارد '

After Maḥmúd had thus humbled himself, Sinjar made him his vicegerent in 'Iráq.

So great were Sinjar's domains that his name was recited in the *khuṭba* in the mosques from Káshghar to Yaman, Mecca and Ṭá'if, and from Mukrán and 'Ummán to Ádharbayján and the frontiers of Rúm, and continued to be so recited until a year after his death ; yet he was simple and unostentatious in his dress and habits, wearing generally a قبای رندنیجی. He was, moreover, virtuous and pious, and in his day Khurásán was the goal of the learned and the focus of culture and science.

In the year A.H. [5]35 (= A.D. 1140–1), however, when Sinjar went from Merv to Samarqand, the pagans of Khaṭá (Cathay) began to harry the land, and anarchy to prevail in Transoxania, so that men accounted death a blessing :—

کفی بکَ داءً أنّ تری المَوْتَ شافیًا '

The invaders (of the خیل خرلق) numbered 30,000 or 40,000 men, and the army of Khurásán was entirely routed by these pagan hordes, who slew 3,000 or 4,000 people, including many men of note. Táju'd-Dín Abu'l-Faḍl

advised Sinjar to flee, but he, with 300 knights, attacked the heathen with great valour, emerging from the conflict with only fifteen survivors. After this Sinjar fled to Balkh and occupied the fortress of Tirmidh (f. 72ª), where he was gradually joined by the survivors of his army. The poet Farid-i-Kátib (or *Farid-i-dabír*, as he is here called) sought to console the King for his recent reverse by the following well-known quatrain[1]:—

شاها ز سنان تو جهانـی شـد راست ‘

تیغ تو چهل سـال از اعـدا کین خواست ‘

گر جشم بذی رسید آن هم ز قضاست ‘

آنکس که بیک حال بماندست خذاست ‘

When Sinjar fled, Táju'd-Dín, king of Nímrúz, stood his ground and fought with such valour that the heathen of Cathay were filled with astonishment and admiration, and, when they had taken him captive, brought him before the Ilkhán (الخان), who kept him with himself for a year, and treated him with kindness and consideration. At the end of this period both he and the Queen Turkán Khátún (who had also been taken prisoner) were sent back to Sinjar.

During the anarchy caused by Sinjar's defeat, Atsiz Khwárazmsháh (here printed *Atsuz*, أتسُز) behaved extremely ill, and seized the occasion to loot and plunder Merv and Nishápúr; and when Sinjar sent him an arrow on which were inscribed some well-known and oft-cited verses, he despatched in reply the following lines[2]:—

اگر باذپایست رخش ملک ‘ کُمَیْتِ مرا پای هم لنگ نیست ‘

تو اینجا بیآئی من آنجا روم ‘ خذای جهان‌را جهان تنگ نیست ‘

[1] See my edition of Dawlatsháh, p. 107.

[2] These are quoted in a fuller and somewhat different form in the *Táríkh-i-Guzída*, in the section dealing with the Khwárazmsháhs. A well-known parody on them by 'Ubayd-i-Zákání will be found at p. 290, ll. 4–5, of my ed. of Dawlatsháh.

Seven years later, when Sinjar was at Ray (cf. *Bundárí*, p. 224), Sulṭán Mas'úd came to pay his respects to him, and at the audience the head of Súrí, king of Ghúr, sent from Ghazna [by Bahrámsháh], was laid before him. On this occasion Faríd-i-Kátib composed the following quatrain:—

آنها که بخدمتت نفاق آوردند ؛ سر جملهٔ عمر خویش طاق آوردند ‘
دور از سر تو سام بسر سام بمرد ‘ و اینک سر سوری بعراق آوردند ‘

The Sám to whom allusion is here made was the brother of [Sayfu'd-Dín] Súrí, king of Ghúr. Sinjar remained at Ray for thirteen days to renew and ratify his treaty with Mas'úd, on whom and the Amírs of 'Iráq he conferred robes of honour.

In Ramaḍán, A.H. 543 (= Jan.–Feb., A.D. 1149), he returned to Khurásán. A year later Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan,[1] king of Ghúr, rose in arms to avenge his nephew (*birádarzáda*), and was joined by 'Alí Chatrí. This disloyalty on the part of the latter caused Sinjar bitter vexation, for he had raised him from the post of court jester (از درجهٔ مسخرگی) to be his chamberlain, and had given him lands in fiefhold about Herát. The King of Ghúr, though supported by a large army of horse and foot, was defeated, and both he and 'Alí Chatrí fell into Sinjar's hands. 'Alí Chatrí met with condign punishment, for he was sawn in two under the royal standard, while the King of Ghúr was held captive. This victory had a great moral effect, for it was the first gained by Sinjar since the disaster which had befallen him at the hands of the heathen of Khaṭá.

Towards the end of A.H. 548 (=A.D. 1153–4) occurred the disastrous invasion of the fierce tribes of Ghuzz. These were Turkmáns whose pastures lay about Khatlán, a dependency of Balkh, and who paid yearly for their grazing rights 24,000 sheep for the King's kitchen into the hands of the

[1] The MS. has *Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn*, but I suppose that Ḥusayn *Jahánsúz*, the son of 'Izzu'd-Dín Ḥasan, is meant.

steward of his household (*khwánsálár*). The harshness and greed of this steward and his satellites led to disputes in which blood was shed, and Qumáj the *Isfahsálár*, governor of Balkh, wrote to Sinjar warning him of the growing power and insolence of the Ghuzz, and asking to be made Commissioner (*shaḥna*) over them, promising to reduce them to obedience and exact from them an increased yearly tribute of 30,000 sheep. This request was granted, but the Ghuzz paid no heed to Qumáj and drove him out of their lands. He and his son 'Alá'u'd-Dín *Maliku'l-Mashriq* ('the King of the East') accordingly set out on a punitive expedition against the Ghuzz, but were defeated, and the latter slain. Sinjar's nobles then persuaded him that such insolence could not be passed over, and that it behoved him to march against the Ghuzz in person. On learning this the Ghuzz were frightened and offered apologies for their conduct, and presents of 100,000 *dínárs* and 1,000 Turkish slaves as an atonement (f. 74^{b}). Sinjar wished to accept these offers, but unfortunately his nobles overruled him, and he was persuaded to attack the Ghuzz, who came out to meet him as suppliants, accompanied by their women and children, entreating his clemency and forgiveness, and offering seven maunds of silver from each household. Again the King was anxious to accept their proposals, but Amír Mu'ayyid-i-Buzurg, Yarinqush, and 'Umar-i-'Ajamí seized his reins, crying out that having come so far it was useless to turn back. So battle was joined; and Sinjar's soldiers, who hated the Mu'ayyid, were half-hearted in the fight, while the Ghuzz, being desperate, fought furiously, and at length put Sinjar's army to utter rout (f. 75^{a}), and pursued them across the river, wherein many perished. Sinjar himself was taken prisoner and brought to Merv (which, since the time of Chaghrí Beg, ranked as the Seljúq capital), and his captors looted the city for three days. On the first day they were busy carrying off gold, silver, and silk; on the second, brass, iron, and copper; and on the third, meaner stuffs—

. . افگندنی و حشو بالشها و نهالیها و خم و خمره

Then they tortured the unfortunate inhabitants to make them disclose hidden treasures, after which, reinforced by thrice their number of disbanded soldiers and other rogues, they pushed on to Níshápúr. There some resistance was made, and some of the invaders slain, in revenge for which so great a massacre was made that in the Chief Mosque "the slain could not be seen for the blood wherein they lay." The great Muẓarriz Mosque, which would hold 2,000 people, was set on fire (f. 75^{b}), and by the light of the conflagration they continued their work of destruction. They camped outside the city, but returned to it daily to kill, torture, plunder, and destroy. Several thousand persons were slain there in those days, and amongst those tortured to death were such eminent men as Shaykh Muḥammad Akkáf and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá, concerning whom Kháqání says[1]:—

در دولت محمّد مرسل نداشت کس ‘
فاضلتر از محمّد یحیی قبای خاک ‘
آن کرد روز تهلکه دندان فدای سنگ ‘
وین کرد روز قتل دهان‌را فدای خاک ‘

and again, in another poem:—

خاقانیا بسوگ خراسان سیاه پوش ‘ کایّام فتنه گرد سوادش سیاه بُرد ‘
عیسی بحکم رنگرزی بر مصیبتش ‘ نزدیک آفتاب لباس سیاه بُرد ‘
جرخ از سر محمّد یحیی ردا ربود ‘ دهراز سر سعادت سنجر کلاه بُرد ‘

[1] In a yet more celebrated *qaṣída* (of which the two first couplets are cited in the *Táríkh-i-Guzída*) occurs another allusion by the same poet to this victim of the Ghuzz:—

آن مصر مملکت که تو دیدی خراب شد ‘
و آن نیل مکرمت که شنیدی سراب شد ‘
گردون سر محمّدِ یحیی ببباد داد ‘
محنت رقیب سنجر مالک رقاب شد ‘

See my edition of Dawlatsháh, p. 66.

The misery of Níshápúr did not cease with the departure of the Ghuzz: an internecine and fratricidal strife broke out amongst the inhabitants; famine followed in the wake of fire and slaughter, and those who had escaped the sword perished of starvation:—

و قومی علویان و سران غوغا شهرستان کهندز آبادان کرده بودند و بر برجها منجنیقها نهاده بقیّتی که از ضعفا مانده بودند بناه با ایشان دادند و مؤیدای آبه شادیاخ که سرای سلطان بود و سرای اُمرا و بارهٔ قدیم داشت آبادان کرد و آلاتی که در شهر از آجر و جوب مانده بود باز آنجا نقل کردند و بعد از دو سه [روز] نیشابوری بذان مجموعی و آراستگی جنان شذ که هیچ کس محلّت خود باز نشناخت ‘

Mu'izzí, remarks the author, might have had this sad desolation of Níshápúr in view when he wrote:—

آنجا که بود آن دلستان با دوستان در بوستان ‘
شذ کوف و کرگس‌را مکان شذ گرگ و روبه‌را وطن ‘
بر جای رطل و جام می گوران نهادستند پی ‘
بر جای نُقْل و نای و نی آوای زاغست و زغن ‘
زین سان که جرخ نیلگون کرد آن نهانهارا نگون ‘
دیّار کی گردذ کنون گِرْدِ دیارِ یارِ من ‘

Throughout all Khurásán the Ghuzz acted in the same way, except at Herát, which successfully held out against them. For two years Sinjar remained a captive in their hands, until it happened that they brought him to the gates of Balkh, where some of his old retainers, such as Mu'ayyidáyi-Ábа (مؤیّدای آبه), escorted by certain Amírs of the Ghuzz, namely Qurqurd (قرقرد)[1] and Ṭútí Beg, waited upon him;

[1] The numerous forms under which this name occurs are given by Houtsma on p. 281 of *Bundárí*.

and Mu'ayyidá succeeded in bribing some of the Ghuzz to help him to effect Sinjar's escape. Sinjar was taken out by these as though on a hunting expedition, but, once in the open, they pushed straight on to the Oxus opposite Tirmidh, where they already had boats waiting, and, evading pursuit, conveyed Sinjar to Merv, where he gradually collected an army. But grief at the ruin and desolation of his country brought on an illness of which he died in A.H. 551 (A.D. 1156). He was buried in the Dawlat-Khána which he had built at Merv.

Sinjar (f. 77a) was born at Sinjár in Asia Minor in A.H. 479 (= A.D. 1086–7: cf. *Bundárí*, p. 255, who gives Friday, Rajab 25, A.H. 471 = Feb. 1, A.D. 1079, as the date), lived 72 years and some months, and reigned 61 years, 20 years over his own appanage of Khurásán, and 41 years "over the world," i.e. the whole Seljúq empire. Two of his seals (توقیع) were seen on different documents, the one, dated A.H. 491 (A.D. 1098), conferring a pension on the Imám Shaybání; the other, dated A.H. 551 (A.D. 1156), sent to Baghdad in the year when it was besieged, wherein he nominated Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd his successor to the throne. A period of 60 years intervened between the issue of these two instruments.

The panegyric on Abu'l-Fatḥ Kay-Khusraw, the author's Royal Patron, as usual concludes this section, but is longer than is customary, and comprises several *qaṣídas* by the author and others, including one composed by Sayyid Imám-i-Ashraf Dhu'sh-Shahádatayn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusayní in praise of Sinjar, but applied here to Kay-Khusraw; another by the same, beginning:—

هر نسیمی کـه بمن بوی خراسان آرد ٭
جـون دم عیسی در کالبـدم جـان آرد

and another sent by the same Sayyid from Mecca to the Court, beginning:—

هرگـز بود کـه بـاز ببینم لـقـای شـاه ٭
شکرانـه در دو دیده کشم خاک پای شاه ٭

Other poems by the same follow, and then Anwarí's celebrated *qaṣída* (46 couplets) which begins :—

گر دل و دست بحر وکان باشـذ ' دل و دست خذایگان باشذ '

After Anwarí (f. 82ᵃ) had recited this *qaṣída* to Sinjar, he recited another (17 couplets) in honour of Sulaymán. More of Anwarí's poems are quoted, including the following improvisation, which he made on one occasion when, being rather the worse for liquor, he was called upon for a poem (f. 84ᵃ) :—

خسـروا گـوهـر ثـنـای تـرا ' جز بالماس عقل نتوان سُفت '
گَزدی از عقل داشت صحن دماغ ' جان بجاروب هیبت تو بُرفت '
نُطـقم انـدر حجاب عجز بماند ' خَرَم اندر خلاب شرم بخُفت '
حیرتـم بـر بدیـهـه خـار نهاذ ' تـا بباغ بدیهه گُـل شگـفت '
خوذ تو انصاف من بده چو منی ' چون توئی را ثنا تواند گـفت '

Several more poems by Anwarí follow, including the two following, which are of historic interest, as referring to Sinjar's wars with the kings of Khwárazm and Ghúr :—

اندیشهٔ انتقام چون جزم کنیم ' وهن همه دشمنان بیک حزم کنیم '
با جرخ جو با اتسز اگر رزم کنیم ' گردون بسُم اسب جو خوارزم کنیم '

و له ایضًا '

آخر غم غور از دل مـا دور شوذ ' وین ماتم هجر دوستان سور شوذ '
لشکرکش گردون جو در آیذ بحمل ' فرمان ده گیتی بنشابور شوذ '

8. *Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad b. Malikshán* (ff. 85ᵃ–86ᵃ).

His full name and title was *as-Sulṭán Mughithu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad b. Malikshán Yamínu Amíri'l-Múminín.* He lived 27 years, and reigned 14. His *tawqí'* was اعتصمت بالله. His prime ministers were

Rabíbu'd-Dawla, Abú Manṣúr al-Qirátí, Kamálu'd-Dín as-Sumayramí, Shamsu'l-Mulk 'Uthmán b. Nidhámu'l-Mulk, Qiwámu'd-Dín Abu'l-Qásim, and Núshírwán b. Khálid.[1] His chamberlains were Muḥammad b. 'Alí Bár, Ṭughán Yarak (يرك), and Arghán. He died on Shawwál 11, A.H. 525 (=Sept. 6, A.D. 1131). He mounted the throne on his father's death in A.H. 511 (=A.D. 1117–18). He was devoted to the chase, and to his dogs, cheetahs, and hawks. When, eight months after his accession, his uncle Sinjar came from Khurásán to 'Iráq, he fought him and was defeated (as narrated above, p. 850), but Sinjar treated him with kindness and consideration, and gave him 'Iráq as his appanage and his daughter Mah-Malik Khátún to wife, but she died shortly afterwards.[2] He quarrelled with the Caliph al-Mustarshid bi'lláh[3] and besieged and took Baghdad, after which he was reconciled with the Caliph.

9. *Ṭughril b. Muḥammad b. Maliksháh* (ff. 87a–88a).

His full name and title was *as-Sulṭánu'l-Mu'aḍhḍham Ruknu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Abú Ṭálib Ṭughril b. Muḥammad b. Maliksháh Yamínu Amíri'l-Múminín.* He lived 25 years, and died in Muḥarram, A.H. 529 (=Oct.–Nov., A.D. 1134) at the gates of Hamadhán, after a reign of three years. On the death of his brother Maḥmúd he was made king of 'Iráq by his uncle Sinjar. He fought several battles in 'Iráq with his brother Mas'úd, with varying success. On one occasion he was routed and compelled to flee towards Khuzistán, and he hanged the minister Qiwám [ad-Dargazíní: cf. *Bundárí*, p. 169] at the gates of Líshtar (ليشتر), regarding him as the cause of his misfortunes. Here follows (f. 87b) some account of the poet 'Imádí:—

[1] The author of the work which forms the basis of *Bundárí*. See Houtsma's *Preface*, pp. vi and x et seqq.

[2] Some very pretty verses on her death by 'Am'aq of Bukhárá are given by Dawlatsháh. See p. 65 of my edition.

[3] Cf. my translation of the *Chahár Maqála*, pp. 37–38 of the separate reprint.

شنیدم کـه عمادی کـه از شاعـران او بـود بـر عـتـبـادی قصیدهٔ میخواند که (شعر)

ره مـی رویـم و دیـده بره بـر نمی رسـد ،
کان مـی گنیم و تیشه بگوهر نـمـی رسـد ،

عتّادی بر سر منبر بود عمادی بذین بیت رسید که

بر آستان جاه تـو جـرخ ار نـداد بـوس ،
عذرش قبول کـن کـه مگر بـر نمی رسد ،

عتّادی گفت امیر عمادی هر آرزو کـه دارد بخواهد ، عمادی ملازم قاضی‌را با خـود داشت ، گفت بهزار دینار سـرخ قـرض محبوسم و موکّل این است ، وجوه قرض می باید ، عتّادی سر فرو برد ، یکی از مریدان گفت عبادی سر بر آورد ، گفت امیر عمادی جو هـزار دینار با قرض دهد فردا دیگر قرضش باید کـه بخورد ، مریدی دیگر گفت هزار دیگر ببود و عمادی بیآسود ، مدح شاعر گویم یا همّت عالم یـا ارادت مجلس ، و ایـن همه از افاضت عدل و نشر فضل پادشاه و سلطـان وقت باشد و تربیت علما ، . . . و امیر عمادی اگرچه بملـک مازندران اختـصاصی داشت و لـقب او از عماد الدولـه فرامرز شـاه مازنـدران مبنی است عظمت از شـاعـرئ حضرت سلطان یافت و اوّل دیوانش مدح سلطـان است ، چند شعر او آورده می شود . . .

Amongst the *qaṣídas* of 'Imádí here cited is one of 23 couplets, beginning :—

کار خـرد ساختست کام هنر حاصـل اسـت ،
هـیچ بهانـه نمانـد شـاه جهان طغرلست ،

and another of 38 couplets, beginning:—

ای زلف و رخت سپهر و اختر ' وی روی و لبت بهشت و کوثر '

Sulṭán Ṭughril founded a college at Hamadhán, where the author's friend 'Alá'u'd-Dín Majdu'l-Islám Maliku'l-'Ulamá Ustádhu'l-Mulúk wa's-Salátín was, when he wrote, still professor, though the endowments (اوقاف) had decreased greatly from maladministration.

The eulogy of the reigning King Abu'l-Fatḥ Kay-Khusraw (ff. 90ᵃ–93ᵇ), which, as usual, concludes this section, is of considerable length. He is described as the conqueror of Fárs, Shíráz, Khurásán, and 'Iráq, and his liberality to the army is the object of a special enconium.—Self-devotion of the Amír Isfahsálár Mu'ayyid Fakhru'd-Dín Náṣiru'l-Islám Maliku'l-Umará Bahrámsháh-i-Ghází at the battle of Abkház (در مصافگاه ابخازی).—Qualities which an ambassador to an enemy should possess.—Some remarks on tactics (ff. 91ᵇ–92ᵃ).—The array of an army may be 'open' (گسسته) or 'closed' (پیوسته), and the former has three varieties, called راست, خفته, and مُشلّث.—Praise of Abu'l-Fatḥ Kay-Khusraw's skill in war. Quatrain in his praise by the author:—

ای رای تو آفتاب وی کلک تو تیر '
وی جون تو جوان ندیده این عالم پیر '
دانی همه علمها مگر علم خذای '
داری همه جیزها مگر عیب و نظیر '

(و له ایضًا)

خسروا بنده‌را اجازت ده ' تا بگویم که دشمنت جون باذ '
سیخ در جشم و میخ در ناخن ' تیز در ریش و کیر در کون باذ '

10. *Mas'úd b. Muḥammad b. Malikshán* (ff. 94a–103a).

His full name and title was *as-Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Abu'l-Fatḥ Mas'úd b. Muḥammad b. Malikshán Qasímu Amíri'l-Múmínín.* His prime ministers were Sharafu'd-Dín Anúshirwán b. Khálid,[1] 'Imádu'd-Dín

[1] Author of the *History of the Seljúqs*, edited by *Bundárí*; see Houtsma's *Preface*, pp. xi et seqq. The following notice of his life occurs in the *'Uyúnu'l-Akhbár* (Cambridge MS. ADD. 2,922, f. 126a), under the year A.H. 532:—

وفيها توفّى انوشروان بن خالد بن محمّد القاشانى ابو نصر الوزير مولده بالرّى سنة تسع و خمسين و اربعمائة تنقّلت به الاحوال الى ان ولى وزارة السلطان محمود [بن محمّد بن] ملكشاه سنة سبع عشرة و خمس مائة و قدم معه بغداد و استوطنها و كان يسكن بالحريم الظّاهرى فى دارٍ على شاطى دجلة و عُزِلَ عن الوزارة ثمّ أُعِيدَ اليها ثمّ قبض عليه السلطان و اعتقله ثمّ افرج عنه و استوزره الامام المسترشد فى اواخر سنة ستّ و عشرين و اقام مدبرًا الى ان عُزِلَ سنة ثمان و عشرين و اقام بمنزله فى الحريم الظاهرىّ مكرومًا الى ان توفّى فى هذه السّنة و كان من الصدور الافاضل موصوفًا بالجود و الكرم مُحِبًّا لاهل العلم و كان قد احضر الى داره ابا القسم بن الحصين ليسمع اولاده منه مسند ابن حنبل بقرأة ابى محمّد بن الخشّاب و اذن للنّاس عامّةً فى الحضور لسماعه فحضره الجمّ الغفير و سمعه خلقٌ كثير و لابن جكينا الشاعر فيه امداح و اهاجى فمن امداحه فيه قوله (شعر) سألونى من اعظم الناس قدرًا ' قلتُ مولاهم انوشروان ' و اذا ظهر التواضع فينا ' فهو من آية الرفيع الشأن ' و متى لاحت النجوم على صفحة ماءٍ فهنّ غير دوانى ' و كتب اليه القاضى ناصح الدين الارّجانى يطلب منه خيمةً فلم يكن عنده فبعث اليه صُرّةً فيها خمس مائة دينار وقال اشْتَرِ خيمةً ' فقال

Abu'l-Barakát ad-Dargajíní (الدركجينى or الدركزينى), Kamálu'd-Dín Muḥammad al-Kházin, 'Izzu'l-Mulk al-Burújirdí, Mu'ayyidu'd-Dín aṭ-Ṭughrá'í, Táju'd-Dín ash-Shírází, and Shamsu'd-Dín Abú Najíb. His chamberlains were Amír Ḥájib Munkasir (?), Amír Ḥájib Tatár, Amír Ḥájib 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán, and Amír Ḥájib Khaṣṣ-beg. His *tawqí'* was اعتمادى على الله. He lived 45 years, and reigned 18. He was very fond of animals, and devoted to the chase.

On the death of his brother (and immediate predecessor) Ṭughril I (in A.H. 527=A.D. 1133) in the Palace of 'Alá'u'd-Dawla in Hamadhán, the *amírs* summoned him in haste from Baghdad, and at the same time sent a message to Sulṭán Dá'úd, who was at Tabríz with the Atábek Qará Sunqur. Mas'úd, however, was first in the field, and though on passing Ḥulwán he found the roads deeply blocked with snow, he caused it to be trampled down by camels until he was able to make his way to Hamadhán. Having mounted the throne, he proclaimed Dá'úd his successor, and gave him his daughter Gawhar Khátún to wife. The Caliph al-Mustarshid came forth from Baghdad on Mas'úd's heels, marching on Kúhistán, 'Iráq, and Khurásán. Mas'úd, to whose support Sulṭán Dá'úd and Qará Sunqur had pledged themselves, came up with him at Dínawar. The Caliph, deserted by his *amírs*, who took to flight, fell into Mas'úd's hands, but was treated by him with consideration. Mas'úd then marched into Ádharbayján, and the Caliph al-Mustarshid

الارّجانى (شعر) لله درّ ابى خالدٍ رجلاً ' احيا لنا الجودَ بعد ما ذهبا ' سألتُهُ خيمةً الوذ بها ' فجاد لى ملى خيمة ذهبًا ' وكان هو السبب فى عمل مقامات الحريرى وايّاه عنى الحريرى فى اوّل مقاماته بقوله فاشار مَن اشارته حكمٌ وطاعته غنمٌ ' وكان انوشروان يتشيّع سامحه الله تعالى '

was assassinated at Maráǵha by the *Maláḥida*, or Assassins.[1] His son, ar-Ráshid, who succeeded to the Caliphate, marched forth from Baghdad at the head of a great host to avenge his father's murder, but, on learning that Mas'úd was advancing against him, withdrew to Iṣfahán, where, as also in 'Iráq and Kúhistán, famine was severe, so that men were in some cases driven by hunger to eat human flesh. Sa'du'd-Dawla, the governor of Iṣfahán, was at this juncture assassinated by the *Maláḥida*.

On the death of al-Ráshid at Iṣfahán, his uncle al-Muqtafí, the brother of al-Mustarshid, was made Caliph by Mas'úd, who then returned to Hamadhán. Bursuq, the lord of Líshtar, conspired with other *amírs* against Mas'úd, who, however, made a rapid night-march from Hamadhán, reached their camp at the time of the midday siesta, when they were all asleep, and established himself in their midst. His presence overawed the rebels, who came in one by one and made their submission to him, and received pardon (f. 96a).

In the following winter Mas'úd returned to Baghdad and made Muḥammad *Khizána-dár* (or *al-Kházin*, 'the Treasurer') *wazír*. This was a man of violent temper, and arrogant towards the *amírs*, who wrote complaints of his conduct to the Atábek Qará Sunqur. The Atábek therefore hastened from Ádharbayján with Seljúq Sháh, passed by the A'lam district of Hamadhán, and alighted at a place called Murghzár-i-Sag (مرغزار سگ), whence he sent word to the Sulṭán (who had ordered him to proceed to Párs to instal his brother Seljúq Sháh as governor of that province), saying, "I will not fulfil this mission till my lord the King sends me the head and the right hand of Muḥammad *al-Kházin*." This demand, which was supported by the other *amírs*, the Sulṭán was unable to resist, and the head and hand of the unfortunate minister were accordingly cut off and sent to Qará Sunqur.

[1] This happened on Thursday, the 18th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 529 (= Aug. 30, A.D. 1135), according to Bundárí (p. 178), who adds that this assassination was instigated by Sinjar. Compare Anecdote viii of the *Chahár Maqála* (pp. 37–8) of the separate reprint of my translation.

Then Qará Sunqur set out for Párs, defeated Mankúbars, enthroned Seljúq Sháh, and made 'Izzu'l-Mulk, who was his *kad-khudá* or steward, *wazír*. As soon as he withdrew, however, Mankúbars returned, defeated and captured Seljúq Sháh, and imprisoned him in 'the White Castle' (قلعهٔ سپید), where he died. Qará Sunqur, after being received with honour at Hamadhán, went to Ádharbayján, where he too was overtaken by death.

It was after the death of Qará Sunqur that Jáwalí (جاولی) the *jándár* became powerful. Sulṭán Mas'úd went from Hamadhán to Ray because Sinjar was angered against 'Abbás (the governor of Ray: see *Bundárí*, pp. 191 et seqq.), and wished to punish him. But when (f. 97[a]) Sulṭán Mas'úd reached Ray, 'Abbás propitiated him with rich and costly presents, so that the Sulṭán left him unmolested and returned to Hamadhán and Iṣfahán. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán the Chamberlain and the other *amírs* persuaded the Sulṭán to seize 'Izzu'l-Mulk and send him to Hamadhán, where he died. Then 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán summoned Búzába (بوزابه) and 'Abbás, with whom he was conspiring against the Sulṭán; and Búzába arrived at Iṣfahán bringing with him Malik Muḥammad and Maliksháh (the sons of Maḥmúd and nephews of Sulṭán Mas'úd). The Sulṭán, having no army with him, sent for Ílduguz (ایلدگز), the most loyal and obedient of his servants, to join him from Ádharbayján, while he himself set out for Baghdad; but he had only gone three stages, as far as Kirmánsháhán, when Búzába reached Hamadhán. Being joined at Kirmánsháhán by Ílduguz and other *amírs* at the head of a large army, Sulṭán Mas'úd pushed on to Ḥulwán, where it was snowing in such wise as it seldom snows even in the coldest countries. He remained for four months at Baghdad, and then proceeded to Ádharbayján by way of the Pass of Qarábulí (دربند قرابلی), entrusting the princes Malik Arslán and Maliksháh b. Seljúq, who were in attendance on him, to Amír Mas'úd, the governor (*shaḥna*) of Baghdad, for safe custody in the Castle of Takrít. On his arrival at Marágha he was waited

on by Jáwalí and the *amírs* of Ádharbayján, who accompanied him to Miyána (f. 97b). These *amírs* conspired against the King's favourite, Kháṣṣ-beg Beg Arslán b. Balankarí, but a wonderful exhibition of skill in horsemanship on his part turned Jáwalí from his design. Thence they proceeded to Zanján.

'Abbás, accompanied by Malik Sulaymán, marched with a large army from A'lam (near Hamadhán) to Anbaṭ (انبط), where he effected a junction with Búzába, with whom were Malik Muḥammad and Malik Sháh, the sons of the late Sulṭán Maḥmúd. The army of Sulṭán Mas'úd were alarmed at the sight of this formidable host, but he himself, putting his trust in God, "accounted them as nobody" (ایشان را بکس نمی شمرد). While the battle was imminent, Malik Sulaymán withdrew towards Ray, and was followed by 'Abbás. These desertions alarmed Búzába (f. 98a), who accordingly, on the following day, retired towards Iṣfahán with Malik Muḥammad and Maliksháh. He was pursued by Amír Jáwalí, but succeeded in effecting his escape. Sulṭán Mas'úd marched from Anbaṭ to Ray, where he encamped at the place called "Rustam's Stable" (*Akhur-i-Rustam*). 'Abbás fled to Ardahan (اردهن), while Malik Sulaymán came to meet the King and do obeisance to him, after which he accompanied him to Ray. Now the Chamberlain 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán and the other *amírs* were continually saying to the Sulṭán, "This Malik [Sulaymán] is thy brother, and the King's brother is ever the King's enemy"; until at length they persuaded him to confine Sulaymán to his own apartments. 'Abbás came from Ardahan, whither he had fled, to pay homage to the King.

Jáwalí, on his return from the pursuit of Búzába, was promised the guardianship (اتابکی) of Maliksháh, the King's son by 'Arab Khátún, whom they accordingly brought from the Castle of برحین (? فرزین, Farrazín: a little lower it is written فرحین), whither Malik Sulaymán was now sent. The King and his nobles then returned to Hamadhán, while Jáwalí departed into Ádharbayján, but when he reached Zanján (زنگان) he desired to be bled, after which he would

shoot an arrow, and the strain of this effort burst open the vein so that he died of hæmorrhage (f. 98b). After his death the King conferred the guardianship of his son, thus rendered vacant, on the Amír 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán, together with the governments of Ganja and Arrán. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán, however, despatched his ward the Prince (Maliksháh) with some of his nobles to Arrán, and himself remained at Court, where he was continually saying to Sulṭán Mas'úd, "Búzába is a deserving servant, and must not be allowed to contract a distaste for your service: suffer me, then, to go and bring him to you." At length he received permission, and set out for Párs to bring back Búzába, while Sulṭán Mas'úd came to Hamadhán and thence to Jarbádhaqán, where he received the homage of Búzába and 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán, who remained drinking and feasting with him for two or three days. After this Búzába and Malik[sháh] came to Hamadhán by way of Kábila (كابلة), while the King travelled thither by another route, and on his arrival gave his daughter Gawhar Khátún, who had been married to Malik Dá'úd, in marriage to [his nephew] Malik Muḥammad, whom he nominated his successor to the crown. With the acquiescence of his chamberlain 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán he then made Búzába his chamberlain and the guardian (*atábek*) of Malik Muḥammad, and conferred on him a robe of honour. Búzába made 'Abbás deputy-chamberlain, that he might remain at Court, and made Táju'd-Dín of Párs *wazír*. The latter set out for Párs with Malik Muḥammad, and 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán departed to Ganja and Arrán, taking with him Shamsu'd-Dín Atábek Ílduguz, Kháṣṣ-beg, and Bahá'u'd-Dín Qaysar, whom, because he mistrusted them, he was unwilling to leave behind him at Court (f. 99a); while the Sulṭán, attended by 'Abbás and Táju'd-Dín, went to Baghdad.

Now the three *amírs* who had accompanied 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán had heard the King say, "When we get the opportunity, we will not leave alive the enemies of the kingdom," and they were well aware of the schemes harboured by 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán and Búzába, so, when they were a little beyond Ganja, they slew the former, and Kháṣṣ-beg assumed the

guardianship of the Prince. When the news of this murder reached Baghdad, the Sulṭán dismissed Fakhru'd-Dín, the son of 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán, from his post of governor (*shaḥna*) of that city, but did not otherwise harm him. 'Abbás, with the connivance of the Caliph al-Muqtadí, had formed a design to seize the King when he should come to public prayer on the occasion of the *'Íd* or Festival; but on that day, as it chanced, the rain was so heavy that it was impossible to go out of doors, and thus did God protect and preserve Sulṭán Mas'úd from their schemes. A week later, when 'Abbás was preparing for flight, he was arrested, brought to the palace and beheaded, and his body cast over the garden walls on to the shore of the Tigris; and this happened just one month after the violent death of his fellow-conspirator, 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán. The King then dismissed Táju'd-Dín and sent him to Párs with a message to Búzába, saying, "You see what hath befallen your confederates: if you would like to join them, *Bismi'lláh!*"

Then the King made Mu'ayyidu'd-Dín Ṭughrá'í prime minister. This was an accomplished as well as a virtuous man, and one day of audience he recited before the King a fine Arabic *qaṣída* of 80 couplets (20 given here) which he had composed, beginning:—

نظری الی لمع الومیض حنینُ ' و تنفّسی لصبا الاصیل انینُ '
ما کنتُ اعلم قبل نازلة الحمی ' انّ الحبایل و السّهام عیونُ '

"In those days," says the author (f. 100ª), "ministers composed such verses as they cannot now even read or recite correctly"; and he adds:—

کار خواجگی باعوانی افتاد هرکه وجوه انگیرتز و درویش آویزتر و خون ریزتر وزیر میشود '

When Táju'd-Dín reached Párs and communicated the news to Búzába, the latter collected an army and brought Malik Muḥammad and Malikshán to Iṣfahán, where the governor Ghalabak (غلبک, *Bundárí*, pp. 193, 202) waited

upon him. Búzába then proclaimed Malik Muḥammad king, and caused the five blasts of trumpets to be sounded in his honour (پنج نوبت بزد). Sulṭán Mas'úd, on learning this, hastened to Hamadhán from Baghdad with the small army which he had at hand, and thence sent messages to Khaṣṣ-beg bidding him hasten to his support with reinforcements from Arrán, and to the Atábek Ílduguz and the Amír Shírgír (brother of Arslán Ába) to assemble the army of Ádharbayján. Fortunately for the King, Búzába loitered on his march from Iṣfahán, and when he reached Gúrán the armies of Arrán and Ádharbayján had already arrived at Hamadhán, and, by the King's directions, were encamped in the Maydán-i-Díh-i-Piyáz (بمیدان دیه بیاز), whence next day they marched to Murghzár-i-Qarátagín, where Búzába came to meet them at the village of Kihrán. A fierce fight ensued, which ended in the defeat of Búzába and his capture at the hands of a black named Rustam, formerly one of his servants, but at this time in the service of Ḥasan the *jándár* (f. 101a). The King gave his sword into the hands of Khaṣṣ-beg, who hewed Búzába in twain; and his head was sent to Baghdad and there set up over the palace of the Caliph al-Muqtafí. Malik Muḥammad and Malikshán returned to Párs and the King to Hamadhán, to the *Kúshk-i-kuhan* or "Old Summer-house." This happened in A.H. 541 (=A.D. 1146–7).

The King spent that winter at Sáwa, whence he went to Ádharbayján, and so returned, towards the end of the summer, to Hamadhán. In the year A.H. 543, in the month of Sha'bán (= December, A.D. 1148), when winter was at hand, he set out for Baghdad, but first, against the advice of Khásṣ-beg, waited on his uncle (Sinjar) at Ray, where the two rulers remained eighteen days ere they separated, the one to Baghdad, the other to Khurásán.[1] In Ṣafar, A.H. 544 (= June–July, A.D. 1149), Sulṭán Mas'úd returned from Baghdad to Hamadhán.—Malik Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd,

[1] From this point onwards my abstract of the MS. (on which this article is based) is less full, as I was pressed for time, and feared that I might not be able to finish it before leaving Paris.

the King's nephew, and his wife Gawhar Khátún, the King's daughter.—Marágha (f. 102a) is besieged and taken, and the walls rased to the ground, in A.H. 545 (= A.D. 1150–1).—Quarrel between Kháṣṣ-beg and the Atábek Sulṭán Aba.—In Jumáda II, A.H. 547 (= September, A.D. 1152), Sulṭán Mas'úd sickened, and Bu'l-Barakát, the physician, was summoned from Baghdad to consult with the King's other medical advisers; but to no purpose, for a week later, on the eve of Rajab 1 of the same year (=Oct. 13, A.D. 1152), he died, and the same night his body was conveyed to Hamadhán and there buried in the *Madrasa*, or College, of Sarbarzih (? بمدرسهٔ سربرزه : cf. *Bundárí*, p. 227, ll. 15–16). An elegy on his death (*marthiya*), in the form of a *tarjí'-band* of 35 couplets, by Sayyid-i-Ashraf, is here inserted (f. 103a). It begins:—

شاه جهان گذشته و ما همچنین خموش ‘

کو صد هزار نعره و کو صد هزار جوش ‘

11. *Malikshán b. Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad* (ff. 103b–106b).

His full name and title was *as-Sulṭán Mughíthu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Malikshán b. Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad Yamínu Amíri'l-Múminín*. He was fond of wine and devoted to the chase. His *tawqí'*, or motto, was استعنتُ بالله. His prime minister was Shamsu'd-Dín Abú'n-Najíb. His chamberlain was Kháṣṣ-beg. He lived 32 years and 2 months, and reigned four months after the death of [his uncle] Sulṭán Mas'úd, and once previously to that event for sixteen days at Iṣfahán (see pp. 867–8 *supra*). He succeeded to the throne in Rajab, A.H. 547 (=October, A.D. 1152), on the death of Mas'úd, his uncle; and was deposed in Shawwál of the same year (= January, A.D. 1153). His deposition was brought about by his dissolute habits and fondness for low company, especially by his infatuation for a woman

named Jamál. Here is cited (f. 105) a *qaṣída* of 36 couplets composed in his praise by Sayyid-i-Ashraf.

Kháṣṣ-beg was the prime mover in the King's deposition, for, being suspicious of his master's intentions, "he breakfasted off him ere he could sup":—

خاصبک بیش از آنکه او شام خوردی برو چاشت خورد

So he agreed with Ḥasan the *jándár* that the King should be invited by the latter to his house, where, on his arrival, he was detained with the woman Jamál and three or four attendants, while messengers were despatched to fetch his brother Muḥammad from Khuzistán. On his arrival this Prince was crowned in the summer-house (کوشک) of Hamadhán, where the deposed ruler was kept a prisoner for fifteen days, when he succeeded in letting himself down over the walls by means of a rope and effecting his escape to Khúzistán,[1] where he remained during his brother's reign, supplied with money and news by his sister Gawhar-nasab. He made an attempt to recover the crown from his brother, but his troops were defeated and dispersed by the Atábek Ayáz. Later, when his brother Muḥammad died and his uncle Sulaymán Sháh was crowned at Hamadhán, he hurried to Iṣfahán and proclaimed himself king, but died fifteen days later without having effected anything.

12. *Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad* (ff. 107a–111a).

His full name and title was *as-Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Abú Shujá' Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad b. Malikshán Qasímu Amíri'l-Múmínín.* His ministers were Jalálu'd-Dín Abu'l-Faḍl and Shamsu'd-Dín Abu'n-Najíb. His chamberlains were Ílfaqshat b. Qaymáz (ایلفقشت بن قیماز) and Náṣiru'd-Dín Atábek Ayáz. He lived 32 years, reigned 7, and ascended the throne in A.H. 548 (= A.D. 1153). He appointed his brother Malikshán, the deposed king, governor

[1] Cf. *Bundárí*, pp. 228–9.

of Hamadhán, and the chamberlain Jamálu'd-Dín Ílfaqshat was sent, with the approval of Kháṣṣ-beg, to summon him thither from Khúzistán.

In Muḥarram, A.H. 548 (=April, A.D. 1153), Ínánj, Kháṣṣ-beg, and other nobles who had risen to power in the reign of Sulṭán Mas'úd (مسعودیان), were assembled at Murghzár-i-Qarátagín, together with Zangí the *jándár*, Shúmla,[1] and Ṣárim Muḥammad b. Yúnus (f. 108[a]), when suddenly the King caused the heads of Zangí and Kháṣṣ-beg to be cut off and cast amongst the crowd, after which their possessions were confiscated—

. . . و آنچ ودایع ودفاین وذخایر بود که بسر آن نیفتادند خدای داند که چند بود

At the time of Sulṭán Mas'úd's death and Malikṣháh's accession, Sulaymán Sháh, Mas'úd's brother, had been seized and imprisoned in the Castle of Farrazín, where he remained a captive for seven years (f. 108[b]) in the custody of its warden (کوتوال), Amínu'd-Dín. Assisted by sundry nobles and *amírs* he escapes from captivity, and for some while contends with success against his nephew Sulṭán Muḥammad. The *amírs* mentioned include (ff. 108–109) the Atábek Ílduguz, the Atábek Arslán Ába, Alp-ghúsh (البغوش), nicknamed "*Kún-khar*," Fakhru'd-Dín Zangí, Mudhaffaru'd-Dín Alp Arghún, the son of Yaranqush the Falconer (یرنقش البازدار), Khwárazmsháh Yúsuf, Ḥasan the *jándár*, Rashíd the *jáma-dár*, and Yamínu'd-Dín the *Amír-i-bár* (master of the ceremonies). Sulaymán makes Fakhru'd-Dín of Káshán (cf. *Bundárí*, p. 232) his prime minister, and Khwárazmsháh (f. 109[a]) his chamberlain.—Shamsu'd-Dín Abu'n-Najíb, formerly the prime minister of Sulṭán Mas'úd.—Defeat and flight of Sulaymán Sháh, and success of Sulṭán Muḥammad.—Jamálu'd-Dín [Íl-]faqshat.—Jalálu'd-Dín [Abu'l-Faḍl] is replaced as prime minister by Shamsu'd-Dín Abu'n-Najíb.—In A.H. 550 (=A.D. 1155–6) Sulaymán Sháh

[1] Cf. *Bundárí*, p. 230, and n. 1 *ad calc.*

comes to Iṣfahán, but is refused admission by the governor Rashíd. — He then seeks aid from the Caliph at Muqtafí (whence he is nicknamed "*al-Maliku'l-mustajír*"), who eventually equips him for the fray. — Aḳ Sunqur Pírúzkúhí and Ínánj.—A battle is fought on the river Araxes between Sulṭán Muḥammad and Sulaymán Sháh, wherein the latter is defeated and falls back on Mawṣil (f. 110ᵃ).—In Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A.H. 554 (= Dec., A.D. 1159–Jan. 1160), the Khátún-i-Kirmání is brought to Hamadhán as Sulṭán Muḥammad's bride, but, though the city was decorated and illuminated (شهر آذین) for her arrival, he was too ill to approach her, and died in the same month.

In the panegyric on Abu'l-Fatḥ Kay-Khusraw, which, as usual, concludes this chapter, is inserted a *qaṣída* of twenty-seven couplets by the author, beginning:—

باذ صبا بر کشاذ جهرهٔ گل ناگهان ‘
خیل ریاحین رسذ از طرف گنّ فگان ‘

13. *Sulaymán Sháh b. Muḥammad* (ff. 112ᵇ–114ᵃ).

His full name and title was *as-Sulṭán Mu'izzu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Abu'l-Ḥárith Sulaymán b. Muḥammad b. Malikshán Qasímu Amíri'l-Múmínín.* He was born in Rajab, A.H. 511 (= November, A.D. 1117), lived 45 years, and reigned a little over six months. His minister was Shihábu'd-Dín Thiqa, and his chamberlain Mudhaffaru'd-Dín Alp Arghún.—Náṣiru'd-Dín Aḳish, 'Izzu'd-Dín Ṣitmáz, and the Atábek Ayáz.—On the 12th of Rabí' I, A.H. 555 (=March 22nd, A.D. 1160), Sulaymán Sháh reached Hamadhán (f. 113ᵃ), and a *qaṣída* (13 couplets given) was recited in his praise by Sayyid-i-Ashraf.—The Atábek Ílduguz was propitiated by his name being read in the *khuṭba* and inserted on the coins. —Sulaymán Sháh takes to solitary drinking (cf. *Bundárí*, p. 232) and unsocial habits:—

جو با نیکان نشستن واگذاری ‘ بذا کارا که تو بردست داری ‘

In Ramaḍán, A.H. 555 (= September, A.D. 1160), he was deposed and cast into prison, where he died on the 12th of Rabí' II, A.H. 556 (= April 10th, A.D. 1161), the government having been usurped by Arslán and Ílduguz.

14. *Arslán b. Ṭughril b. Muḥammad* (ff. 115ᵃ–130).

His full name and title was *as-Sulṭán Ruknu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Arslán b. Ṭughril b. Muḥammad Qasímu Amíri'l-Múmínín.* He lived 43 years, and reigned 15 years and 7 months. His *tawqí'*, or motto, was اعتصمت بالله. His ministers were Shihábu'd-Dín b. Thiqatu'd-Dín 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, Fakhru'd-Dín b. Mu'ínu'd-Dín, and Jalálu'd-Dín b. Qiwámu'd-Dín. His chamberlains were Mudhaffaru'd-Dín the Falconer (*báz-dár*), the Atábek Ayáz, and Nuṣratu'd-Dín Atábek Pahlawán.

Arslán was only one year old when his father Ṭughril died, and was educated with his cousin Malikisháh b. Seljúq Sháh b. Muḥammad. In A.H. 540 (= A.D. 1145–6) he was confined by [his uncle] Sulṭán Mas'úd in the Castle of Takrít, under the custody of the Amír-i-Ḥájj Mas'úd Bilál, the governor (*wálí*) of Baghdad. On the death of Mas'úd another of his nephews, also called Malikisháh [b. Maḥmúd], succeeded to the throne and reigned for four months, when he in turn was succeeded by his brother Sulṭán Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd, the nephew, son-in-law, and chosen successor of Sulṭán Mas'úd (Shawwál, A.H. 547 = January, A.D. 1153).—Ḥusámu'd-Dín Alp-ghúsh as-Siláḥí (f. 116ᵃ) fights against the Caliph and dies.—Sunqur of Hamadhán comes to the Atábek Ílduguz.—Sulṭán Muḥammad dies, and is succeeded by Sulaymán Sháh (f. 116ᵇ).—Khwája Shihábu'd-Dín Thiqa.—A.H. 545–6 (= A.D. 1150–1).—Amír 'Izzu'd-Dín Ṣitmáz.—Flight of Ínánj to Gurgán (f. 117ᵃ).—Descriptive *mathnawí* poem, containing this *miṣrá'*:—

علمهای سبیذ و خاج زرّین

The Assassins or *Maláḥida* (f. 117ᵇ) seized and fortified several strong positions near Qazwín, whence they were, however, dislodged by the Musalmáns (who ceased their internecine quarrels to combine against the common foe) in four months. Thereafter the Musalmáns kept a constant watch on these regions, and also laid siege to the Castle of Jahán-Kushây, which had been built (by the Assassins) in the time of Sulṭán Mas'úd. This siege was, however, raised, owing to quarrels between the *amírs* in command of the besieging army; and the Assassins obtained possession of all the artillery and siege-engines abandoned before their stronghold.

On Sha'bán 19, A.H. 560 (= July 1, A.D. 1165), Zangí came from Párs to visit the King. On Dhu'l-Qáda 21 of the same year (= Sept. 29, A.D. 1165), the Amír Násiru'd-Dín Áqish died, and on Sunday, Muḥarram 14, A.H. 561 (= Nov. 20, A.D. 1165), the Amír 'Izzu'd-Dín Ṣitmáz. On Wednesday, Ṣafar 9, A.H. 561 (= Dec. 15, A.D. 1165), a violent tempest occurred, which overthrew minarets and other buildings at Sáwa.—The Bágh-i-Shúrbá (f. 118ᵇ) in Ray.—Fakhru'd-Dín of Káshán.—Jahán Pahlawán.—On Wednesday the 4th of Jumáda I, A.H. 561 (= March 8, A.D. 1166), Ínánj took refuge with the King of Mázandarán. On Wednesday the 11th of the same month the Sulṭán left Ray.—Mudhaffaru'd-Dín Qizil Arslán.—Tihrán (f. 119ᵃ).—Ínánj takes refuge with Khwárazmsháh.—A.H. 562 (=A.D. 1166–7).—Excesses of the army of Khwárazm at Abhar and Zanján, whence many children are carried off as slaves, and 2,000 camels.—A.H. 563 (=A.D. 1167–8).—Sáwa and Mazdaqán.—A.H. 564 (=A.D. 1168–9).—Kharraqán (f. 120ᵃ).—A.H. 565 (f. 120ᵇ).—A.H. 568–9 (=A.D. 1172–4).—Sickness in the army encamped by the Araxes, from which not one man in a hundred escapes.—They retire to Nakhjuwán (f. 121ᵃ).—Áq Shahr founded by Abkhází.—Death of the King's mother.—Dhahíru'd-Dín Balkhí.—Death of the Amír Ílduguz (f. 121ᵇ).—Ṣafi'u'd-Dín Isfahání appointed professor at the *madrasa* at Hamadhán, Jumáda I, A.H. 571 (= December, A.D. 1174).—Address (*khuṭba*) of Sití Fáṭima,

the sister of Amír Sayyid Fakhru'd-Dín 'Alá'u'd-Dawla.—The greatness and glory of Sulṭán Arslán.—His poets Mujír of Baylaqán and Athír of Akhsíkat.—*Qaṣída* (44 couplets), by the former, beginning:—

طارم زر بین کـه درج دُرّ مکنون کرده اند ‘

طاق ازرق بین که جفت گنج قارون کرده اند ‘

Another *qaṣída* (f. 123a) of 76 couplets, by the same poet, beginning:—

ای رخ تو رنگ نو بهار گرفته ‘

Another (f. 124a) of 49 couplets, by the same, beginning:—

باد صبحست که مشّاطهٔ جعد جمنست ‘

Another (f. 124b) of 70 couplets, in reply to one by Sayyid-i-Ashraf, beginning:—

وقت آنست که مستان طرب از سر گیرند ‘

Another (f. 126b) of 41 couplets, in praise of the Atábek Pahlawán, beginning:—

دور بس خرّم و موسم ز همه خوبترست ‘

Another (f. 127b) of 51 couplets, in praise of Qizil Arslán شهید, beginning:—

دلی که تحفهٔ تو جان مختصر سازد ‘

Of Mujír our author seems to entertain a much higher opinion than of Athír-i-Akhsíkatí, of whose *qaṣídas* (or rather a *tarkíb-band* of 77 couplets and 8 *bands* or refrains) he cites only one, beginning:—

ای کمین گاه فلک ابروی تو ‘ آب روی آفتاب از روی تو ‘

Athír would seem to have charged Mujír with plagiarism, for at the end of the last *qaṣída* by the latter (f. 129a) our author says: "Shame on Athír-i-Akhsíkatí that against this *qaṣída* he spoke thus":—

از برای خدای خواجه مُجیر ‘ کاروانهای شعر من چه زنی ‘

15. *Ṭughril b. Arslán* (ff. 131b–155b).

His full name and title was *as-Sulṭán Ruknu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Kahfu'l-Islám wa'l-Muslimín Abú Ṭálib Ṭughril b. Arslán Qasímu Amíri'l-Múmínín*. His *tawqí'* was اعتضدتُ بالله وحده. His ministers were Jalálu'd-Dín, Kamálu'd-Dín Zanjání, Ṣadru'd-Dín Marághí, 'Azízu'd-Dín Mustawfí, Mu'ínu'd-Dín Káshí, and Fakhru'd-Dín b. Ṣafiyyu'd-Dín Warámíní. His chamberlains were *al-Ḥájibu'l-Kháṣṣ* Amír Qaráguz as-Sulṭání and *Maliku'l-Umará* Jamálu'd-Dín Áyi Ába al-A'ḏhamu'l-Atábakí.

The prosperity and success of the first ten years of his reign were due to the wise counsels of the Atábek Muḥammad b. Ílduguz, whose name is given with the following high-sounding titles (f. 132a):—

ملک معظّم اتابک اعظم خاقان عجم شمس الدنیا و الدین نصرة الاسلام و المسلمین ابو جعفر محمّد بن ایلدکز رحمه الله ‘

To him it was due that:—

ز سالار ختن تا خسرو زنگ ‘ همه بر یاد سلطان باده در چنگ ‘

The Sulṭán had some skill in verse-making, and many of his verses are popular and often cited, for example the following:—

آن کس که جهان بپشتِ پائی میزد ‘ دوش آمده بُد درِ گدائی میزد ‘
از وقتِ نمازِ شام تا گاهِ سحر ‘ صد نعره برای آشنائی میزد ‘

Also the following, which he composed, wrote out in gold, and sent to the Atábek Muḏhaffaru'd-Dín Qizil Arslán, to express his gratitude for a robe conferred upon him by the latter, in A.H. 585 (= A.D. 1189):—

شاهان جهان و خسروان بندهٔ من ‘
در مشرق و مغرب همگان بندهٔ من ‘

با این همه ملک و باذشاهی که مراست ‘
من بندهٔ تو همه جهان بندهٔ من ‘

‘Iráq (f. 133b) suffers from devastation, massacre, and plunder.—Books stolen from public libraries.—In A.H. 581 (= A.D. 1185–6) Ṣaláḥu'd-Dín (Saladin) came to Mawṣil[1] to ask the Atábek's permission to wage a war of extermination against the Assassins, and to reduce the castles which they held near Qazwín, Bisṭám, and Dámghán.—Sharafu'd-Dín Alp-Arghún.—Verses by Jamálu'd-Dín of Khujand (f. 134b).

شاها فلک از دولت تو می نازد ‘ وایّام رضای طبع تو اندازد ‘
در ششدرهٔ بماندهٔ سخت و لیک ‘ آخر تو بَری که خصم بد می بازد ‘

Curses are invoked on "the King of Mázandarán and all Ráfiḍís."—Mention of Russians (اواز آبه و روس).—Fakhru'd-Dín ‘Alá'ú'd-Dawla ‘Arabsháh (f. 136a).—Najmu'd-Dín Lájín.—فقشدیان.—The Sulṭán composes the following quatrain (f. 137a) on a victory which he has won:—

این فتنه که دست جرخ انگیخته بود ‘ جانم بیکی موی در آویخته بود ‘
اقبال مرا دست گرفت ار نه فلک ‘ بی هیچ بهانه خون من ریخته بود ‘

Siráju'd-Dín Qutlugh (f. 137b).—‘Alá'u'd-Dawla is bow-strung by the King's orders two stages out of Hamadhán.—*Tarkíb-band* of 30 couplets by the author, lamenting his death.—The author (f. 140b) speaks of his maternal uncle Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alí ar-Ráwandí, who was the King's tutor, and whom he calls:—

امام کبیر زین الدین مجد الاسلام ملک العلمآء محمود بن محمّد بن علی الراوندی ‘

A Qur'án, beautifully written in the King's own hand, is given as a present to the King of Mázandarán.—Verses

[1] It was in this year that, according to Stanley Lane-Poole (*Muḥammadan Dynasties*, p. 75), "he reduced Mōṣil and made the various princes of Mesopotamia his vassals."

describing that country are cited from the *Sháhnáma*, which the author calls "the Book of Kings, which is the King of Books":—

شاهنامه که شاهِ نامها و سر دفتر کتابهاست

The author in retirement (f. 141b).—Fakhru'd-Dín Qutlugh Qaráquzí attempts to depose the King, and set up his first cousin once removed, Sinjar b. Sulaymán (f. 142b).—Fakhru'd-Dín Qutlugh falls into the King's hands and is sawn in two (f. 143a).—Khwája Mu'ín[u'd-Dín] of Káshán.

We now come to the invasion of Persia by (Tukush) Khwárazmsháh in A.H. 589 (= A.D. 1193), in which year (f. 143b) he takes Ṭabarak. — طمغاج خوارزمی : میاجق : صوتاش.—Quatrain by a Khwárazmí poet (f. 144a) :—

ای پیشِ عزیزانِ تو خـوارزمی خوار
وی خنجرِ بُرّانِ تو [خوار از مـی خوار]
زین پس نیارد که ببیند در خـواب
از جملهٔ سمنان تـو خـوارزمـی خـوار

During the absence of the Sulṭán Majdu'd-Dín 'Alá'u'd-Dawla makes merry with one of his mistresses (معشوقگان), a singer named Zulaykhá (زلیخا و نام).—The author again (f. 144b) makes mention of his uncle.—A.H. 590 (= A.D. 1194), the troops of Khwárazm in Mázandarán (f. 145a). The author observes that the ingratitude of the Khwárazmsháhs towards the Seljúqs (to whom they originally owed their power and rank) dates from the time when Atsiz Khwárazmsháh sent to Sulṭán Sinjar the well-known quatrain :—

اگر باذ پایست رخش ملک، کمیت مرا پـای هم لنگ نیست
تو اینجا بیآیی من آنجا روم، خدای جهان را جهان تنگ نیست

Khwárazmsháh at Samnán, 24 Jumáda II, A.H. 590 (= June 16, A.D. 1194). — The rashness of Sulṭán Ṭughril results in his being surrounded and killed by the troops of

Khwárazm.—The lamentations for his death are general amongst his subjects (f. 146a): "Widows weep not so bitterly over their husbands," says the author, "as did the world over the King." An elegy on his death follows, ending with this rather fine verse:—

کوتاه کـن از آنـک وفات چنان کسی ‘
هایل ترست از آنـک کسش مرثیت کند ‘

Khwárazmsháh now proceeded to overrun, plunder, and devastate the whole kingdom of 'Iráq. On Rajab 4, A.H. 590 (=June 25, A.D. 1194), he reached and occupied Hamadhán, the capital of the fallen dynasty, and gave it to Qaráquz Atábakí, Iṣfahán to Qutlugh Ïnánj, and Ray to Malik Yúnus Khán.—In A.H. 591 (=A.D. 1195: f. 147a) the 'Ráfiḍís' (روافضه علیهم اللّعنة), under the guidance of 'Izzu'd-Dín Naqíb, cause some commotion.—خلجی قشطه نام شحنه. —Qutlugh Ïnánj draws a good augury from the text[1]:—

الحمد للّه الّذی نجّانا من القوم الظالمین ‘

He marches on Ray, encouraging his comrades with the verse:—

تأخّرتُ عن سبق الحیوة فَلَمْ أَجِدْ ‘ لنفسی حیوةً مثل ما اتقدّما ‘

The word یزک, 'post,' which I had supposed to have come into the language later, occurs on f. 148a.—Qutlugh Ïnánj has his throat cut "like a sheep" by his false allies of Khwárazm.—His body and head are ransomed from his murderers by Fakhru'd-Dín Sarwar, and are sent for interment to Hamadhán.—Jumáda II, A.H. 592 (=May, A.D. 1196): عماد الدین طغلوا: the Ṣadr of Khujand: the death of Mu'ayyidu'd-Dín a blessing to all good Muslims (f. 148b).—Khwárazmsháh besieges Hamadhán and enters it on Monday, Sha'bán 19, A.H. 592 (=July 18, A.D. 1196). After its surrender, he treats the inhabitants well, and

[1] Qur'án, xxiii, 29.

inflicts a hundred stripes on the Amír Jamálu'd-Dín 'Alí, the nephew of 'Alí Bár, for violence and looting. The 'Iráqís are forbidden, under pain of death, to wear the Khwárazmí cap. Mujír of Baghdad comes as ambassador (f. 150[a]). The well-known Arabic verses cited in the *Gulistán* of Sa'dí (ed. Platts, p. 38, Book i, Story 28) :—

أُعَلِّمُهُ ٱلرِّمَايَةَ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ ‘ فَلَمَّا ٱشْتَدَّ سَاعِدُهُ رَمَانِى ‘

are here quoted, showing that they were composed a good deal earlier than that work. — Khwárazmsháh (f. 150[b]) returns to Khwárazm.—ابو الهيجا . نور الدين ككجه.—A.H. 593 (=A.D. 1197).—Mayájaq (مياجق) and the stratagem whereby he succeeded in killing many of the chiefs of the Assassins or *Maláḥída* in Rajab, A.H. 593 (= May–June, A.D. 1197).

اتابک ابو بكر بهآء الدين سنباط و شيشقاط و ناصر الدين اغوش و ككجه‌را بهمذان بخدمت ملك ازبک فرستاد ‘ . . . (f. 152[a])

(مصراع) چو دزدی با چراغ آيد گزيده‌تر برد كالا ‘

In Muḥarram, A.H. 594 (= Nov.–Dec., A.D. 1197), Malik Uzbek's wife, the King's daughter, bore him a son, who was named Ṭughril.—Mayájaq goes to Iṣfahán, Káshán, and Ráwand. The Ráfiḍís (f. 153[a]) of Káshán (on whom the author invokes curses) urge the troops (of Khwárazm) to commit greater excesses and depredations. The author launches out into the following diatribe against these 'heretics' :—

هفتاد و دو فرقه طوايف اسلام هيچ‌را ملحد نشايد خواند و لعنت نشايد كرد الّا رافضی‌را كه ايشان اهل قبلهٔ ما نيستند و اجتهاد مجتهدان باطل دانند و نماز پنج گانه‌را با سه آورده اند و زكوة بر داشته يعنی كه ابو بكر صدّيق دران غلوّ كرد و از اهل ردّه بشد

و بحج بطوس روند هزار مرد کاشی‌را حاجی خوانند که نه کعبه دید و نه ببغداذ رسید بطوس رفته باشد و خبری از عایشهٔ صدّیقه رضی اللّه عنها روایت کنند تا کس نگوید که دروغ است که هرج بزیارت طوس رسد بهفتاذ حجّ مقبول باشذ و دعا گوی‌را خویشی بوذ گفته است همچنانک مار کهن شوذ اژدرها گردذ رافضی که کهن شوذ ملحد و باطنی گردذ و شرح فضایح و قبایح رافضیان و خبث عقیدت ایشان در کتابی مفرد آورده ام و شمس الدین لاغری این بیتها خوش گفت، (شعر)

خسروا هست جای باطنیان، قُم و کاشان و آبه و طبرش،
آب روی چهار یار بدار، واندرین چار جای زن آتش،
پس فراهان بسوز و مصلحگاه، تا چهارت ثواب گردذ شش،

Monday, 21st of Rabí' II, A.H. 594 (=March 2, A.D. 1198).—ایتغمش.—The Khwárazmí women clothe themselves in coats of mail (f. 153ᵇ).[1]—Thursday, Rajab 19 (? A.H. 594=May 27, A.D. 1198): titles (f. 161) conferred on Mayájaq by Khwárazmsháh, who makes him his viceroy in 'Iráq.—Dínawar (f. 155), Líshtar, and the Castle of Ardahan.—The Assassins of Qazwín are plundered.—Khwárazmsháh incites them to assassinate his *wazír* (whose body he afterwards hangs head downwards on a gibbet) and some others.—Two months later he himself dies.—منگلی و یواش و جغان و فلان و بهمان (f. 156).—*Qaṣída* of 31 couplets by the author in praise of his patron, Abu'l-Fatḥ Kay-Khusraw, beginning:—

[1] In the remainder of the MS. there appear to be several dislocations, but the lack of catchwords at the foot of each page makes it difficult to arrange the pages in order without a more careful scrutiny than the time at my disposal allowed me to make. The following arrangement seems, from my notes, to be approximately correct:—Ff. 153, 161, 155, 156 (*end of historical portion*); ff. 154, 162–165 (*on Wine*); ff. 157–160 and (?) 154ᵃ (*on Chess*). The remaining leaves (ff. 166–179) seem to be correctly arranged.

ای زمین‌را داشته تیمارها ' داده بر فضلِ تو جرخ اقرارها '
ای بدستِ تو زمامِ امرها ' وی برای تو نفاد کارها '

Here ends the historical portion of the work. The remainder of it treats of the Pastimes of Kings and the Accomplishments of Courtiers: and first amongst these of Wine and Wine-drinking (فصل فی الشّراب).

16. *On Wine and Wine-drinking.*

On the nature and properties of wine.—The *Dhakhíra-i-Khwárazmsháhí*[1] cited.—Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Karkhí and Ḥasan b. Ziyád's opinions (f. 154^b).—The following commentaries are referred to:—

شرح جامع الکبیر ' جامع الصغیر ' شرح طحاوی ' مختصر کرخی
و مسعودی ' شرحهای قدوری ' موجز فرغانی ' مختصر فرغانی '

Wine is called *munaṣṣaf* (مُنَصَّف) when the liquor from which it was made is reduced to one-half of its original bulk, and *muthallath* (مُثَلَّث) when it is reduced to one-third (f. 162). What is and what is not an intoxicant (مُسْكِر).—Praise of the *Wazír* Shihábu'd-Dín Maḥmúd b. Thiqatu'd-Dín 'Abdu'l-'Azíz.—Apology for wine: that which is beneficial to the health cannot be wholly bad or unlawful.—A "*Book of Wine*" (کتاب شراب) in 50 chapters (f. 163).—Story of the stork and the snake at the court of Kay Qubádh.—Effects of wine tested on criminals.—لور و سمسوک ورزیدند.

صدرا آبی بطبع کافورم ده ' مرد عذبم دختر انگورم ده '
زآن دختر قحبه نه که کلغونه کند ' زآن دیگر سرخ روی مستورم ده '

Advantages of wine.—Ancient Greek sages cited.—Receipts for manufacturing various lawful wines (f. 165).

[1] A well-known medical encyclopædia, compiled by Zaynu'd-Dín Abú Ibráhím Isma'íl al-Jurjání († A.H. 531 = A.D. 1136–7) for his patron Quṭbu'd-Dín Khwárazmsháh.

17. *On Chess and the different forms of the game.*

History of the introduction of Chess from India into Persia, where one new variety (بابَ) of the game was invented; and thence into the Byzantine Empire (روم), where two more varieties were evolved, making four in all. These four games are described with illustrations which sufficiently explain the arrangement of the pieces.

(a) *The original Indian game.*

This appears to be identical with the game now played in Europe with 32 pieces on a square board containing $8 \times 8 = 64$ squares. The pieces bear their usual Persian names: the 16 pawns (پیادہ, *piyáda*) in the advanced line on each side; and in the hinder line on each side, from without inwards, the two castles (رخ, *rukh*); the two knights or 'horses' (فرس, *faras*, or اسب, *asp*); the two bishops or 'elephants' (فیل, *fil*, or پیل, *pil*); and in the middle the king (شاہ, *sháh*) and the queen or 'minister' (فرزین, *farzín*).

(b) *The Persian variety, invented by Buzurjmihr.*

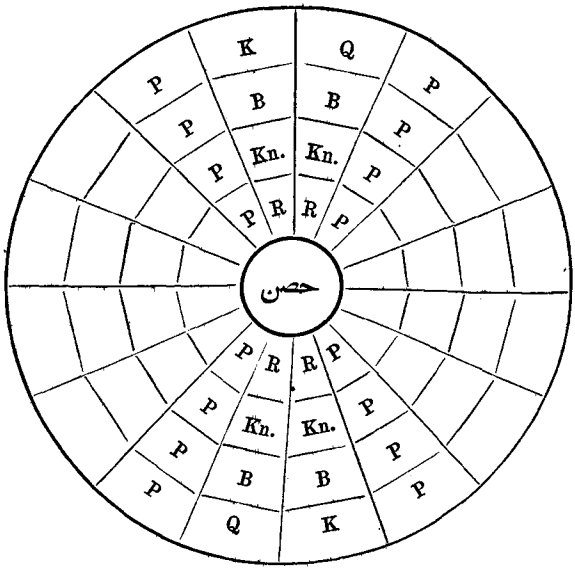
In this game the board is no longer square; it still contains 64 squares, but they are arranged in 4 rows of 16 each, as follows:—

R			P	P							P	P			R
Q	Kn.	B	P	P							P	P	B	Kn.	K
K	Kn.	B	P	P							P	P	B	Kn.	Q
R			P	P							P	P			R

P = Pawn.
R = Rook, or Castle.
Kn. = Knight, or 'Horse.'
B = Bishop, or 'Elephant.'
K = King.
Q = Queen.

(c) *The first Byzantine variation.*

Here the board is circular, consisting of 5 concentric circles, of which the innermost is called 'the Citadel' (حصن, *ḥiṣn*), intersected between the circumferences of the innermost and the outermost circles by 16 radiating lines. It thus contains, besides the central 'Citadel,' $4 \times 16 = 64$ compartments or 'squares,' on which the pieces are thus arranged:—



(d) *The second Byzantine variation.*

This game is played with 40 pieces (the additional 8 consisting of 4 extra pawns and 4 new pieces called 'lions,' اسد, *asad*) on a board of $12 \times 12 = 144$ squares, of which the outer rows are vacant at the beginning of the game, while the four corner squares are 'citadels' (حصن or حصين *ḥiṣn* or *ḥaṣín*).

The ancient game of Chess (f. 160) was originally invented in India by a wise man named صصبهٔ بن باهر الهندی (Ṣiṣba, or Saṣba, son of Báhir, the Indian). The Caliph al-Ma'mún (ninth century of our era) preferred draughts to chess, because in the former game he could, if vanquished, blame the dice and not himself; but the Sásánian king Khusraw Parwíz (sixth and seventh centuries of our era) would only play chess.—Arabic verses on chess by Ibnu'r-Rúmí (A.D. 836–896).

⊏	L	R	Kn.	B	K	Q	B	Kn.	R	L	⊏
	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	
	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	
⊏	L	R	Kn.	B	Q	K	B	Kn.	R	L	⊏

L = 'Lion' (*asad*). ⊏ = 'Citadel' (*ḥiṣn*).

At this point, as I think, should be placed a passage occurring on f. 154ᵃ, wherein the author, after eulogizing his patron, Abu'l-Fatḥ Kay-Khusraw, exhorts him to play chess, but not for stakes, "so that his prayers may not be nullified" by his indulgence in games which involve the use of the unlawful dice-box, like draughts:—

. . از شطرنج نشاط جویذ و بوصیت دعا گوی هرگز بگرو نبازذ تا قمار نشوذ و کراهیت شرع لازم نیآیذ و درآن کوشذ تا بسبب شطرنج نماز فوت نشوذ که آنگاه مفسدت بر مصلحت بچربذ '

18. *On Racing, Hunting, and Archery.*

Archery and riding are laudable, because useful, sports; but aimless sports are to be condemned. Wagers and bets, though generally objectionable, are allowable in certain cases (f. 166), which are discussed. The chase is next discussed (f. 167) in a separate section, and under what circumstances game slain therein may lawfully be eaten (ff. 167–8), as, for example, when the hound is loosed or urged on by a Magian (مُغ). This section concludes with a *qaṣída* of 67 couplets by the author, beginning:—

دوش کز گنبذ گِرِه سیما '

19. *On Writing, Calligraphy, etc.* (ff. 169ᵃ–172ᵇ).

The *ruqúm-i-istifá*, or accountant's cyphers.—The *abjad* notation, and its employment to represent numbers as words, or words as numbers (e.g. محمّد may be expressed by the numbers ٤ ' ٤٠ ' ٨ ' ٤٠).—The abbreviated system employed by the accountants of 'Iráq and Khurásán.—The letters *seriatim* from ا to ی, with a *memoria technica* in verse for each, and instructions (with illustrations) for writing each.

Six minor sections follow, thus entitled:—

فصل ' در باز نمودن مثال (f. 173ᵃ) '

فصل ' در نگاه داشتن نام و کُنیَت و لقب (f. 173ᵃ) '

فصل ' در نگاه داشتن حساب جمل (f. 173ᵇ) '

فصل ' در دانستن عمل بجدول غالب و مغلوب (f. 174ᵃ) '

فصل ' ذکر بیغامبران و صحابه و خلفای راشدین (f. 174ᵇ) '

فصل ' ذکر سلاطین و اُمراء '

Conclusion (ff. 175ᵇ–179ᵃ).

The author renounces the intention expressed in the Preface of introducing at the end of his book a selection

of lewd poems (هزليّات), and instead inserts another long *qaṣida* composed by himself.—Account of a dream.—Dialect verse (f. 176ᵇ) :—

فهلويّه ‘

من كه بو سسته بى لو باره جانان ‘ جه هركى لو بدندان ها نگيرام ‘

Another *qaṣida* of 29 couplets (ff. 178ᵇ–179ᵃ). Here follows the colophon, giving Ramaḍán, A.H. 635 (=April–May, A.D. 1238), as the date of transcription of the MS. The scribe's name is illegible except the words—". . . b. 'Abdu'lláh . . ," from which at least it is clear that the MS. is not an autograph.

Art. XXVIII.—*The Author of the Life of Shāh Isma'īl Ṣafavī.* By H. Beveridge.

Since writing the letter on this subject which appears in the January number of the J.R.A.S. I have examined the British Museum MS. Or. 3,248 more carefully, and have obtained a clue to its authorship. Dr. Rieu and Professor Denison Ross considered the work to be anonymous, and regarded the name at the end—Muḥammad 'Alī, son of Nūra—as being probably that of the owner or copyist. I am inclined to think that it is the name of the author, and that the work is more recent and less valuable than has hitherto been supposed. No doubt the writer has used some old records, and it would appear from a marginal note that a manuscript called the Qissa Ṣafavī, and which seems to have been lost, was the basis of the work. It is also likely that he used the Tārīkh Shāhī of Abdullah Marwārid, but I think that Or. 3,248 cannot have been put together earlier than the first half of the seventeenth century. We know from Mr. Denison Ross's paper in the J.R.A.S. for April, 1896, that the work must have been composed, in whole or in part, after 946 A.H. (or 1539), as it records the death of Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, which occurred in that year during the flight after Humāyūn's defeat at Causā by Sher Shāh. But there are two marginal notes in the manuscript which have hitherto escaped notice, and which show, I think, that the work must have been written at a still later period, and also that the author did not expect or intend that he should remain anonymous. These notes are not perfectly intelligible, for the margins have been clipped in binding (before the MS. came into the Museum), and consequently some important words are missing, but their general purport can be understood.

The first note occurs on the margin of p. 82[a] and refers to an embassy undertaken by Qambar 'Alī, the *lala* or guardian of Shāh Isma'īl, to Sulṭān Murād at his Court in Shīrāz. Sulṭān Murād was the cousin of Elwand Shāh, with whom Isma'īl was at war, and he was the grandson of Uzan Ḥasan, the king of the White Sheep. As Isma'īl's mother was a daughter of Uzan Ḥasan (her mother Martha is said to have been a Christian and was the daughter of the King of Trebizond), Murād and Isma'īl were also related. Isma'īl wrote a letter to Murād warning him against joining Elwand Shāh, and Qambar 'Alī, who was an old servant of the Ṣafavī family and seventy years of age, volunteered to convey the letter and also to expostulate with Sulṭān Murād. His embassy and his discussion with Murād are related at some length in the manuscript, and then we have the marginal note, of which the translation is as follows :—

"Let it not be concealed that the contents of the letter which the Āqā conveyed and his discussion with Sulṭān (fault, but no doubt Murād should be read) are by this humble individual, and are not in the Qissa Ṣaf(avī?). The contents of the letter are taken from the loose (or perhaps unauthentic, the Persian being *āzān naskha nā marbūṭ*) which (fault[1]) had brought. As by the desire of Khusrū Āqā, captain of the bodyguard of Kh. (Yūzbāshī Ghulāmān Kh.), who was the originator of the completed (?) book (*Sarkār-i-tālīf rabaṭ kitābrā*), several things were inserted in consideration of that book,[2] so this humble individual has in some places entered them in this work. Consequently readers will understand the cause of the divergences from the noble book (qu. the Qissa Ṣafavī)."

The story of the embassy is carried on to 83[b], and there we have the following brief note: "This passage too is by the humble individual." Apparently these words refer to the part of the narrative which describes Qambar 'Alī's return from Sulṭān Murād's court. There is here a remarkable difference between Or. 3,248, and the manuscript life of Shāh

[1] The letter Kh remains, and perhaps it is the first letter of the name Khusrū Āqā.

[2] The loose or unauthentic book?

Isma'īl in the India Office. The passage in the latter which describes the embassy of Qambar 'Alī is at pp. 43ᵃ–45ᵇ, and it has many points of similarity with the account in Or. 3,248. But at p. 45ᵇ it is stated that Qambar 'Alī was put to death by Murād for his boldness of speech, whereas Or. 3,248 describes him as returning and giving Isma'īl an account of his treatment. See also p. 52ᶜ of the India Office MS., where Isma'īl tells his aunt Khadīja Begam, who was a daughter of Uzan Ḥasan, and consequently also an aunt of Murād, that he had sworn to put Murād to death as a punishment for his having killed Qambar 'Alī.

The next marginal note is at p. 228ᵇ, and refers to the description in the text of Shāh Isma'īl's battle with Abūl Khair Khān, son of Qāsim Khān, the ruler of Dasht Qipcāq. The text gives a detailed account of the engagement, and describes how Isma'īl slew Abūl Khair in single combat by cleaving him to the waist. P. 232ᵃ also gives a picture of this, in which we see Abūl Khair holding his shield in front of his face, and Isma'īl's sword cutting through shield, head, and waist.

The translation of the note is as follows:—

"Let it not be concealed that the story of Abūl Khair Khān of Qipcāq, who had died in the year (fault, but presumably *hasht*) 873, and the description of his having been (fault, qu. killed) by Ḥaẓrat Shāh (i.e. H.M. Isma'īl Shāh), and (this account) of one who had been dead two and forty years has not been found in any chronicle which this humble individual has seen. It has been written at the desire of his master[1] (*aqāyān*) and grandfather, the noble Nawāb Aqāī Muḥammad Razī Beg (unintelligible, qu. may God cast his shadow over him?). The account is without foundation (or perhaps is not in the original work). Accordingly he begs that the masters of learning and knowledge will not suspect this humble one of being a liar. God knows what the real truth is."

This note shows that it is the author and not the copyist who is writing, and also that he intended or expected to be

[1] Perhaps it should be 'the Aqāyān,' meaning his relatives or friends of that name and of his grandfather. Āqāyān appears to be the title of a family or clan.

known as the author. Else why should he, if he was anonymous, be anxious to free himself from responsibility? I therefore think that the name Muḥammad 'Alī, son of Nurā, at the end of the manuscript is that of the author. It appears also that whether the writer of the note is right or wrong in doubting the story, he has expressed himself rather carelessly, for he has confounded Abūl Khair, the grandfather of Shaibānī and the son of Daulat Shaikh Oghlān (Howorth, part ii, p. 686), with the Abūl Khair of the text, who is there described as the son of Qāsim Khān. Abūl Khair, the grandfather of Shaibānī, died in 874 (1469), and so I suppose is the person referred to in the note, though the addition of 42 years will not produce the apparent date of Isma'īl's battle. The battle is represented as occurring after Shaibānī's death in 916 and after the death of Najm Ṣānī, and so cannot have occurred before 918. Possibly the 3 of 873 of the note should be read as 9, there being no dots, which would give 921 as the date, but then this would make the date of the death of Shaibānī's grandfather to be incorrect. In the text I think there is nothing to show the exact year in which the battle is alleged to have occurred. The story of Isma'īl's killing Abūl Khair is also told, and with still greater detail, in the India Office Manuscript. It also gives a picturesque account of the visit of the Uzbeg Chief Jānī Beg Sulṭān to Qāsim Khān in order to induce him to assist the Uzbegs against Isma'īl. We are told (p. 231[a]) that Qāsim Khān was then holding his court in Īlāq (?),[1] and that when he received Jānī Beg he was seated on the golden throne of Cingiz Khān. He was then an old man, and was remarkable for having three long hairs hanging down from his chin, two descending to his shoulders, while the third and middle one reached to his navel. This, we are told, proved him to be a lineal[2] descendant of Cingiz Khān, and secured to him the reverence of every man in the Qipcāq Steppe. His son Abūl Khair

[1] Perhaps it only means summer quarters.
[2] He traced his descent from Jūjī, who was the eldest son of Cingiz.

was seated beside him, and was about thirty years of age. Qāsim Khān is also mentioned at p. 112c of the India Office MS. as sending 12,000 men to Shaibānī to help him in taking Samarkand. No doubt he is meant to be the Qāsim Khān of the White Horde, who was the son of Abū Sāīd surnamed Jānī Beg, and of whom there is an account in Howorth, part ii, pp. 629–31 and p. 715. He is also mentioned several times by Ḥaidar Mīrzā in the Tārīkh Rashīdī, translation by Denison Ross, pp. 82 and 273. He is also mentioned by Abūl Ghāzī, Des Maisons' translation, p. 188, and in Bābar's Memoirs, Erskine, 14. But nothing is said in any of these works about his having a son called Abūl Khair. Ḥaidar Mīrzā describes him as having made war on the Uzbegs, and not as helping them, and he says he was succeeded by his son Mumāsh and afterwards by his nephew Ṭāhir. To the same effect is Abūl Ghāzī's remark that Qāsim Khān fought with Shaibānī and was the cause of his death. This must mean, I think, that Shaibānī was so weakened by his unsuccessful expedition against Qāsim (also described by Ḥaidar) that he fell an easy prey to Isma'īl. I have found nothing about Abūl Khair, the son of Qāsim, in the Ḥabīb-as-siyar, nor in the history by Khwandamīr's son Mahmūd, and we have the authority of the writer of the marginal note for the statement that it does not occur in any chronicle. I therefore think it must be a fiction, like many other statements in the book.

Though the marginal note on p. 228a does not tell us the author's name, it gives the name of his grandfather, viz. Muhammad Razī Beg. Now there was a Muhammad Razī Beg who went as ambassador to India, and who is described at p. 506a of the B.M. MS. of the 'Ālam Ārāī 'Abbāsī, Or. 152. He was head of the torchbearers, went on an embassy to Jahāngīr, and died at Lahore in 1026 A.H. (or 1616) as he was returning to Persia. If this was the author's grandfather the book was probably written after 1616, for it is not likely that the note would be made during the grandfather's lifetime. The Kh. which occurs on the note at p. 82 after *Ghulāmān* is probably the beginning of the

words Khudābanda Mīrzā, i.e. of Ṭahmāsp's eldest son, who reigned for about nine years, viz. from 985 to 994 (=1577–86). The Khusrū Āqā of the same note is probably identical with the Khusrū Beg who is mentioned in the 'Aālam Ārāī (B.M. Or. 152, p. 187ᵃ, nine lines from foot, and p. 188ᵃ, top line) as a leader of the *ghulāms* or bodyguard at Ispahan. It appears from the account there given that Khusrū Beg at first refused to submit to 'Abbās Shāh, and took possession of the fort of Ispahan. Afterwards he and his men came to terms and submitted. This occurrence apparently took place about 994 (or 1586).[1] As Khusrū is described as being the editor or originator of the book, i.e. either Or. 3,248 or its predecessor, the latter cannot be so early as has been supposed.

The India Office MS. life of Isma'īl[2] is numbered 536, and is described at p. 213 of Dr. Ethé's Catalogue. It is, to my thinking, an older and more valuable recension than Or. 3,248, but many pages are identical in both manuscripts. Evidently it has been compiled from the same original. A page of the MS. has been misplaced, for what is marked 312ᵃ and placed at the end of the MS. should be reversed and placed at the beginning, the top of p. 312ᵇ corresponding to the third line from the foot of p. 2ᵇ of Or. 3,248. Similarly 312ᵃ corresponds to 3ᵃ of Or. 3,248. The story of Ḥaidar's dream and the introduction of the Ṣafavī cap is similarly told in both MSS., p. 15ᵇ of the I.O. MS. corresponding to 20ᵇ of Or. 3,248. So also 33ᵃ of the I.O. MS. corresponds to line 5 of 50ᵇ of Or. 3,248. But the I.O. MS. is the more gossipy of the two, and gives details about Sulṭān Ḥusain Baiqara, Shaibānī, etc. Thus, at 126ᵃ it has a long story of how Ḥusain Baiqara's daughter, Jahan Shāh Begam, came to marry a divinity student. It has also many details about Shaibānī's marriage with the mother of Sulṭān 'Alī of Samarkand, and says

[1] It occurred shortly after the assassination of Khudābanda's capable son Ḥamza Mīrzā had made the former's position hopeless.

[2] The history ends with the accession of Ṭahmāsp, but a chronological table at the end, and in the same handwriting as the rest of the MS., goes down to 1015, and then breaks off owing to there being a page or pages missing.

that she was afterwards stabbed by Shaibānī's other wife. It is probably, however, all apocryphal, for Bābar does not mention the circumstance, and the name of Sulṭān 'Alī's mother is wrongly given. It also (p. 226ª) gives an extraordinary and, I should think, a totally false account of how Bābar appeared before Isma'īl at Hiṣār Shādmān with a sword and quiver tied round his neck and humbly begged forgiveness for having deserted Najm Ṣānī at the battle of Ghajdīwān! Evidently this MS. has been written by a bigoted Shīa, and the writer has chosen his materials from some hagiographer of Shāh Isma'īl.

There was also a copy of a life of Isma'īl in the Bibliotheca Lindesiana, but the latter is now in the possession of Mrs. Rylands, and the MS. is not yet accessible. There is another copy at Cambridge, and it has been described by Mr. Browne.

Art. XXIX.—*Zarathushtra and Heraclitus.* By Professor Lawrence Mills.

Before the Lógos of Heraclitus, as is usual in the cases of all originators, the thing 'originated' was already present in its germ for his use in the half-formed surmises of his predecessors.

For it was none other than Hesiod who used a word and expressed an idea[1] which, together with the hints of other schemes, led up to the early concept. The first Greek naturalists believed, indeed, in an original substance of the universe, out of which everything arose and in which everything consisted; they also attributed to it life and motion, and gave it different names. One thought it was 'water.' Another called it the infinite (*sic*),[2] as undefined substance matter. At other times they thought it was 'air.'

Parmenides[3] had spoken of trusting only the Lógos, that is to say, 'reason,' while distrusting the senses, imagination, etc. But this does not seem in itself to possess much speculative importance. He reduced everything to one in his philosophy, and denied development. He did not like the idea of motion,[4] and had no conception of the consciousness of the Lógos; nor had Heraclitus this latter, for the matter of that. Parmenides' natural philosophy was so bad that he believed in the 'stationary character of all things'; and he earned the name of 'no-naturalist,' ἀφύσικος, from Aristotle. We have no analogy with either Asha or Vohumanah here.

[1] Op. 692, μέτρα φυλάσσεσθαι, 718: "the abundant loveliness of the tongue that moves in rhythmic order."

[2] Cf. the Avesta conception of infinite time.

[3] Flourished in the 69th Olympiàde, 504–500 B.C.

[4] See Heinze, p. 59, and Zeller, pt. i, pp. 553–584.

It was the keen discriminator of Ephesus[1] who first saw a certain something imperative, not to say imperious, in the rhythm of nature, of its motions, and of its developments. I say of this great generalizer; for we must concede him that title however much we may differ from his ultimate conclusions.

Heraclitus did not indeed definitely resolve those secrets which the labours of all these centuries have only just succeeded in discovering, or rediscovering, but he came so near to this that we may fairly say that if he had possessed one fraction of the data which we now have, he would have surpassed most of us of these latter days in the depth of his intuition and in the keenness of his discrimination, for he seems to have surmised what we now know to be the true definition of heat, 'an everliving fire,' '*kindling* with regularity, burning out with regularity'; cf. the *μέτρα φυλάσσεσθαι* of Hesiod.

"The sun shall never pass his measure, for did he do so, the night goddesses, aid of justice, would find him out" (cf. Plut. de exil., ii, 604, B.). We do not distinctly gather that he held to any unchangeable underlying substance of phenomena. All is 'becoming' with him. But surely one would think he must have seen that an eternal substance was necessary, the everlasting changing of the forms of which constitute perhaps existence, certainly 'creation' and 'events.' The one underlying substance which exists according to his ideas was what he called 'fire.' We should call it 'heat,' the eternal perpetual motion, that is to say, its mode. Nature moves in so far as it is subjected to, or better, in so far as it possesses 'caloric' (*sic*), from the slowly dissolving ice to the electricity of the atmosphere; and the march of nature is rhythmic; it has reason; for all

[1] Died about 470–478 B.C. For his fragments see Bywater's masterly edition quoted by Zeller, etc. (Clarendon Press, Oxford). Bernays, "Gesammelte Abhandl.," i, 1–108. Bernays, "Heraklitischen Briefe," 1869. Lassalle, "Die Philosophie des Herakleitos des Dukeln," 1858. Gladisch, "Herakleitos und Zoroaster" (1859, antiquated). Schuster, "H. von Ephesus," 1873. Teichmüller, "Neue Stud. z. Gesch. d. Begriffe," i, 1876. E. Pfleiderer, "Die Philosophie des Heraklit," 1886. Patrick, "Heraklitus," Baltimore, 1889, etc.

things adapt themselves each to the other and fall into their places; and out of the clash of seeming discord life, with all its developments, mental, emotional, and moral, arises; there was reason in it, if not a 'reasoner.' He called that reason 'lógos' (here in this application), meaning more 'a sentence' than 'mere speech.' And for this discovery or recognition a great Church father reckoned him among the fold of Christians before Christ; "they who live according to, or 'with' the lógos, are," said Justin, "Christians, even if they were thought atheists; and such were Socrates, Heraclitus, and the like and among the Greeks." [1]

An incongruous grouping indeed, we should say, but one which perhaps shows the power of the Lógos all the more. The moral order of the life of Heraclitus was thought of, but it was his theory which was the occasion of the remark. The idea of reason as inherent in nature dominated his philosophy. That philosophy indeed impresses us with its 'one' arising from two opposites, while the opposites become knowable only after the splitting of the unit into two.

It was hardly, however, as some think,[2] the march of motion by the sublated negation which Fichte and Hegel most prominently revived and elaborated.[3] It was, moreover, wholly materialistic, let it be noted well. Although, as in the case of every similar supposition, we may always understand 'materialism' in a certain deeper and sublimer sense.[4] For matter must have been regarded by Heraclitus as a thing which contains within its potentiality all that we know of mind or morals. The Lógos of Heraclitus is the eternal law of motion in the strife of contending elements; that is to say, in the embrace of opposites, 'splitting all things,' but putting the split together, and again the split,

[1] See Justin Martyr, Apol., i, 85.

[2] See Lassalle.

[3] Recall Hegel's remark to the effect "that there is no sentence of Heraclitus which he had not embodied in his Logik"; see Patrick upon this.

[4] The word naturally grates upon our ears and upon our feelings. But, after all, not a single item in the myriad experiences of sentiment is denied by any of the so-called materialists. All must concede that if everything is material, then material also is everything, honour, mercy, devotion, everything arises from it, and intellect the first of all.

τὰ μὲν ὅλα διαιρέοντες τὰ δὲ διῃρημένα συντιθέντες (see Philo qu. rer. div. her., 1,505 f.). "By strife alone life becomes possible, disease makes health good and pleasant. There is no harmony without the height and the depth (*sic*) (the 'flat and the sharp'), and no peace without war."

And this creative, all-moving 'war' in nature was again the 'Lógos' under a different name and from another point of view. The Lógos is also 'fate,' not a blind fate by any manner of means. Fate as the Lógos was the Creator (*sic*) of all things, from the running together or conflict of opposites.

Justice is also war, and war is universal, everything takes place with strife. The just, or more properly the exact, is the cause and result of fire (i.e. heat) which is immanent; that is to say, permanently dwelling in the universe of nature; for this 'heat' has its law according to which it unfolds and again folds up the world; that law is its rhythmic reason, or Lógos. It is conceived of as material, as I have said, and the fire filled with spirit is another representation of the same Lógos. This Lógos is one and the same world-forming element as fire (i.e. heat), but viewed from different sides. The Lógos is as little immaterial as fire. It is material; but then, as before said, matter must have been conceived of in a sense which has made it all inclusive, the sum-total, of universal subjective experience. And he called this comprehensive concept 'Lógos,' this being the first extended use of the term in this sense by a philosophical teacher in the history of Greek literature. Sextus Empiricus, in his work Adversus math., vii, 2, ff. 5, 397 ff., quoted by Zeller and Heinze, speaks of this Lógos as the 'divine lógos' (see H., p. 44), but he hardly meant to report the expression as having been used by Heraclitus; the θεῖος and θεῖον are probably due solely to Sextus himself. And with all of this his Lógos was 'unconscious.' Such was most probably his opinion; and possibly Von Hartmann started from some such hint.

It, the Lógos, was a reasonable force which inheres in the substance-matter of the world. There is nothing material without it. It has no pre-existence, except as all things pre-exist in their predecessors, of which they really form

a continuous part. It rules all things, and domineers over the realm of intellection and morality, eliminating all independence from each of them. Such was, in a few words, the scheme, perhaps a little too much portrayed in the sense of Hegel by Zeller, and too much in the sense of mere 'nature' by the other extremists.[1]

On the fascinating depths of it, with all its errors or its truth, we may not dwell, and in fact I make the above remarks (only) with reserve. But to one habituated to such investigation the gist of the matter is clear at once. We have an astonishing and a pregnant scheme, strangely deep, yet strangely material. And this is the Lógos which is supposed by some to have been the ancestor of Vohumanah or of Asha. We need hardly have waited for a full discussion of it before we decided whether such a Lógos was likely to have been their progenitor or not. In some respects, indeed, both Asha and Vohumanah might have been proud of the connection; but that is not our point just here. A radical historical connection of the nature of that between cause and effect is here not to be thought of.

It is in the sphere of purely mental and, as we may also say, of moral action that, strange as it may appear, we find one delicate item of analogy, though I fear my readers will term it rather too far-fetched. Yet I present it for what it may be worth. As we find in the fragments of Heraclitus the first statement of a self-moving reasonable or reasoning force, so it is in the Avesta that we have, of all possible lores, the first record of the soul's moral self-motion, if I might be permitted to make use of such a form of words,—a pulse of spiritual progress in the thought, in the word, and in the deed, from their inception in the first consciousness of a living subject to their consequences, felicitous or calamitous, first in the future of the present life, and then in a scene beyond it. For these states of moral habit seem actually to be continued on of themselves, not merely as the

[1] Surely the progress of development by the supercession of ideas through their opposites applies to natural phenomena as well as to ideas. In so far Hegel most certainly was right in speaking of Heraclitus as he did.

occasions, but also as the constitutive elements of their own rewards or punishments in the present and in the future state. In Y. 30, 4, 'the worst mind' seems really to be put into the place of the 'worst fate'; while the 'best mind' is 'heaven,' the passage having been beyond a doubt one of the sources, and perhaps the oldest surviving one, of the use of the word 'best' (*vahisht*) among the Persians for 'heaven.' And distinct departments in the future spiritual home-life had the very words 'good thought,' 'good word,' and 'good deed' for their names.[1] It is the sinner's own conscience which shrieks at him on the Judgment Bridge (see Y. 46); and it is his own good thoughts, words, and deeds which meet him and conduct him to his final happy destiny. Whether our full modern idea was really intended—I mean, of course, the idea that "virtue is its own reward"—we may indeed doubt.

Zarathushtra would possibly have thought it too extreme a conception to be at all practicable or indeed safe; regarding it as dangerously refined and calculated to suspend all wholesome fear in inferior minds; but that it occurred to him, dimly at least and as if only to be instantly rejected, seems clear. At all events we have here a *positively certain case where ideas, like events, cast their shadows before.* These remarkable suggestions were the first of their kind, so far as I am aware, in the entire history of speculation, the incipient glimmering of the noblest idea that has ever emerged from the consciousness of man. And the analogy which I would draw is this; and I confess it is an exceedingly subtle one, and only thrown in for a *very* esoteric circle.

As Heraclitus was the first to formulate for us the idea of self-motion in the universe of nature physical, but as including more dimly the intellectual and moral world, so Zarathushtra gave us the first hint to our common, but so beautiful modern proverb, the idea of a sort of self-motion of moral economics or in the forces which control them. This, however, is the mere phantom of an analogy, striking though

[1] See Yt. 22, Westergaard.

it be so far as it extends. It is indeed a likeness 'in the air'; and it is mentioned as an interlude and as if in a parenthesis alone.

But aside from anything like this, to those who study the history of the idea of the Zarathushtrian asha, a certain general analogy with the Lógos of Heraclitus, when also more closely understood, becomes perceptible. The idea, like its Indian counterpart *ṛitá*, arose from the observed regularity of natural phenomena—the rising, course, decline, and disappearance of the sun and other heavenly bodies, the succession of the seasons, etc. These became imitated in the ceremonies of religious worship, and the priestly officials were termed the *ṛtavan* and the *ashavan*[1]; and there, indeed, we have what reminds us of the Lógos of Heraclitus in so far as it is likewise a 'rhythm.'

But as to what the rhythm of material nature actually was, the systems were poles apart. As Zeller himself admits, Heraclitus must have been somewhat aware of the nature of the widespread mazda-worship with which his successors were so familiar. For the Persian forces which looked to Auramazda for victory and hated Angra Mainyu as the author of defeat, surged for years up to the very gates of Ephesus when Heraclitus was in his prime. If he was even invited, as was believed by some, to the Court of Darius, then the false letters are the graphic echoes of the fact. It is therefore very probable indeed, that the stories of the two originally antagonistic divinities of the Persian creed assisted those early impulses which impelled this man of genius as he proceeded to improve still more upon the simple downright statements of the Zoroastrian oracle; but this is only possible.

The Zoroastrian dualism, only by a very wide inference, bears any marked likeness to its successor; while on the other hand, no one of the known Greek ancients, so far as I am aware, had any conceivably immediate influence upon the plain though grander theory of Zarathushtra.

[1] Properly, as I would suggest, *arshavan*.

With Zarathushtra opposition and war were indeed in the nature of things, for there were 'two original spirits'; this was the foundation of his views. But we find no emphatic suggestion with him that this was in any sense ordained for good.[1] According to some passages the "evil are to lie forever in hell." If this, however, is to be modified by Yasna 30, 12, "Upon this shall there be salvation" (*ushtā*,[2] the beatific state), then we have indeed a happy result; but there is no statement anywhere to the effect that the strife in nature was conducive to better things even when regarded as an educator. Nor, in fact, is there any precise statements as to physical nature which are so conspicuous with the Ephesian.

Undoubtedly antithesis is the keynote of Zarathushtrianism. Even in the Gāthas we have conspicuously the beginning of the pairing. Opposite Ahura Mazda stands Angra Mainyu, the most formidable devil ever developed, actually the maker of one of the two opposing worlds. Opposite Asha, the regularity and truth, we have the Druj, the falsehood in the foe; opposite vohu manah we have aka manah; opposite vahista manah, achishta manah; opposite Khshathra, the dush-khshathra; opposite Aramaiti, taramaiti; opposite Haurvatat and Ameretatāt we have descriptions of woe, as Garodman, heaven, is in the face of the Drujodman, hell; while the eternal antipathetic antagonism between these forces is well expressed in the mutual repudiations of Yasna 45, 2. In the later Avesta and in the later Persian they become still more completely paired, and in the Gāthas this conflict seems to have become accentuated by the miseries of warfare, that is to say, if 'the woes of the Kine' were the echo of those of the people. If opposition of powers were the only points at issue, then the two systems were indeed related, and the dualism of Zarathushtra was only repeated in the 'war' of Heraclitus.

[1] Here Zeller is correct, though his source of information was at that time naturally so imperfect and now completely antiquated.

[2] Really in form adverbial.

Beyond this point, however, Heraclitus must have made great strides in a definitive philosophical sense. It is profoundly to be regretted that we possess such scanty remains of what he wrote or said. They do not occupy much more space than one of the longer Gāthas, and not as much as some two of them together. Heraclitus made this opposition, which Zarathushtrianism also so fully delineates, to be the constitutive law out of which all existing things alone arise, while Zarathushtra only does this by inference, if at all. Here, however, we are not concerned with inferences.

Zarathushtra showed the grouping faculty in a remarkable degree, and that compact hard reason which recognized even an horrific fact and an horrific being. He went no half way with his Satan. Heraclitus, however, went even beyond these views, and claimed the terrific in life to be not only its reality, but the source of its vitality. Zarathushtra worked out a clear polarization of all the good and evil elements in preceding systems, if systems they could in any sense be called.

Out of all the gods he grouped all the chief abstracts deified into one small company, even resolving seven of them into one, as Sabellius formed his Trinity. And he grouped all the evil into equally limited masses, and there he left them to fight out their battle in the awful encounters of human and superhuman existence; but Heraclitus quarrelled even with Homer because he seemed to disapprove too much of strife.

There was one great question, however, in which they were happily agreed: nowhere do we see any indication that Zarathushtra ever supposed evil to inhere in matter, while Heraclitus went so far as to pronounce a materialistic pantheism. As to the fire of Heraclitus, when compared with that of Zarathushtra, it is indeed possible that the smoke of the altars in the Persian camps around his city which remained so loyal to the Persian cause, and the rumoured echoes of their Adar Yasht, or of its predecessors, may have attracted his attention; and upon reflection this may well

have confirmed his own convictions as to the supreme position of the 'mode of motion' among the elements. If so, Zoroastrianism did another great service to the world, if only by an accident; but, of course, the sublime concept of Heraclitus went far beyond even the beautiful Zoroastrian worship of the holy thing, which was indeed far more with his successors than the mere altar fire, and should be fully recognized as 'heat,' not flame alone, for we have its varieties at least in the later but still genuine Avesta, as interpreted by the later Zoroastrianism; even the caloric seated in the plants was known as well as that in living creatures. But as to the two systems in their entirety, they were well-nigh contradictory opposites: Zoroaster's (that is, Zarathushtra's) was a harshly limited monotheism, if such a contradiction or confusion in terms can be permitted, to convey a popular idea. It had its good creation and creator in antithesis to its still more limited mono-demonism ('so' again) with its counter creation and Creator. That is to say, it offered 'two worlds' and two quasi-independent deities; its dualism in a certain sense anticipated the more philosophically stated one of Anaxagoras, of Plato, and then of Philo. But Heraclitus banished at once both God and devil. His gods were of a kin to men.[1] The Lógos of Heraclitus resembles the Asha of the Avesta, indeed, as the rhythm of law, and the latter became, let us not forget it, later actually a name for fire, though chiefly through the ritual, which was indeed an Asha by pre-eminence. But though the Fire-lógos of Heraclitus must have been to some degree at least also touched by the universal sanctity of fire upon the altars in India and Persia,[2] as even also, I must insist, in Greece, yet this Fire-lógos was in so far radically different from that of the Avesta that it was in no sense whatsoever a created thing. With Heraclitus there was no 'creation' with which to

[1] Recall his saying "that none of the gods or men had made the world."

[2] Recollect that Persia was on the way from India to Greece (on one way at least), and that the vast Indian philosophies and worship are actually parts of the identical lore reached by Persian sages. The Indians having positively once lived in the primæval Iran or near it, and formed one identical race with the authors of the pre-Gāthic Gāthas, if such a turn of speech may be allowed.

associate it, and no 'Creator,' while both Asha and Vohumanah at their second (logical) stage as concepts were both freely said to be 'created' by the great Good Being as whose attributes they first appeared; he made them as the hypostatization in personification of the great moral instincts of law and of goodness. While, therefore, this identification of the Lógos with the fire or heat should not disturb us much when 'heat' is understood to be merely the vital force, yet, on the other hand, a self-moved ever-living power which contains within itself the reason of all that 'becomes,' and has never had a beginning, is a thing presented in a very different light from the Asha of Ahura Mazda, even though it be by a figure (and only later) called 'His son.' The Asha of Heraclitus, to use some violence in language, was, together with his Fire-lógos, a reason-guided and guiding force which evolves all things out of—what? Out of itself—so it seems. But in the Avesta that fire was not at all originally identified with Asha, for the concepts in the Gāthas show no such connection. And the systems which at first sight look so closely related spread in their developments still further, worlds apart. So that aside from internal characteristics as a rhythm of motion, nothing could be so different from either Asha or Vohumanah, or any of the Ameshaspends, as the Lógos of the great Asiatic, magnificent though it may well be thought to be.

Yet this concept of the bitter misanthropic, so heterogeneous from Avesta, formed the beginning of the Greek idea of 'lógos,' and influenced all future thought up to the very days of Philo.

Art. XXX. — *Etymological Vocabulary of the Māldivian Language.* By Wilh. Geiger.

In the title of my paper the stress is to be laid upon the word 'etymological.' The vocabulary does not contain all the Māldivian words which I collected during the last five or six years, either from printed books, or from manuscripts hitherto unpublished, or from the lips of Māldivian natives. For it was by no means my intention to compile a Māldivian dictionary for practical use: this would be premature; it may perhaps be done at some future time. For the present my purpose is purely philological. The present object is to publish linguistic materials which may serve as a basis for a scientific phonology of the Māldivian language. My vocabulary is, therefore, both an introduction and a supplement to the third part of my "Māldivian Studies," which deals with that subject. First, I have excluded, of course, from my vocabulary the numerous words borrowed from Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani, as they do not belong to the original stock of the Māldivian dialect. But I have omitted also generally those words which cannot be explained in a satisfactory way by the help of phonetic laws confirmed by other etymologies which are not open to doubt. There remains, nevertheless, a sufficient number of words to show clearly the character of the Māldivian language. It is merely a dialect, and not even a very ancient dialect, of Sinhalese. This result is, I think, also of historical interest; for it appears from it that the Māldive islands were occupied by Sinhalese people, but hardly at an earlier period than about eight or nine centuries ago.

In order to be as short as possible, I have not added to the single Māldivian words all the corresponding words

from the other Indo-Aryan languages. Only the Sinhalese and Pāli equivalents are given; but with constant reference to my "Etymologie des Singhalesischen," where further material for comparison will be found.

The abbreviations used in my paper are the following:—

ES. = GEIGER, "Etymologie des Singhalesischen": Abhandlungen der k. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Cl. I, vol. xxi, pt. 2, p. 177, etc.
Chr. = CHRISTOPHER's Māldivian Vocabulary: J.R.A.S., vol. vi (1841), p. 42 ff.
Py. = PYRARD's Vocabulary as arranged and published by GRAY: J.R.A.S., N.S., vol. x (1878), p. 173 ff.
Ggr. = materials collected by myself.
KV. = Māldivian Vocabulary (manuscript) in the University Library at Kopenhagen.
LV. = "Vocabulary Persian and Hindoostanee," kept in the India Office Library, with hand-written Māldivian translation of the single words. Cf. my "Māldivische Studien I," Sitzungsber. der k. Bayer. Akad. der Wissensch., philol.-hist. Cl., 1900, p. 649 ff. This vocabulary is by no means valueless, although it must be used cautiously and with criticism.

Finally, I send from a quiet German study my best greetings to those secluded islands, where the blue waves of the Indian Ocean roll up to the coral reefs, remembering with longing pleasure the wonderful tropical night when I saw on board the steamer, shining from afar through the darkness, the signal-fire of Minicoi.

A.

1. **abi**, 'wife,' Chr.; Py. *amby*; *abi-kabulēge*, LV. 13 (with honorific).—Sinh. *aṁbu*, ES. No. 52.
2. **aburan**, 'to turn, to wind,' Chr.; intr. *eburen*, 'to turn, to whirl,' LV. 186.—Sinh. *aṁbaraṇu*, *äṁbareṇu*. Skr. root *bhur* with prep. *sam*.

adiri, 'dark'; see *andiri*.

3. **adu**, 'to-day'; also *mī-adu*, Ggr.—Sinh. *ada*, ES. No. 32, 2; P. *ajja*.

adun, 'eye-black'; see *andun*.

4. aḍu, 'voice, sound.'—Sinh. *aṅḍa*, 'voice'; *aṇḍanu*, 'to cry.'
5. aga, 'mouth, beak'; Ggr., Py. *anga*.—Is to be compared, I think, with Sinh. *aga, ak*, 'end, extremity, top,' ES. No. 10, 1; P. *agga*.
6. agu, 'price, value,' Ggr., LV. 74; *agu-vān*, 'to be worth, to cost.'—Sinh. *aga*, ES. No. 13; P. *aggha*.
7. aguru, 'charcoal.'—Sinh. *aṅguru*, ES. No. 19; P. *aṅgāra*.
8. ahan, 'to ask, to hear.' *ma ehī*, 'I asked'; *ma ahā-fin*, 'I heard,' Ggr.—Sinh. *ahanu*, ES. No. 110.

ai, 'arm'; see *at*.

9. akuru, 'letter.'—Sinh. *akuru*, ES. No. 4; P. *akkhara*.
10. ali, 'light, clear, day-down.' *ali-kuran*, 'to kindle, to inflame,' LV. 185; *alifan*, 'fire.'—Sinh. *alu, eli*, ES. No. 81; P. *āloka*. The Māld. *alifan* must be compared with Sinh. *elipāna*, 'daylight.'
11. aḷi, 'grey,' Chr.; 'ashes,' LV. 9.—Sinh. *aḷu*.
12. amā, 'mother,' Ggr.; Chr. *amāe*, Py. *amaé*, LV. 12 *amai*. —Sinh. *ammā*.
13. anden, 'to dress,' Ggr.—Sinh. *aṅdinu*. Cf. ES. No. 39.
14. andiri, 'dark,' Chr., Ggr.; 'blind,' Chr.; *adiri-vān*, 'to be blind,' LV. 180.—Sinh. *aṅduru*, ES. No. 41; P. *andhakāra*.
15. andun, 'eye-black, collyrium,' Ggr.; LV. 34, *adun*.— Sinh. *aṅdun*, ES. No. 39; P. *añjana*.
16. annan, 'to come,' Ggr.—It is difficult to compare Māld. *annaṅ* with Sinh. *enu*; but the pret. *ai* '(he) came,' *aū* '(they) came,' is clearly the same as Sinh. *ā*, P. *āgata*. Cf. Geiger, Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen, p. 39, § 13, 5.
17. aran, 'to ascend, to rise, to mount'; caus. *aruvan*, 'to lift, to bear; to erect, to build.'—The Sinhalese has preserved the gerund *arā*, 'having ascended.' Clough, Sinhalese-English Dictionary, s.v.
18. aṙa, 'eight'; *avvana*, 'the eighth,' Ggr.; *aṙāvis*, '28'; *aṙutirīs*, '38.'—Sinh. *aṭa*, ES. No. 21, 2; P. *aṭṭha*.
19. aṙi, 'under, below'; *aṙiboḍu*, 'the lowest seat of a house, with reference to the rank of persons present,' Chr.— Sinh. *yaṭi*, ES. No. 1155. Cf. P. *heṭṭhā*.

20. **as**, 'horse'; *aśan-bēs-kurā-mīhu*, 'horse-doctor,' LV. 83.—Sinh. *as*, ES. No. 99, 1; P. *assa*.
21. **as**, 'goose'; *rāda-as*, 'goose (in general),' Chr.—Sinh. *has*, ES. No. 1618, 1; P. *haṃsa*.
22. **at**, Py., LV. 20, pronounced *ai*, Chr., Ggr., 'arm'; *aitila*, Chr., *atutila*, LV. 20, *attili*, KV., 'hand.'—Sinh. *at*, ES. No. 27, 3, and *alla*, ES. No. 84; P. *hattha*.
23. **avi**, 'sunshine,' Ggr., LV. 2, KV.—Sinh. *avu*, ES. No. 98; P. *ātapa*.

B.

baḍu, 'belly'; see *baṇḍu*.

24. **baffa**, 'father' (lower language), Chr.; Ggr. *baſa*, Py. *bapa*.—Sinh. *bapa*.

bagu, 'hemp'; see *bangu*.

bai, 'rice'; see *bat*.

25. **bai**, 'part, share'; *de-bai*, 'twice, double,' LV. 156; Chr. *bāe*.—Sinh. *bā*, ES. No. 983, 3; P. *bhāga*.
26. **balan**, 'to see, to look, to enquire'; intr. *belen*, 'to be seen, to be visible,' Ggr.—Sinh. *balanu*, ES. No. 973.
27. **baḷu**, 'dog.' *hiyalu-baḷu*, 'fox'; *valu-baḷu*, 'wolf,' LV. 40.—Sinh. *baḷu*, ES. No. 976; Skr. *bhalluka*.
28. **baṇḍu**, 'belly, womb,' Ggr.; Chr., LV. 19, KV. *baḍu*. Cf. *mā-baṇḍu*, 'pregnant,' Ggr.—Sinh. *baṅḍu*, ES. No. 952; P. *bhaṇḍa*.
29. **bangu**, 'hemp' (?). Cf. *bangu-rā*, Ggr.; *bagu-rā*, Chr., LV. 55, 'arrack, wine.'—Skr. *bhaṅgā*. Cf. ES. No. 949. See also s.v. *rā*.
30. **bari**, 'weight or sink (for a net),' Chr.; *buri*, the same, Chr.—Sinh. *baru*. See also s.v. *bura*.
31. **bas**, 'word, speech, language.'—Sinh. *bas*, ES. No. 978; P. *bhāsā*.
32. **bat**, LV. 54, pronounced *bai*, Ggr.; *bāe*, Chr., 'cooked rice.'—Sinh. *bat*, ES. No. 955; P. *bhatta*.
33. **bā**, 'arm,' in *bāmati*, 'shoulder-blade,' LV. 18.—Sinh. *bā*, ES. No. 983, 2; P. *bāhu*.

34. **bāra**, 'twelve,' Ggr.; *bāravana*, 'the twelfth,' LV. 120. —Sinh. *bara*, ES. No. 969, 2; P. *bārasa*.
35. **bāři**, name of a plant, kind of Solanum, Chr.—Sinh. *baṭu*, 'nightshade,' ES. No. 951; Skr. *bhaṇṭākī*.
36. **bebulun**, 'to shine, to glitter,' Ggr.—Sinh. *bäbilenu*.
37. **bera**, 'outside,' Chr.; LV. 165, *bēru* (more correct).—Sinh. *bähära*, ES. No. 1029; P. *bāhiraṃ*.
38. **beru**, 'drum.'—Sinh. *bera*, ES. No. 1013; P. *bheri*.
bes, 'medicine'; see *bēs*.
bēru, 'outside'; see *bera*.
39. **bēs**, 'medicine,' LV. 32; Chr. *bes*. Cf. *bes-kuran*, 'to cure,' Chr.—Sinh. *behet*, n.sg. *-da*, ES. No. 1015; P. *bhesajja*.
40. **bilat**, 'betel-leaf,' LV. 68; Chr. *bile*, 'leaf, eaten with betel.'—Sinh. *bulat*, ES. No. 1005; P. *tambūla*.
41. **bin**, 'earth, ground.'—Sinh. *bim*, ES. No. 990; P. *bhūmi*.
42. **biru**, 'fear,' LV. 95; *bīrun*, 'to fear,' Chr.; *bīrun gannan*, 'to be frightened, to be alarmed,' Chr.—Sinh. *biri*, *biru*, ES. No. 991, 2; P. *bhīru*.
43. **biru**, 'difficult, impossible,' LV. 157, 162.—Sinh. *bäri*, ES. No. 1024.
44. **bis**, 'egg,' Chr.; LV. 45.—Skr. *bīja*.
45. **bīru**, 'deaf.'—Sinh. *bihiri*, ES. No. 998; P. *badhira*.
46. **boli**, **boḷi**, 'shell (in general), money cowrie.'—Sinh. *boḷu*.
47. **bolu**, 'skull,' in *bolu-duli*, 'pia mater,' LV. 22; Chr. *bō*, Py. *bolle*.—Sinh. *boḷu*.
48. **bon**, Chr.; **bōn**, Ggr., 'to drink, to smoke.' *ma būin*, 'I drank.'—Sinh. *bonu*, ES. No. 1018.
49. **bō**, 'thick, coarse,' Chr., LV. 156.—Sinh. *bol*.
bō, 'skull'; see *bolu*.
bōn, 'to drink'; see *bon*.
50. **budu**, 'Buddha'; *budu-koilu*, 'monastery,' LV. 116, lit. court of Buddha. — Sinh. *budu*, ES. No. 1001. Christopher's *buḍu*, 'image,' is, I suppose, the same word, but by mistake spelt with *ḍ* instead of *d*.
51. **buḷau**, 'cat,' Chr.; Py. *bulau*, Ggr. *bula'*.—Sinh. *baḷal*, ES. No. 982; P. *biḷāla*.

52. **buma**, 'eyebrow.'—Sinh. *bäma*, ES. No. 1023; P. *bhama*.
53. **bunan**, 'to speak.'—Sinh. *baṇinu*, ES. No. 954; P. *bhaṇati*.
54. **bura**, 'heavy.'—Sinh. *bara*, ES. No. 969, 1; P. *bhāra*.
buri, 'weight (for a net)'; see *bari*.
buri-kaṙi, 'back'; see *kaṙi*.
55. **buru**, 'exact, proper, right, suitable,' Chr.—Cf. Sinh. *bara*, 'best, excellent.'
56. **buruma**, 'screw,' Chr.—Sinh. *buruma*, 'wimble, gimlet.'

D.

daḍi, 'stick'; see *daṇḍi*.
57. **dagaḍu**, 'iron,' Chr.; Ggr. *-gaṇḍu*, Py. *-gande*, KV. *dā-*.—Seems to correspond to Sinh. *yakaḍa*, ES. No. 1152.
dai, 'tooth'; see *dat*.
58. **dakkan**, 'to show,' Chr.; *ruḷi-dakkā-mīhā*, 'proud, arrogant,' LV. 170, lit. a man who shows arrogance.—Sinh. caus. *dakvanu*. Cf. *dakinu*, ES. No. 549.
59. **dala**, 'beam, ray of light'; *iru-ge dala*, *iru-dala*, 'sunbeam,' Ggr.—Sinh. *dala*, ES. No. 575, 4; P. *jālā*.
60. **dalu**, **daḷu**, 'horn,' Ggr., LV. 41. The original meaning 'tooth' is preserved in *eddaḷu* (*et-d°*), 'ivory,' Chr.—Sinh. *daḷa*, ES. No. 588, 1; P. *dāṭhā*.
61. **daman**, 'to draw,' LV. 190; *dagaḍu-nāru-damā-mīhu*, 'wire-drawer,' LV. 80.—Sinh. *damanu*.
62. **dan**, 'watch,' as part of the day or of the night, LV. 119; Py. *dam*, 'hour.'—Skr. *yāma*. The Sinhalese has the borrowed word *yāmaya*.
63. **dan**, **dān**, 'to go,' Ggr., LV. 182.—Sinh. *yanu*, ES. No. 1158; P. *yāti*.
64. **daṇḍi**, Ggr.; **daḍi**, Chr., 'stick.' *ud-daḍi*, 'sugar-cane,' Chr.; *kāru-daṇḍi*, 'yoke,' Ggr.—Sinh. *daṅḍu*. Cf. *daṅḍu-väṭa*, 'fence of sticks'; P. *daṇḍa*.
65. **dannan**, 'to know.'—Sinh. *dannu*, ES. No. 562; P. *jānāti*.
66. **dari**, 'child.' *anhen-dari-fuḷu*, 'daughter'; *firihen-dari-fuḷu*, 'son,' Ggr.—Sinh. *daru*, ES. No. 573; P. *dāraka*.

67. **daru**, 'firewood, fuel,' Ggr., LV. 9.—Sinh. *dara*, ES. No. 570, 3; P. *dāru*.

68. **dat**, LV. 18, KV., Py.; pronounced *dai*, Ggr., Chr. 'tooth'; *dai-gannan*, 'to bite,' Chr.—Sinh. *dat*, ES. No. 554; P. *danta*.

69. **daturu**, 'voyage,' LV. 112; *kaḍu-daturu*, 'sea-voyage,' LV. 87.—Sinh. *yaturu*, ES. No. 1156, 2; P. *yātrā*.

70. **dau**, 'fishing net,' LV. 154.—Sinh. *dāl*, ES. No. 648, 1; P. *jāla*.

71. **davan**, 'to burn, to roast, to fry,' LV. 53.—Sinh. *davanu*, ES. No. 579.

72. **dekunu**, 'southern, south,' Ggr., LV. 5.—Sinh. *dakuṇu*, ES. No. 550; P. *dakkhiṇa*.

73. **deli**, 'charcoal, ink,' LV. 9, 127, Chr.—Sinh. *dāḷi*, 'black, charcoal.'

74. **den**, 'then, afterwards,' Ggr.—Sinh. *dān*, ES. No. 646; P. *dāni*.

75. **dennan**, 'to give,' Chr.; LV. 186, *dēn*.—Sinh. *denu*, ES. No. 632; P. *deti*.

76. **dē**, 'two'; Ggr. *dēi*, LV. 148 *dēn*, Py. *dec. dēvana*, 'the second,' Ggr.—Sinh. *de*, ES. No. 627; P. *dve*.

77. **dida**, 'flag,' Ggr., LV. 86; Chr. *dīdā*.—Sinh. *dada*, ES. No. 555, 1; P. *dhaja*.

78. **digu**, 'long, tall,' Ggr., LV. 146; Chr. *dīgu*.—Sinh. *digu*, ES. No. 590; P. *dīgha*.

79. **diha**, 'ten'; Ggr. *dihaye'*, LV. 148 *dihayen*, Py. *-yet*; *dihahās*, '10,000,' LV. 150.—Sinh. *daha*, ES. No. 586; P. *dasa*.

80. **diri**, 'cummin seed,' Chr.; LV. 37.—Sinh. *duru*, ES. No. 621, 1; Skr. *jīra*.

81. **diva**, 'island,' esp. the Māldives. Cf. *divehi mīhun*, 'Māldivian native'; *divehi akuru*, 'the old Māldivian alphabet.'—Sinh. *div*, ES. No. 601, 1; P. *dīpa*.

82. **diya**, 'juice, sap,' Chr.; 'water,' in *boḍu diya*, 'high water,' LV. 8.—Sinh. *diya*, ES. No. 595, 2; P. *daka*.

83. **diya**, 'daughter.'—Sinh. *dū*, ES. No. 626, 1; P. *dhītā*.

dīdā, 'flag'; see *dida*.

dīgu, 'long'; see *digu*.

84. **doḷos,** 'twelve,' Py. *dolohet.*—Sinh. *doḷos,* ES. No. 627; P. *dvādasa.*

85. **doru,** 'door.'—Sinh. *dora,* ES. No. 637; P. *dvāra.*

86. **dōni,** 'small boat, punt' (used in some islands, in others *oruva*), Chr., Ggr.—P. *doṇī,* Skr. *droṇī.* The long ō is irregular.

87. **duas, duvas,** 'day'; *duvahaku,* 'every day, always,' LV. 215.—Sinh. *davas,* ES. No. 580; P. *divasa.*

88. **duḷu,** 'light,' LV. 2.—Sinh. *duḷu,* ES. No. 575, 4. Cf. *dala.*

89. **dun,** 'smoke.' *dun-fini,* 'fog, mist' (lit. smoke-dew), LV. 9; *dun-fai,* 'tobacco' (lit. smoke-leaf), Chr., LV. 36.—Sinh. *dum,* ES. No. 620, 1; P. *dhūma.*

90. **duni,** 'bow,' Ggr.; *dunīvaru,* 'bow-string,' Ggr.—Sinh. *dunu,* ES. No. 617; P. *dhanu.*

91. **duru,** 'far.'—Sinh. *duru,* ES. No. 621, 2; P. *dūra.*

92. **duřin,** pret. of *balan,* 'to see'; *ma duřin,* 'I saw,' Ggr.—Sinh. *duṭu,* ES. No. 611, 1; P. *diṭṭha.*

93. **duvan,** 'to run, to flow, to sail.'—Sinh. *duvanu,* ES. No. 625; P. *javati.*

duvas, 'day'; see *duas.*

94. **dū,** 'tongue,' Chr., KV.; Ggr. *du,* Py. *douls.*—Sinh. *div,* ES. No. 601, 2; P. *jivhā.*

95. **dūla,** 'carpet,' Chr.—Sinh. *duhul,* ES. No. 597; P. *dukūla.*

E.

96. **e,** pronoun, 'that,' oppos. *mi.* Cf. *etā,* 'there, at that place,' Chr.; *ehindu,* 'at that time,' Ggr.; *ehen,* 'thus,' Chr.—Sinh. *ē,* ES. No. 216; P. *ayam.*

e', eġ, et, 'elephant'; see *et.*

97. **e',** num., 'one'; Ggr. *ekē,* LV. 148 *eken.* Cf. *ek-kuran,* 'to collect,' frequently in compositions like *en-gotu,* 'of one and the same kind,' *en-aḍu,* 'harmonious.'—Sinh. *ek,* ES. No. 208.

98. **ebbaḍu**, 'genuine,' e.g. *daitā ebbaḍu*, 'genuine (not step-) daughter,' LV. 12: lit. of the same womb, *ek*, *e'* + *baḍu*.

eburen, 'to turn'; see *aburan*.

99. **eddaḷu**, 'ivory,' Chr.—*et* + *daḷu*, q.v.

100. **edu**, 'bed,' Ggr., LV. 9, KV. Chr. has by mistake *eḍu*. —Sinh. *äňda*, ES. No. 245.

101. **eduru**, 'teacher.'—Sinh. *äduru*, ES. No. 244; P. *ācāriya*.

eġ, **e'**, 'elephant'; see *et*.

102. **eluvan**, 'to hang, to suspend,' Chr., LV. 184, 189.— Sinh. *älavanu*, caus. of *älenu*, ES. No. 260.

103. **emme**, 'each'; *emmehai*, 'all,' LV. 140.—*ek* + emphatic particle *-me* = Sinh. *-ma*.

104. **es**, 'eye'; *es-fiya*, 'eyelid,' LV. 17.—Sinh. *äs*, ES. No. 265; P. *acchi*.

105. **et**, LV. 39, **e'**, Ggr., **eġ**, Chr., **el**, Py., 'elephant; bishop (in chess).'—Sinh. *ät*, ES. No. 239; P. *hatthi*.

106. **etere**, 'in, inside.'—Sinh. *atarehi*, *ätul*, ES. No. 249; P. *antare*.

107. **-eti** at the end of compounds, 'having, possessing.' Cf. *riv-eti*, 'beautiful,' *ṇian-eti*, 'sagacious.'—Sinh. *-äti*, ES. No. 240.

F.

108. **fahan**, 'to sew'; *fahā-mīhun*, 'tailor,' LV. 82.—Sinh. *pahanu*, 'to solder, to fasten.' Cf. Skr. *pāśa*, *pāśayati*; P. *pāsa*, 'noose, snare, fetter.'

109. **fahun**, 'afterwards'; *kuda iru-kolu fahun*, 'after a short time.'—Sinh. *pas*, *pasu*, ES. No. 810; P. *pacchā*.

fai, 'leaf'; see *fat*.

110. **fai**, 'leg,' LV. 20; Chr. *fā*, KV. *fāi*, Py. *paé*. Cf. *fāetila*, 'foot,' Ggr.—Sinh. *pā*, ES. No. 785, *palla*, No. 798; P. *pāda*, *pādatala*.

111. **fala**, 'blunt, coarse, thick, fat, corpulent,' Chr., LV. 23; *fala-nāru*, 'artery' (lit. thick vein), LV. 16.—Sinh. *pala*, *paḷa*, Säḷalihiṇi-sandesa 29, Muvadevdāvata 12.

112. **falan**, 'to split, to rip'; *falālan*, trans., 'to tear.'—Sinh. *paḷanu, pāḷenu*, ES. No. 833; P. *phalati*.

113. **faḷō**, 'fruit, mango-fruit,' Ggr.; also *faffalō* (from *fal-falō*).—Sinh. *pala*, ES. No. 792, 1; P. *phala*. The termination *-ō* is obscure. Perhaps *ō'*, 'kernel, seed.'

114. **fan**, 'leaves'; Py. *pan*.—Sinh. *pan*, ES. No. 778; P. *paṇṇa*.

115. **fanara**, 'fifteen,' Ggr.; *fanaravana*, 'the fifteenth.'—An interesting word. It corresponds to Pkr. *pannărasa, paṇarasa*, but not to P. *pañcadasa*.

116. **fani**, 'maggot, worm.' *fani-baḍu*, 'worms in the bowels,' LV. 31; *fani-diri*, 'the worm seed plant,' LV. 34, 68.—Sinh. *paṇu*, ES. No. 769; P. *pāṇaka*.

117. **fansās**, 'fifty,' Ggr., LV. 151.—Agrees with Skr. *pañcāśat*, but not with P. *paññāsa* (*-ṇṇ-*), Pkr. *paṇṇāsaṃ*, Sinh. *paṇas*, ES. No. 768. Py., however, has *panas*.

118. **faŕan**, 'to begin, to commence,' Ggr., LV. 186.—Skr. root *sthā* with *pra*. Cf. Sinh. *paṭan*, 'beginning,' ES. No. 761.

119. **faŕui**, 'silk,' Ggr., LV. 49; Chr. has *farui*.—Cf. Sinh. *paṭa*. The word is composed with *ui*, 'thread,' q.v.

120. **fas**, 'five'; Ggr. *fahēi*, Py. *pahet*. Cf. *fansavīs*, '25'; *fasdoḷos*, '5 × 12 = 60.'—Sinh. *pas*, ES. No. 823; P. *pañca*.

121. **fas**, 'mould, earth,' LV. 7.—Sinh. *pas*, ES. No. 808; P. *paṃsu*.

122. **fat**, LV. 65, pronounced *fai* (Chr.), 'leaf (of a tree or of a book).' *kan-fat*, 'ear'; *nē-fat*, 'nose,' etc.—Sinh. *pat*, ES. No. 770, 1; P. *patta*.

123. **fatas**, 'ditch, trench,' LV. 92.—Sinh. *patas*.

124. **faturan**, 'to spread (e.g. a cloth over a chair),' Ggr., LV. 190.—Sinh. **paturanu*, to be concluded from *paturuvanu*, ES. No. 774; P. *pattharati*.

125. **faṷlu**, 'clear, manifest,' LV. 158.—Sinh. *pahaḷa*, ES. No. 832; P. *pākaṭa*.

126. **fauru**, 'wall,' Ggr., Chr.; Py. *paore*.—Sinh. *pavuru*, ES. No. 807; P. *pākāra*.

fā, 'leg'; see *fai*.

127. **fālan**, 'bridge,' Ggr., LV. 7.—Sinh. *pālam*.

128. **fāru**, 'wound'; Chr. *faru*, Ggr. *fāru-ganḍu*.—Sinh. *pahara*, 'knock, blow, stroke,' ES. No. 830; P. *pahāra*.

129. **felan**, 'to press, to squeeze,' LV. 189.—Sinh. *piḷa*, *peḷenu*, ES. No. 875, 2; P. *pīḷā*, *pīḷeti*.

130. **feli**, 'cotton cloth'; Py. *pellé*.—Sinh. *piḷi*, ES. No. 876, 2; P. *paṭi*.

131. **fen**, 'water'; Py. *penne*. Cf. *fen-vaḷu*, 'cistern,' LV. 60, lit. water-hole.—Sinh. *pän*, ES. No. 941; P. *pānīya*.

132. **feni**, 'sight, vision.'—Cf. Sinh. *peṇenu*, ES. No. 904; P. *paññayati*.

133. **filā**, 'herbs'; *bagu-filā*, 'hemp,' LV. 70.—Sinh. *palā*, ES. No. 795; P. *palāsa*.

134. **filā**, 'plank.'—Sinh. *paliha*, 'shield,' ES. No. 796; P. *phalaka*, 'plank.'

135. **fini**, 'dew,' Chr., Ggr.; 'cold,' LV. 179; Py. *pini*. Cf. *fini-fen-mau*, 'rose,' Chr., lit. dew-water-flower.—Sinh. *pini*.

136. **firi-**, **firihen-**, **firihenun**, 'man, male.' *firihen-dari*, 'son,' LV. 12; *firi-mīhā*, 'husband,' Chr.; *firi-kalēge*, the same, LV. 13. — P. *purisa*, but Sinh. *pirimi*, ES. No. 863.

137. **fiya**, 'foot,' in *fiya-vaḷu*, 'footprint,' Ggr.—Corresponds to Sinh. n.sg. *piya*, as M. *fai* to Sinh. *pā*. I believe that *fiya-piya* is derived from *pada*, but *fai-pā* from *pāda*.

138. **fiya**, 'cover,' in *es-fiya*, 'eyelid,' LV. 17. Chr. has *esfīya*.—I think we have to read *fiya'* or *fiyan* = Sinh. *piyan*, 'cover, eyelid,' ES. No. 851; P. *pidhāna*. Cf. M. *fiyan-kaṙigaḍu*, 'kneepan,' LV. 19.

139. **fiyă**, 'feather, wing'; *dūni-fiyā*, the same, LV. 44 (*dūni* = bird).—Sinh. *piyā*.

140. **fiyohi**, 'knife'; Py. *piohy*.—Sinh. *pihiya*.

141. **fīru**, 'file,' LV. 84.—Sinh. *pihiri*, *pīri*.

142. **fī-vān**, 'to become putrid, to rot, to stink,' LV. 181, 190.—Skr. *pūta* (*pūyati*).

143. **foḷan**, 'to spread, to scatter, to dust'; *foḷai-lan*, the same, LV. 188.—Sinh. *poḷanu*, ES. No. 932; Skr. root *sphuṭ*.
144. **foni**, 'sweet'; *foni-toři*, 'cinnamon,' LV. 34 (Chr. *-tori*). —Sinh. *päni*.
145. **foruvan**, 'to cover.'—Sinh. *poravanu*, ES. No. 923; P. *pārūpati*.
146. **fot**, pronounced *foi*, 'book.'—Sinh. *pot*, ES. No. 920; P. *potthaka*.
147. **fuhen**, 'to ask, to question,' LV. 189.—P. *pucchati*.
148. **fulangi**, 'flying fish,' Chr.; 'grasshopper,' Ggr.—Sinh. *poloňgu*, ES. No. 925; P. *paṭaṅga*.
149. **fuḷau**, 'broad, wide,' Chr., LV. 156; *fuḷali*, 'width.' —Sinh. *palal, pulul*, ES. No. 794; P. *puthula*.
150. **funā**, 'comb'; LV. 63, *-ai*.—Sinh. *panā*.
151. **furan**, 'to fill'; *furai-eḷun*, the same, LV. 211; *furi*, 'full,' Ggr.—Sinh. *puraṇu, piri*, ES. Nos. 889 and 860; P. *pūrayati, pūrita*.
152. **furō**, 'axe.'—Sinh. *porava*, ES. No. 922.
153. **fuřu**, 'side'; *ef-fuřu* (= *ek-f.*), 'on one side,' J.R.A.S. Ceyl. Br. 24, p. 123.—Sinh. *piṭa*, ES. No. 840. Cf. *fuřumati* = Sinh. *matupiṭa*. P. *piṭṭha*.
154. **futu**, 'son.'—Sinh. *put, pit*, ES. No. 848; P. *putta*.
155. **fuvan**, 'areca-nut,' LV. 68; Chr. *fuvag*.—Sinh. *puvak*.

G.

156. **gai**, 'body,' Chr.—Sinh. *gat*, ES. No. 425, 1; P. *gatta*.
157. **gannan**, 'to take, to buy.' *bīrun gannan*, 'to be frightened, to be alarmed,' Chr.; *tadu g.*, 'to be ashamed,' LV. 100; *dai g.*, 'to bite,' Chr.—Sinh. *gannu*, ES. No. 430; P. *gaṇhāti*.
158. **gas**, 'tree'; *gahu-fat*, 'leaf on the tree,' LV. 65.—Sinh. *gas*, ES. No. 438; P. *gaccha*.
159. **gau**, 'stone, a weight'; *bin-gau*, 'foundation stone,' LV. 56.—Sinh. *gal*, ES. No. 434, 1.

160. **ge**, affix of the genitive. Cf. Māldivische Studien II, ZDMG. 55, S. 374.—Sinh. *gē*, ES. No. 462.

161. **gendān**, 'to take away.'—Gerund *gena* = Sinh. *geṇa* (v. *gannan*) + *dān*, lit. to take and go; Sinh. *geṇayanu*, ES. No. 458.

162. **gennan**, 'to bring.'—Ger. *gena* + *annan*; Sinh. *geṇenu*, ES. No. 458.

163. **geri**, 'cow.' *firihen-geri*, 'bull,' Chr.; *gon-geri*, 'ox,' Ggr.; *geri-mas*, 'beef,' Ggr.; *ḷa-geri*, 'calf,' LV. 38; *kaḷu-geri*, 'buffalo,' LV. 38.—Sinh. *geri*, ES. No. 459.

164. **gē**, **ge**, 'house.'—Sinh. *gē*, ES. No. 461; P. *geha*.

165. **giguni**, 'bell,' LV. 61.—Onomatopœtical like Sinh. *kiḷiṇi*.

166. **gī** in *gīteu* = Sinh. *gītel*, 'ghee.'—Sinh. *gī*, ES. No. 451, 2; P. *ghata*.

167. **goi**, 'state, condition,' Ggr. Cf. *en-goi*, 'same, identical.' —Sinh. *got*, ES. No. 465; P. *gotta*.

168. **gon**, 'ox,' in *gon-geri*; see *geri*.—Sinh. *gon*, ES. No. 464; P. *goṇa*.

169. **govi** in *as-govi*, 'horse-keeper, groom,' LV. 63.—Sinh. *govi*, *goyi*, ES. No. 471; P. *gopaka*.

170. **gudu**, 'crooked,' Chr., Ggr.; *gudu-mīhu*, 'hunchbacked,' LV. 10.—Sinh. *kudu*, ES. No. 358; P. *khujja*.

171. **guguri**, 'thunder,' Chr., Ggr., LV. 10; Py. *gougourou*. —Sinh. *guguraṇu*, *gigiri*, ES. No. 441; Skr. *ghurghura*.

172. **gui**, 'excrements, fæces,' LV. 23.—Sinh. *gū*, ES. No. 456; P. *gūtha*.

173. **gunan**, 'to count,' Chr., LV. 190.—Sinh. *gaṇinu*, ES. No. 424; P. *gaṇeti*.

174. **gurai**, 'parrot,' LV. 43; Py. *gouray*.—Sinh. *girā*.

H.

175. **ha**, 'six'; Ggr. *hayēi*, Chr. *hai*, Py. *ahet*, LV. 148 *hayen*. Cf. *havana*, 'the sixth'; *sabbīs*, '26'; *satirīs*, '36,' etc., Ggr.—Sinh. *ha*, *sa*, ES. No. 1608; P. *cha*.

176. **hadan**, 'to make, to create, to do'; caus. *hadavan*, the same.—Sinh. *hadanu*, ES. No. 1595.

177. **hafan**, 'to chew,' LV. 181.—Sinh. *hapanu*, ES. No. 1600.

178. **hakuru**, 'sugar.'—Sinh. *hakuru*, *s°*, ES. No. 1589; P. *sakkharā*.

179. **halan**, tr., 'to shake'; *helen*, intr., 'to tremble'; *bin heleni* = 'earthquake,' LV. 6.—Sinh. *halanu*, ES. No. 1615; P. *calati*, *cāleti*.

180. **han**, 'skin, hide'; *han-fahā-mīhu*, 'worker in leather,' LV. 82.—Sinh. *ham*, ES. No. 1603; P. *camma*.

181. **handu**, 'moon,' Ggr.; LV. 3, *hadu*; Chr. by mistake *haḍu*.—Sinh. *haňda*, ES. No. 1596; P. *canda*.

182. **hanu**, 'whetstone'; *hanu-lān*, 'to whet,' J.R.A.S. Ceyl. Br. 24, p. 124.—Sinh. *haṇa* (*-gala*), ES. No. 1591; P. *sāṇa*.

183. **hat**, 'umbrella,' LV. 111.—Sinh. *hat*, *sat*, ES. No. 1434, 1; P. *chatta*.

184. **hat**, 'seven'; LV. 148 *haten*, Py. *atec*. Cf. *hatvana* (Ggr. *haivana*), 'the seventh,' LV. 148, 150; *hatāvīs*, '27'; *satutirīs*, '37,' etc., Ggr.—Sinh. *hat*, *sat*, ES. No. 1592; P. *satta*.

185. **hataru**, 'four'; Ggr. *hatarēi*, LV. 148 *hataren*. Cf. *hataruvana*, 'the eighth'; *sauravīs*, '24'; *sauratirīs*, '34,' etc.; Ggr. *sāḷīs*, see s.v.—Sinh. *hatara*, *s°*, ES. No. 1593; P. *cattāro*. M. *saura-* = P. *catur-*.

186. **hau**, 'cock,' Chr.; LV. 42 *hāu*, Py. *aule*.—Sinh. *sävul*, ES. No. 1585.

187. **hās**, 'thousand'; Ggr. *hāhē*. Cf. *hāṣfat*, 'centipede,' LV. 46.—Sinh. *dahas*, ES. No. 587; P. *sahassa*.

188. **heki**, 'witness,' Chr., LV. 105, 116.—Skr. *sākṣin*; P. *sakkhi*.

189. **hen**, 'to laugh.'—Sinh. *senu*, ES. No. 1560.

190. **hiki**, 'dry,' Ggr., LV. 6; *hikan*, 'to dry,' Chr.—Sinh. *siku*, ES. No. 1496; P. *sukkha*.

191. **hila**, 'stone, rock.'—Sinh. *sal*, *sel*, *hel*, ES. No. 1477, is derived from P. *sela*, Skr. *śaila*; M. *hila* from P. *silā*, Skr. *śilā*.

192. **hitun**, 'wish, desire.'—Sinh. *hit*, ES. No. 1628; P. *citta*.
193. **hiya**, 'hundred,' LV. 149; but Ggr. *satēka*.—Sinh. *siya*, ES. No. 1507; P. *sata*.
194. **hiyaḷu**, 'jackal.'—Sinh. *hival*, *s°*, ES. No. 1634; P. *sigāla*.
195. **hiyani**, 'shadow,' LV. 26, 144; Chr. *hīyeni*.—Sinh. *sevana*, *seveni*, *h°*. Cf. ES. No. 1633; P. *chădana*.
196. **hoḍu**, 'proboscis.'—Sinh. *hoṅḍa*, *s°*, ES. No. 1655; P. *soṇḍā*.
197. **honihiru**, 'the planet Saturn,' LV. 2; *honihiru-duas*, 'Saturday,' Ggr.—Sinh. *senasurā(-dā)*.
198. **honu**, 'lizard,' Chr.; Ggr., LV. 40, *hōnu*.—Sinh. *sūnu*, *h°*, ES. No. 1642.
199. **honu**, 'lightning,' LV. 10; Chr. *hōnu*.—Sinh. *hena*.
200. **hudu**, 'white.'—Sinh. *hudu*, ES. No. 1638; P. *suddha*.
201. **hugu**, 'asafetida,' LV. 33.—Sinh. *hiṅgu*.
202. **hukuru**, 'the planet Venus,' LV. 2; *hukuru-duas*, 'Friday,' Ggr.—Sinh. *sikurā(-dā)*.
203. **hulangu**, **huḷ.**, 'sea-breeze, west,' Ggr., LV. 5.—Sinh. *hulaṅ* (n.sg. *-aṅga*), 'wind.'
204. **hun**, 'fever.'—Sinh. *uṇu*, *huṇa*, 'hot,' ES. No. 168; P. *uṇha*.
205. **huni**, 'lime, chunam.'—Sinh. *huṇu*, ES. No. 1637; P. *cuṇṇa*.
206. **hunnan**, 'to remain, to stay, to live, to reside'; *raṙu-gai hunna mīhā*, 'people living in the country, inhabitants,' LV. 110.—It is difficult to explain the connection with Sinh. *(h)iṅdinu*, pret.-stem *hun* (= P. *sanna*). Cf. ES. No. 132.
207. **hus**, 'empty.' *hus-kuran*, 'to empty'; *hus-bin*, 'land that lies fallow,' LV. 71.—Sinh. *his*, *sis*, ES. No. 1635. Cf. Pkr. *cuccha*, *chuccha*.
208. **huvadu**, 'jasmine.'—Sinh. *suvaṅda*, ES. No. 1547; P. *sugandha*.
209. **huvai**, LV. 106, 'oath'; Chr. *-vāe*.—Skr. *śapatha*, P. *sapatha*.

I, Ī.

igili, 'finger'; see *ingili*.

iguru, 'ginger'; see *inguru*.

210. **iha'**, 'before, previous, formerly'; Chr. *ihaj*, Ggr. *iha*.—Sinh. *ihata*.

211. **ingili**, 'finger, toe,' Ggr.; Chr., KV., LV. 20, *igili*.—Sinh. *äṅgili*, ES. No. 237; P. *aṅgulī*.

212. **inguru**, 'ginger,' Chr.; LV. 34, *iguru*.—Sinh. *iṅguru*, ES. No. 121; P. *siṅgivera*.

213. **iran, irālān**, 'to tear,' Ggr.—Sinh. *iraṇu*.

214. **iru**, 'sun, east, time'; *iru-vā*, 'land-breeze, east,' Ggr. —Sinh. *iru, hiru*, ES. No. 141; P. *sūriya*.

215. **iṙinna**, 'to sit'; LV. 183 *irīna*, Sh. A. *irīnnān*.—Seems to be connected with Sinh. *hiṭinu*, ES. No. 1627; Pkr. *ciṭṭhai*.

216. **is**, 'head,' in *is-taṙi* or *is-tari*, 'hair,' Chr., Ggr., LV. 16.—Sinh. *is, his, sis*, ES. No. 149; P. *sīsa*.

217. **ituru**, 'resting, rest,' Ggr.—Sinh. *itiri*. Cf. ES. No. 170.

218. **īyye**, 'yesterday'; LV. 216, *iyya*.—Sinh. *īyē*.

K.

219. **kaburu**, 'smith'; *kaburu-udun*, 'smith's forge,' LV. 83. —Sinh. *kaṁburu*, ES. No. 300; P. *kammāra*.

220. **kaduru**, 'date.'—Sinh. *kaduru*, ES. No. 283; P. *khajjūrī*.

kaḍan, 'to cut'; see *kaṇḍan*.

kaḍi, 'sword'; see *kaṇḍi*.

kaḍu, 'channel'; see *kaṇḍu*.

221. **kafa**, 'cotton.'—Sinh. *kapu*, ES. No. 294; P. *kappāsa*.

222. **kahabu**, 'turtle,' Chr.; *-ambu*, 'sea-tortoise,' Ggr.— Sinh. *käsubu, -uṁbu*, ES. No. 420; P. *kacchapa*.

223. **kahan**, 'to scratch.' — Sinh. *kasanu, kahanu*, ES. No. 319, 2.

224. **kakuni**, 'crab, sea-crab,' Chr., LV. 45.—Sinh. *kakuḷu*, ES. No. 270; P. *kakkaṭaka*.

225. **kakū**, 'knee,' Chr., Ggr.; 'sole of the foot,' KV.; 'ankle,' LV. 16.—Sinh. *kakul*.

226. **kaḷu**, 'black, crow'; *kaḷu-geri*, 'buffalo.'—Sinh. *kaḷu*, ES. No. 324; P. *kāla*.

227. **kambali**, 'wool,' Py.; 'blanket,' KV.—Skr., P. *kambala*.

228. **kan**, 'work'; *kan-kuran*, euph. = 'coire cum femina,' Chr.—Sinh. *kam*, ES. No. 302; P. *kamma*.

229. **kaṇḍan**, 'to cut, to reap'; Chr. *-nḍ-* and *-nd-*; LV. 104, *kaḍān*.—Sinh. *kaḍanu*; P. *khaṇḍeti*. Cf. ES. No. 275.

230. **kaṇḍi**, 'sword,' Ggr.; Chr. *kaḍi*.—Sinh. *kaḍu*. Cf. ES. No. 271.

231. **kaṇḍu**, 'channel between the Atolls; open sea, ocean,' Ggr.; Chr., LV. 8, *kaḍu*. Cf. *kaṇḍu-mas*, 'sea-fish,' Ggr.; *kaḍu-daturu*, 'sea-voyage,' LV. 87.—Is to be derived from *kaṇḍan*, lit. 'crack.'

232. **kan-fat**, 'ear,' LV. 17; pronounced *-fai*, Chr., Ggr.; Py. *campat.* — *kan* = Sinh. *kan*, ES. No. 276, 1; P. *kaṇṇa* + *fat*, q.v.

233. **kanu**, 'blind,' Ggr., LV. 23. — Sinh. *kaṇa*, ES. No. 276, 2; P. *kāṇa*.

234. **kaři**, 'thorn, sting.' Cf. *kaři-ūru*, 'porcupine'; *kaři-fai*, 'sting (of an insect),' LV. 41, 47.—Sinh. *kaṭu*, ES. No. 247; P. *kaṇṭaka*. The usual meaning, however, of the word is 'bone.' Cf. *buri-kaři*, 'back.'

235. **kas**, 'itch.'—Sinh. *kas*, ES. No. 319, 2. Cf. *kahan*.

236. **katuru**, 'scissors.'—Sinh. *katuru*, ES. No. 279; Skr. *kartarī*.

237. **kān**, 'to eat.'—Sinh. *kanu*, ES. No. 288; P. *khādati*. Pret. *kei* = Sinh. *kā*, P. *khādita*.

238. **kekkula-vān**, 'to endure, to tolerate,' Ggr.—A better spelling will be, I think, *kekulu-vān*. Cf. Sinh. *käkuḷu*, 'hard,' ES. No. 408; P. *kakkhaḷa*.

239. **kekuri**, 'cucumber,' LV. 69.—Sinh. *käkiri*, ES. No. 407; P. *kakkārī*.

240. **kessan**, 'to cough.'—Sinh. *kahinu*, ES. No. 323; P. *kāsa*.

241. **keti-mūsum**, 'season of the harvest,' LV. 71.—*keti* may either be = Sinh. *ket*, 'field,' ES. No. 378, P. *khetta*, or = Sinh. *käti*, 'the Pleiades,' ES. No. 410, P. *kattika*.

242. **kibū**, 'crocodile,' LV. 45.—Sinh. *kiṁbul*, ES. No. 334; P. *kumbhīla*.

243. **kihili**, 'armpit,' KV.—Sinh. *kihili, kisili*, ES. No. 349.

244. **kilau**, 'mud, clay'; *kilau-fani*, 'earthworm,' LV. 46. —Sinh. *kalal*.

245. **kiran**, 'to weigh, to measure,' LV. 205.—Sinh. *kiraṇu*.

246. **kiru**, 'milk, gum'; *kiru-mai*, 'wet-nurse,' LV. 11.— Sinh. *kiri, kiri-mav*, ES. No. 339; P. *khīra*.

247. **kiyan**, 'to say, to recite.' *lava kiyā mīhā*, 'songer,' LV. 122; *kiyavan*, 'to read, to repeat.' — Sinh. *kiyanu*, ES. No. 336; P. *katheti*.

248. **kīs**, Ggr., **kis**, Chr., **kiyas**, LV. 84, 'saw.'—Sinh. *kiyat*.

koḍu, 'shoulder'; see *konḍu*.

249. **kolu**, Ggr., or better **koḷu**, 'end'; *koḷu-fas*, 'stern,' Chr.—Sinh. *keḷa*, ES. No. 388, 2; P. *koṭi*.

250. **konḍu**, 'shoulder,' Ggr.; Chr., LV. 18, KV., *koḍu*; Py. *condou*.—Sinh. *koṅḍa*, 'socket of the arm where it joins the shoulder' (Clough).

251. **konnan**, 'to plough, to dig,' Chr., LV. 187.—Sinh. *kaninu*, ES. No. 290; P. *khanati*. Chr. has *konnan*, 'to plough,' but *konan*, 'to dig.'

252. **koru**, 'lame,' LV. 74.—Sinh. *koru*, ES. No. 401; Skr. *khora*.

253. **koṙan**, 'to cut, to reap,' Ggr., LV. 71.—Sinh. *koṭanu*, ES. No. 394; P. *koṭṭeti*.

254. **koṙi**, 'cage,' Chr.; *mau-koṙi*, 'garden,' LV. 64; *dari-koṙi*, 'womb,' LV. 22.—Sinh. *koṭu*, 'surrounded, fenced in, enclosure,' ES. No. 393; P. *koṭṭha*.

255. **kotabiri**, 'coriander,' LV. 37.—Sinh. *kotaṁburu*.

256. **koveli**, 'cuckoo.'—Sinh. *kovulu*, ES. No. 402; P. *kokila*.

257. **kubu**, 'mast.'—Sinh. *kuṁba*, ES. No. 361, 2; P. *kūpa*.

258. **kudi**, 'little, small,' LV. 60; *-dīn*, 'child,' Chr., LV. 10. —Sinh. *kudu*, ES. No. 357; P. *khudda*.

259. **kuḍa**, 'little, small.'—Sinh. *kuḍu*, ES. No. 357; Pkr. *khuḍḍa*.

260. **kukuḷu**, 'fowl (in general), hen.'—Sinh. *kukuḷu*, ES. No. 356; P. *kukkuṭa*.

261. **kukun**, 'saffron,' LV. 69.—Skr., P. *kuṅkuma*.

262. **kuḷi**, 'game.'—Sinh. *keli* or *keḷi*. Cf. ES. No. 327.
263. **kuḷu**, 'spittle.'—Sinh. *kela* or *keḷa*, ES. No. 388, 1; P. *khela*.
264. **kumaru**, 'potter,' LV. 81.—Sinh. *kumbal*, ES. No. 361; P. *kumbhakāra*.
265. **kuni**, 'dirt, filth,' Chr.—Sinh. *kunu*.
266. **kurafat** (Chr. *-fai*), 'knife, razor.'—*kura* = Skr. *kṣura*, P. *khura* + *fat*, q.v.
267. **kuran**, 'to make, to do.' *us-kuran*, 'to raise,' LV. 185; *hus-k°*, 'to empty,' Chr., etc.—Sinh. *karaṇu*, ES. No. 306, 1; P. *karoti*. Pret. *kuḷa* = Sinh. *kaḷa*, P. *kaṭa*; ger. *ko'* = Sinh. *koṭa*.
268. **kuren**, postpos., 'from, out of,' indicating the abl. case, Ggr.—Sinh. *keren*, ES. No. 381.
269. **kuru**, 'short'; *kuru-mīhā*, 'dwarf,' LV. 11.—Sinh. *kuru*, ES. No. 366.
270. **kurumba**, Ggr. (*-bā*), **kurubai**, LV. 66, 'unripe or green cocoanut.'—Sinh. *kurumbā*.

L, Ḷ.

271. **ladu**, 'shame, bashfulness,' Chr. *-dun*. *laduveri*, 'shameful.'—Sinh. *lada*, ES. No. 1235, 3; P. *lajjā*.
lahun, 'slow'; see *las*.
272. **lakuṇu**, 'spot, mark,' LV. 28.—Sinh. *lakuṇu*, ES. No. 1229; P. *lakkhaṇa*.
273. **lan** or **lān**, 'to apply, to put, to build'; *vaḷu-lān*, 'to bury.' Frequently used in compound verbs as *kaḍai-lān*, 'to cut,' LV. 188, etc.—Sinh. *lanu*, ES. No. 1236; P. *lāti*.
274. **las**, 'delay,' Chr.; *lahun*, 'slow, tardy,' Chr., LV. 158.—Sinh. *las*, ES. No. 1240; P. *alasa*.
275. **lē**, 'blood'; LV. 22, *lei*.—Sinh. *lē*, ES. No. 1252, 2; P. *lohita*.
276. **liyan**, 'to write,' Ggr., LV. 187; Chr. *līan*.—Sinh. *liyanu*, ES. No. 1245; P. *likhati*.
277. **lolu-boḍi**, 'eyeball'; see *lō*, No. 279.

278. **lonu**, 'salt.' *lonu-fen*, 'salt water'; *lonu-taṙi*, 'salt-cellar,' LV. 55.—Sinh. *luṇu*, ES. No. 1247; P. *loṇa*.

279. **lō**, 'eye'; *lō-maran*, 'to blind.' Py. writes *lols*. In LV. 17 we find *lolu-boḍi*, 'eyeball.' Chr. has *lolu-mau*, 'cataract (disease of the eye).'—Sinh. *lol*, *lel*, 'unfixed, unsteady, wavering,' ES. No. 1250; P. *lola*.

280. **lō**, 'copper, metal,' KV., Ggr. *ratu-lō*, the same, Chr.; *hudu-lō*, 'German silver,' Ggr.—Sinh. *loho*, *lō*, ES. No. 1258; P. *loha*.

281. **lui**, Chr., lūi, LV. 164, 'light, fragile.'—Sinh. *luhu*, ES. No. 1248; P. *lahu*.

282. **ḷa**, 'unripe, green, young, fresh.' *ḷa-as*, 'colt,' LV. 38; *ḷa-geri*, 'calf,' ibid.; *ḷa-darin*, 'babe,' Chr.—Sinh. *la*, ES. No. 1226, 1.

M.

283. **maburu**, 'bee.'—Dissimilation. Sinh. *bamb̆ara*, ES. No. 964; P. *bhamara*.

mačaġ, maččaġ, Chr., 'on, upon'; see *mati*.

284. **madiri**, 'musquito,' Chr. — Sinh. *maduru*, ES. No. 1049, 2.

285. **maḍoři**, a weight = 4 grains, LV. 120.—Sinh. *madaṭa*, ES. No. 1046; P. *mañjiṭṭhā*.

286. **madu**, 'pith.'—Sinh. *mada*, ES. No. 1045, 1; Skr. *majjan*.

287. **madu**, 'calm, smooth; less, few.' *madun*, 'calmly, slowly'; *madu-vān*, 'to become less, to decrease,' LV. 112.—Sinh. *mada*, ES. No. 1045, 3; P. *manda*.

288. **maḍi**, 'skate, flatfish.'—Sinh. *maḍu*.

289. **maḍu**, 'mud, scum.' *kanfatu-maḍu*, 'ear-wax'; *nēfatu-maḍu*, 'snot,' LV. 17.—Sinh. *maḍa*, ES. No. 1038; P. *maṇḍa*.

290. **maḍulu**, 'district,' occurring at the end of geographical names (Bell, The Maldive Islands, p. 19).—Sinh. *maḍulu*, 'circle, ring,' ES. No. 1040; P. *maṇḍala*.

291. **magu**, 'road, passage, way, path.'—Sinh. *maga*, ES. No. 1034; P. *magga*.

292. **mahānu**, 'mound, raised over a grave,' Chr. — An interesting word. It corresponds to Pkr. *masāṇa* = Skr. *śmaśāna*. The Sinh. *sohon*, *hōn*, comes from P. *susāna*, Pkr. *susāṇa*. Cf. ES. No. 1659.

mahu-teu, 'fish-oil'; see *mas*, No. 297.

293. **mai**, **māi**, 'mother'; *kiru-mai*, 'wet-nurse,' LV. 11.—Sinh. *mav*, *mā*, ES. No. 1065; P. *mātu*.

294. **makunu**, 'spider.'—Sinh. *makuṇu*.

295. **mali**, 'snare,' Ggr.—Sinh. *mal*.

296. **maran**, 'to kill'; *maru*, 'death, dead,' LV. 27, 175; *maruvān*, 'to die,' LV. 11.—Sinh. *maraṇu*, *maru*, ES. No. 1057, 1060; P. *māreti*, *māraka*.

297. **mas**, 'fish.' *kō-mas*, 'porpoise, whale,' Chr., Ggr.; *mahu-teu*, 'fish-oil, cod-liver oil,' Ggr.—Sinh. *mas*, ES. No. 1068, 1; P. *maccha*.

298. **mas**, 'month,' Ggr., LV. 119. — Sinh. *mas*, ES. No. 1068, 3; P. *māsa*.

299. **mas**, 'flesh.' *geri-mas*, 'beef,' *kambali-bakari-mas*, 'mutton,' Ggr.; *kuḍi-mas*, 'hashed meat,' LV. 53.—Sinh. *mas*, ES. No. 1068, 2; P. *maṃsa*.

300. **mas**, 'beard,' in *mati-mas*, 'mustachios' (cf. *mati*), Chr., Ggr., LV. 18, KV.—Sinh. *mas*, ES. No. 1068, 4; P. *massu*.

301. **mati**, 'upper, above, high; top, lid, cover.' *mati-gaḍu*, 'the upper millstone,' Chr.; *mati-mas*, 'mustachios'; *maćag*, *maććag*, Chr., *maća'*, Ggr., 'on, upon'; as *maća' aran*, 'to ride,' Ggr. — Sinh. *matu*, ES. No. 1043, 1.

302. **mau**, 'flower,' Chr., LV. 64; *male'*, 'a flower,' *mā*, 'flowers,' Ggr.; *mau-koṙi*, 'garden,' LV. 64.—Sinh. *mal*, ES. No. 1062, 2; P. *mālā*.

303. **mā-**, 'large, great.' Cf. *mā-banḍu*, 'pregnant,' Ggr., lit. having a large womb.—Sinh. *maha-*, *mā-*, ES. No. 1071, 1; 1077, 1; P. *mahā-*.

māi, 'mother'; see *mai*.

304. **medu**, 'middle'; *de mīhun medu*, 'between two persons,' LV. 214.—Sinh. *mäda*, ES. No. 1144; P. *majjha*.

305. **mehi**, 'fly.'—Sinh. *mäsi*, ES. No. 1151; Pkr. *macchiā*.

306. **mi**, pron., 'this.' *mi-tan*, 'here, at this place'; *mihen, mihidan*, 'thus.'—Sinh. *mē, metana*, etc.

307. **minan**, 'to measure,' Chr., LV. 120.—Sinh. *maninu*, ES. No. 1054; P. *mīnāti*.

308. **mirus**, 'pepper.'—Sinh. *miris*, ES. No. 1093; P. *marica*.

309. **miyaru**, 'shark,' Chr., Ggr.—Skr., P. *makara*.

310. **mīru**, 'pleasant, delightful, sweet'; *mīru-fen*, 'fresh water.'—Sinh. *mihiri, miyuru*, ES. No. 1091, 2; P. *madhura*.

311. **moiya, moya**, 'foolish, silly; insane, mad.'—Sinh. *moho, mō*, ES. No. 1136; P. *mogha, moha*.

312. **mō**, 'pestle.'—Sinh. *mohol, mōl*, ES. No. 1135; P. *musala*.

313. **mudi**, 'ring, earrings'; *sikka-mudi*, 'seal-ring,' LV. 81.—Sinh. *mudu*, ES. No. 1109; P. *muddā, muddikā*.

314. **mugoři**, 'mungoose' (?), LV. 41.—Sinh. *mugaṭi*.

315. **mugu**, 'kind of pulse, lentil,' Chr., LV. 79.—Sinh. *muñgu*, ES. No. 1103; P. *mugga*.

316. **mui**, Chr., **mutī**, LV. 49, **moul**, Py., 'pearl.'—Sinh. *mutu*, ES. No. 1106; P. *muttā*.

317. **muli'**, **muḷi'**, 'all, complete, whole.'—Sinh. *mulu, muḷu*. Cf. ES. No. 1110.

318. **muři**, 'mallet, hammer,' Ggr. (Chr. *muri*).—Sinh. *miṭi*, ES. No. 1081; P. *muṭṭhi*.

mutī, 'pearl'; see *mui*.

319. **mū**, 'root,' LV. 65; Py. *moul. mule'*, 'a root'; *mū*, 'roots,' Ggr.—Sinh. *mul*, ES. No. 1110; P. *mūla*.

320. **mūdu**, '(shallow) sea.'—Sinh. *muhudu, mūdu*, ES. No. 1118; P. *samudda*.

321. **mūnu**, 'face.'—Sinh. *muhunu, mūnu*, ES. No. 1119.

N.

322. **nagan**, 'to lift, to raise, to take'; *negi*, 'upright,' Chr.—Sinh. *naganu*, ES. No. 657; P. *laṅghati*.

323. **nagili**, 'anchor,' Chr., LV. 86.—P. *naṅgala*, Sinh. *nagul*, 'plough,' ES. No. 659.

324. **nagu** (recte *-gū* or *-gu'*), 'tail,' Ggr.; *nagulan dāři*, 'scorpion,' Ggr. — Sinh. *nagal, naguṭa.* Cf. ES. No. 656.

325. **nakat**, 'planet,' LV. 2, 146.—Sinh. *nakat, näkat*, ES. No. 654; P. *nakkhatta.*

326. **nama** (LV. 26, 130, *na'*), 'name'; *na' kuran*, 'to praise,' LV. 187.—Sinh. *nam*, ES. No. 666; P. *nāma.*

327. **nařan**, 'to dance,' LV. 183.—Sinh. *naṭanu*; P. *naṭṭa*, 'the dance.'

328. **nau**, 'ship, vessel.'—Sinh. *näv*, ES. No. 755; P. *nāvā.*

329. **nāru**, 'muscle, sinew, artery, vein.' — Sinh. *nahara*, ES. No. 678; P. *nahāra.*

negi, 'upright'; see *nagan.*

330. **neti**, 'not possessing, not having'; *buddi-neti*, 'without intelligence,' LV. 27.—Sinh. *näti*, ES. No. 749.

331. **nēfat**, pron. *-fai* (Py. *nepat*), 'nose'; *nēfatu maḍu*, 'snot,' LV. 17.—*nē* = Sinh. *nä, naha*, ES. No. 677; P. *nāsā* + *fat*, q.v.

332. **nēvā**, Chr., **nēvai**, LV. 21, 'breath, soul, life.' — *nē*, 'nose' (see *nēfat*), + *vā*, 'wind' = Sinh. *vā*, ES. No. 1327; P. *vāta.*

333. **niafati**, 'nail (of the finger),' Chr., Ggr.; KV. *niyaf°*, Py. *niapaty.* — *nia* = Sinh. *niya, nī*, ES. No. 700; P. *nakha* + *fat*, q.v.

334. **nianeti**, 'sagacity,' or better, 'sagacious,' LV. 135.—Sinh. *nuvanäti.* Cf. ES. No. 739.

335. **nidan**, 'to sleep'; *nidi*, 'sleep.'—Sinh. *nidi, nidu, nidāgannu*, ES. No. 692; P. *niddā.*

336. **nivan**, 'to become extinct, to end'; tr. *nivāilān*, 'to extinguish, to put out.'—Sinh. *nivenu*, ES. No. 698; P. *nibbāti.* The LV. 186 has also a verb *nimmān*, 'to end,' corresponding to Sinh. *nimenu.*

337. **niyā**, 'judgment,' LV. 104. *niyākan*, the same, Ggr.; *niyāveri*, 'judge.'—Sinh. *niyā*, ES. No. 704; P. *ñāya.*

338. **nu, nū**, neg., 'not.' *nume . . . nume*, 'neither . . . nor' (with emph. part. *-me* = Sinh. *-ma*), LV. 180.—Sinh. *no-, nu-*, ES. No. 653; P. *na.*

339. **nuva**, 'nine,' LV. 148. *nuvayen*, Py. *nouahet*; *nuvavana*, 'the ninth'; *nuvadiha*, 'ninety,' Ggr.—Sinh. *nava*, *nama*, ES. No. 667; P. *nava*.

340. **nū**, 'blue, green'; *nūhila*, 'lapis-lazuli,' LV. 48.—Sinh. *nil*, ES. No. 710; P. *nīla*.

nū, 'not'; see *nu*.

O, Ō.

341. **o'**, Ggr., **on**, LV. 78, **ōġ**, Chr., 'seed, kernel, bean.'—Sinh. *aṭa*, ES. No. 238; P. *aṭṭhi*.

342. **oi**, 'stream, rivulet,' LV. 3.—Sinh. *soya*, *hoya*, *oya*, *sŏ*, *ŏ*, ES. No. 225; P. *sota*.

343. **ona-**, 'less, deficient,' in *ona-vihi* '19,' *ona-tirīs* '29,' etc.—Cf. Sinh. *ek-un-visi*; Skr. *ūnaviṁśati*.

344. **oruva**, 'boat,' Ggr.—Sinh. *oru*, ES. No. 226; P. *uḷumpa*.

345. **ō'**, Ggr., **ōġ**, Chr., **on**, LV. 38, **ol**, Py., 'camel.'—Sinh. *oṭu*, ES. No. 220; P. *oṭṭha*.

ōġ, 'seed, kernel'; see *o'*.

R.

346. **ra'**, Ggr., LV. 111, **raġ**, Chr., **ral**, Py., 'country, land.' Cf. *raṙu gai hunna mīhā*, 'inhabitant,' LV. 110.—Sinh. *raṭa*, ES. No. 1186; P. *raṭṭha*.

347. **raha**, 'taste; quicksilver.'—Sinh. *raha*, *rā*, ES. No. 1197; P. *rasa*.

rai, 'red'; see *rat*.

348. **rakisboḍu**, 'bat,' LV. 41; *rakasboḍu*, 'bloodsucker,' J.R.A.S. Ceyl. Br. 24, 123.—*rakis* or *rakas* corresponds to Sinh. *rakus*, ES. No. 1184; P. *rakkhasa*.

349. **ran**, 'gold'; *ran-van-lō*, 'brass,' Chr., Ggr., lit. the gold-coloured metal.—Sinh. *ran*, ES. No. 1187; P. *hiraññ*a.

350. **rat**, Py., LV. 25, pronounced *rai*, Chr., Ggr., 'red'; *ratu-lō*, 'copper.'—Sinh. *rat*, ES. No. 1188, 1; P. *ratta*.

351. **rā**, 'sweet toddy,' Chr., Ggr.—The same as *raha*. Edw. Müller, however, derives the word from *surā* (cf. ES. No. 1195), but Pyrard has still the form *ras*.

rei, 'night'; see *rē*.

352. **res-kuran**, 'to assemble.'—*res* = Sinh. *räs*, ES. No. 1224, P. *rāsi* + *kuran*, q.v.

353. **rē**, Chr., Ggr., **rei**, LV. 9, 'night.'—Sinh. *rā*, ES. No. 1225; P. *ratti*.

354. **rihe**, 'ache, pain,' Chr.—Sinh. *rudā*, *ridenu*, ES. No. 1210; P. *rujā*.

355. **rihi**, 'silver.'—Sinh. *ridī*, ES. No. 1201; P. *rajata*.

356. **riveti**, **rīeti**, Chr., 'becoming, pretty, beautiful,' Chr., LV. 159.—Sinh. *ruvāti* = *riv*, Sinh. *ruv*, *rū*, ES. 1212; P. *rūpa* + *eti*; see s.v.

357. **riyan**, 'cubit,' LV. 121; Chr. *riyag*.—Sinh. *riyan*, ES. No. 1204; P. *ratana*.

358. **riyāu**, 'sail,' Chr., LV. 86.—Sinh. *ruval*.

359. **rodi**, 'thread (for sewing),' LV. 51.—Sinh. *rodu*, *rada*, ES. No. 1189, 3; P. *rajju*.

360. **ron**, **ronan**, 'to cry, to weep.'—Sinh. *ravanu*; P. *ravati*.

361. **rō**, 'light, clear, luminous.' Cf. *alifan rō-kuran*, 'to kindle a fire,' Ggr.—P. *rohita*, 'red.' The word *rō* has also the meaning 'unripe, green,' Ggr., as in *rō-fan-fulangi*, 'green grasshopper,' oppos. *hiki-fan-fulangi*, 'brown grasshopper,' Ggr.

362. **ru'**, Ggr., KV., **rū'**, Chr., **roul**, Py., 'cocoanut-tree.'—Sinh. *ruk*, ES. No. 1207; P. *rukkha*.

363. **rusavun**, 'to wish, to will'; *ruhun*, 'wish, will,' Ggr. *māt-kalāge russevīyāi*, 'if God permits, if it is God's will' (conditional mood), Geiger, Māld. Studien I, Sess. Pap. R. Bav. Ac. 1900, p. 679. — Sinh. *risi*, *russanu*, ES. No. 1206; P. *ruci*, *ruccati*.

rū', 'cocoanut-tree'; see *ru'*.

S.

sa-, 'six'; see *ha*.

satēka, 'hundred'; see *hiya*.

saura, 'four'; see *hatāru*.

364. **sāḷīs**, 'forty,' Ggr.—Sinh. *sataḷis*, *h°*; P. *cattāḷīsaṃ*. Cf. ES. No. 1593.

T.

tabu, 'pillar'; see *tambu*.

365. **taburu-mau**, 'lotos-flower,' LV. 68.—Sinh. *taṁburu*, ES. *No. 491*; P. *tamba*, Skr. *tāmra*.

366. **tadu**, 'pain,' Chr., LV. *27, 94*; *tadu-kan*, 'misery,' Ggr. —Sinh. *tada*, ES. No. 487; P. *thaddha*. The original meaning of *tadu* was probably 'pressure.'

367. **tala**, 'palate,' LV. 18.—Sinh. *taḷu*, n.sg. *talla*; Skr., P. *tālu*.

368. **taḷan**, 'to beat, to castigate.'—Sinh. *taḷanu*, ES. No. 506; P. *tāḷeti*.

369. **taḷu**, 'lock.' *taḷu-daḍi*, 'key,' Chr., LV. 57, KV.; *taḷu-muharu*, 'ring or knocker of a door,' LV. 57; *taḷu-vaḷu*, 'lock-hole,' ibid.—P. *tāḷa*, Skr. *tāla*.

370. **tambu**, Ggr., **tabu**, LV. 56, 'pillar.'—Sinh. *ṭaṁba*, ES. No. 482; P. *thambha*.

371. **tan**, 'place, residence.'—Sinh. *tan*, *tän*, ES. No. 488; P. *ṭhāna*.

372. **tan**, 'body,' in *tan-makunu*, 'bug,' Chr., 'flea,' LV. 46. —Sinh. *tunu*, ES. No. 520, 1; Skr., P. *tanu*.

373. **tari**, 'star.'—Sinh. *taru*, ES. No. 497; P. *tārā*.

374. **taři**, 'plate, basin'; Chr. *tari*, 'cup.' *fen-bō-taři*, 'cup,' LV. 35; *lonu-taři*, 'salt-cellar,' LV. 55.—Sinh. *taṭu*.

375. **teli**, 'pot,' LV. 60.—Sinh. *tali*, *täli*, ES. No. 502; P. *thālī*.

376. **teman**, 'to be wet'; tr. *temāilān*, 'to wet.'—Sinh. *temenu*, ES. No. 532; P. *temeti*.

377. **teu**, LV. 55, Ggr., **tēu**, Chr., 'oil.'—Sinh. *tel*, ES. No. 535; P. *tela*.

378. **tēra**, 'thirteen,' Ggr.—P. *terasa*, but Sinh. *teḷesa*.

379. **tiben**, 'to continue, to be, to live, to belong.'—Sinh. *tibenu*, ES. No. 512.

380. **tiki**, 'somewhat, a little'; *fen tiki*, 'a drop of water,' LV. 9.—Sinh. *ṭika*, ES. No. 480.

381. **tila**, 'surface.' *fāetila*, 'foot,' see *fai*; *aitila*, 'hand,' see *at*.—Sinh. *tala*, ES. No. 499, 2; P. *tala*.

382. **tileu-on**, 'sesame,' LV. 54.—Sinh., Skr., P. *tila*, cf. *o'*.
383. **timā**, 'he, himself.'—Sinh. *tamā*, ES. No. 493.
384. **tin**, 'three'; Ggr. *tinēi*; *tinvana*, 'the third'; *tēvīs*, '23'; *tettirīs*, '33,' Ggr.—Sinh. *tun*, ES. No. 519.
385. **tuḍu**, 'edge, point'; *tīra-tuḍu*, 'arrow-head,' LV. 91.—Sinh. *tuḍa*, 'beak, mouth,' ES. No. 518; P. *tuṇḍa*.
386. **tuni**, 'thin.'—Sinh. *tunu*, ES. No. 520, 2; P. *tanu*.

U, Ū.

387. **udun**, 'fireplace,' Ggr., LV. 60. — Sinh. *udun*, ES. No. 174; P. *uddhana*.
388. **uḍu**, 'high,' Ggr.; 'sky, firmament,' Chr., Ggr., LV. 2, KV.—Sinh. *uḍu*, ES. No. 167; P. *uddha*.
389. **ufadinun**, 'birth,' Ggr.—Nom. verb.; cf. Sinh. *upadinu*, ES. No. 180; P. *uppajjati*.
390. **ufulyan**, 'to raise, to lift up,' Ggr.—Sinh. *upulvanu*.
391. **ufuran**, 'to pluck out, to eradicate,' Ggr. — Sinh. *upuraṇu*, ES. No. 181; P. *uppāṭeti*.
392. **ugen**, 'to learn,' LV. 185.—Sinh. *ugannu*, ES. No. 162; P. *uggaṇhāti*.
uguli, 'scarlet'; see *ungulu*.
393. **uhulān**, 'to raise, to bear, to carry,' LV. 187.—Sinh. *usulanu*, ES. No. 204; P. *uccāleti*.
394. **ui**, 'thread,' Chr., Ggr., LV. 85; *ui-dau*, 'net,' LV. 85. —Sinh. *hū*, ES. No. 1640.
395. **ukān**, 'to heave, to raise, to carry'; *duni-ukā-mīhu*, 'hunter,' LV. 85.—Sinh. *ukanu*, ES. No. 157.
396. **ukuḷu**, 'groins,' LV. 19.—Sinh. *ukul*, ES. No. 160; Skr. *utkaṭa*.
397. **ukunu**, 'louse.'—Sinh. *ukuṇu*, ES. No. 159; Skr. *utkaṇa*.
398. **ullū**, 'owl,' LV. 43.—Skr., P. *ulūka*.
399. **uḷai**, 'bracelet, ring,' LV. 52; Chr. *uḷaǧ*, Py. *oulà*.—Sinh. *valalu*. Cf. ES. No. 1305, 1.
400. **umagu**, 'hollow,' LV. 153.—Sinh. *umaga*, ES. No. 184; P. *ummagga*.
401. **ungulu**, 'vermilion, scarlet,' Ggr., LV. 34; Chr. *uguli*. —Sinh. *iṅgul*, ES. No. 122; P. *hiṅguli*.

402. **uni**, 'bamboo,' Bell, The Maldive Islands, p. 2.—Sinh. *uṇa.*

403. **ura-mati**, 'breast, chest, bosom,' Chr., LV. 18; 'the nipples,' Ggr.—Sinh. *ura*, ES. No. 193; P. *ura.* Cf. s.v. *mati.*

404. **us**, 'high.' *us-kuran*, 'to raise,' LV. 185; *us-māi*, 'mother-in-law,' LV. 13; *us-bin*, 'cultivated land,' LV. 70.—Sinh. *us*, ES. No. 200; P. *ucca.*

405. **us**, 'sugar-cane'; *us-sakuru*, *us-hakuru*, '(common) sugar,' Chr., Ggr., LV. 55, KV.—P. *ucchu*; but Sinh. *uk*, ES. No. 155.

406. **uturu**, 'north, northern,' Ggr., LV. 166; Py. *outourou.*—Sinh. *uturu*, ES. No. 171; P. *uttara.*

407. **ū**, 'fork,' Ggr.—Sinh. *ul*, ES. No. 194; P. *sūla.*

408. **ūru**, 'pig.'—Sinh. *ūru*, ES. No. 207; P. *sūkara.*

V.

409. **va'**, 'round' (Chr. writes *vag*).—Sinh. *vaṭa*, ES. No. 1266; P. *vaṭṭa.*

410. **vaḍan**, 'carpenter's work,' in *vaḍan-kurā-mīhun*, 'carpenter,' Chr., LV. 80; *vaḍan-kaṙi*, 'chisel,' LV. 81.—A Prākritic **vaḍḍhana* is to be supposed. Cf. Sinh. *vaḍu*, 'carpenter,' ES. No. 1270 = P. *vaḍḍhaki.*

411. **vaḍāigennavān**, 'to walk' (highest language), Chr.—Sinh. *vaḍinu*, ES. No. 1269; P. *vaḍḍhati.*

412. **vagu**, 'leopard; thief,' Ggr. *valu-vagu*, 'tiger,' LV. 39; *vakkan* (= *vag-kan*), 'theft,' Ggr.—Sinh. *vag*, ES. No. 1262; P. *vyaggha.*

413. **vaha**, 'story, tale, legend.'—Sinh. *vasa*, ES. No. 1309, 1; P. *vācā.*

vai, 'left arm'; see *vāt.*

414. **vai**, 'wind,' LV. 9; Ggr., Chr. *vāe*, Py. *vaé.*—Sinh. *vā*, ES. No. 1327; P. *vāta.*

415. **vaḷu**, 'grave, pit, hole, well.' *vaḷu-lān*, 'to bury,' Chr., LV. 118; *fen-vaḷu*, 'cistern,' LV. 61; *fiya-vaḷu*, 'foot-print,' Ggr.—Sinh. *vaḷa*, ES. No. 1326; Skr. *avata.*

416. **van**, 'colour,' or according to the Sinh. 'like, similar.' Cf. *ran-van-lō*, 'brass,' lit. golden-coloured or gold-like metal, Chr., Ggr.—Sinh. *van*, ES. 1286; P. *vaṇṇa*.

417. **vannan**, 'to enter,' Chr.—By assimilation from **vadnan* = Sinh. *vadinu*, ES. No. 1281; P. *vajati*.

418. **vaṙan**, 'to twist'; *rōnu-vaṙā-mīhu*, 'rope-maker,' LV. 81. —Skr. *vartayati*. The Sinh. has not preserved the corresponding verb, but cf. *vāṭi*, 'wick'; P. *vaṭṭi(kā)*.

419. **vau**, 'forest,' LV. 71; *valu-vagu*, 'tiger,' LV. 39.—Sinh. *val*, ES. No. 1301.

vāe, 'wind'; see *vai*.

420. **vān**, 'to become, to be,' LV. 182, 186. *gina-vān*, 'to increase'; *madu-vān*, 'to decrease,' LV. 112.—Sinh. *venu*, ES. No. 1387.

421. **vārē** (*-ei*), 'rain,' Chr., Ggr., LV. 7; *vare-pene*, 'rain-water,' Py.—Sinh. *vaharē*.

422. **vāt**, LV. 20, **vā'**, J.R.A.S. Ceyl. Br. No. 24, p. 124, **vai**, Chr., 'left arm.'—Contracted from *va'* = Sinh. *vam*, ES. No. 1288, 1; P. *vāma* + *at*.

423. **vedun**, 'offering, present,' Chr. — Sinh. *väṅdum*, 'worship, adoration'; *vaṅdinu*, ES. No. 1284 = *vandati*. Cf. Māld. *vedun kuran*, 'to be attached,' LV. 101.

424. **veheṅ**, 'to rain,' LV. 185. *vārē veheni*, 'it rains'; *fini veheni*, 'it dews,' LV. 9, 10.—Sinh. *vahinu*.

425. **veli**, 'earth, mould, sand.'—Sinh. *väli*, ES. No. 1412; P. *vālukā*.

426. **veṭṭan**, 'to fall,' Chr.; *-en*, LV. 183; *veṭṭāilān*, 'to fell,' Chr.—Sinh. *väṭenu*, ES. No. 1404.

427. **veu**, 'tank.'—Sinh. *väv*, ES. No. 1413; P. *vāpi*.

428. **vidu**, LV. 2, **vidani**, Chr., Ggr., 'flame, flash, lightning'; *vidu-vidu-ǰahan*, 'to shine, to flash,' LV. 188.—Sinh. *vidu*, *viduli*, ES. 1388; P. *vijju*, *vijjullatā*.

429. **viha**, 'poison.'—Sinh. *visa*, ES. No. 1320; P. *visa*.

430. **vihi**, **vīs**, 'twenty,' Ggr. *onavihi*, '19'; *ekāvīs*, *bāvīs*, '21, 22,' etc., Ggr.—Sinh. *visi*, ES. No. 1375; P. *vīsati*, *vīsaṃ*.

431. **vikkan**, 'to sell.' — Sinh. *vikuṇanu*, ES. No. 1328; P. *vikkiṇāti*.

432. **vilā**, 'cloud.'—Sinh. *valā*, ES. No. 1305; P. *valāhaka*.
433. **viyan**, 'to weave,' Chr., LV. 139.—Sinh. *viyanu*, ES. No. 1348; Skr. *vayati*.
434. **vī**, 'rice.'—Sinh. *vī*, ES. No. 1378; P. *vīhi*.
vīs, 'twenty'; see *vihi*.
435. **vo'**, **voġ**, Chr., **von**, LV. 60, 'lamp.'—Sinh. *vāṭa*.

ART. XXXI.—*Historical Notes on South-East Persia.* By Major P. MOLESWORTH SYKES, C.M.G., Royal Gold Medallist of the Royal Geographical Society.

SOUTH-EAST Persia, the history of which I propose to discuss very briefly,[1] consists of the provinces of Kirmān and Persian Baluchistān, in which I have been travelling since 1893, and where I was commissioned to found a consulate in 1894. Before, however, approaching their history, it seems advisable to recapitulate the physical features of these desert provinces, which, as elsewhere, have mainly owed their history to their geographical conditions.

Southern Persia and Baluchistān occupy some twenty degrees of longitude on the map, and lie between the rich alluvial plains and ancient civilizations of the Euphrates, Tigris, and Kārun on the west, and that of the Indus on the east. The provinces discussed in this paper hold a central position, with Fārs on the west and British Baluchistān on the east; they were consequently somewhat remote from both these centres of civilization.

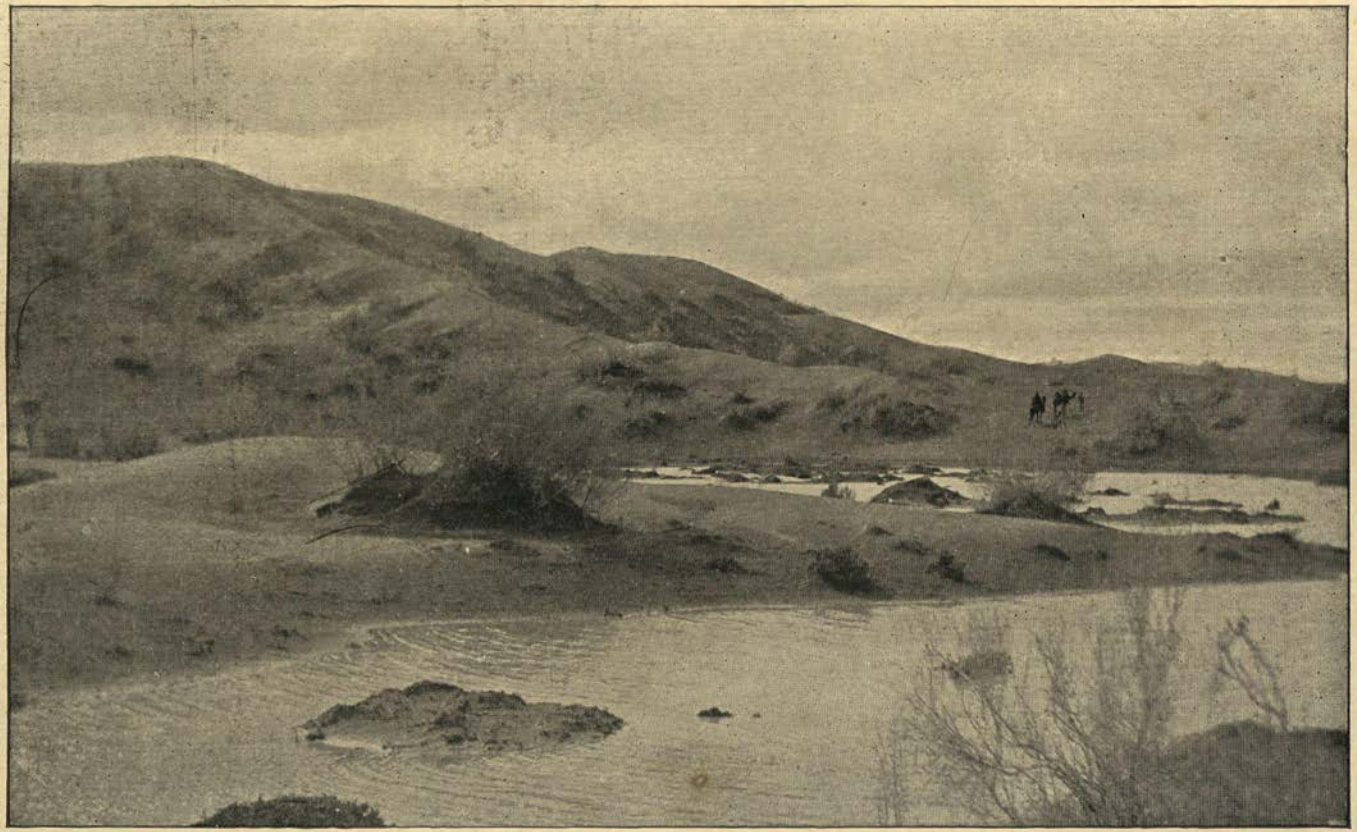
I begin with Kirmān, which is a province of great interest if only for the various climates, products, and peoples that it contains. In common with the whole coast of Southern Persia, the country lies low for a considerable distance inland; the heat at the ports is terrible, and there are no good harbours, while as there is always either too much or too little wind in the Persian Gulf, navigation is by no means easy. This coast strip is backed by successive ranges all running parallel to the coast, i.e. with a north-west

[1] In my recently published work, "Ten Thousand Miles in Persia" (John Murray), two chapters are devoted to the history of the province of Kirmān and two to that of Persian Baluchistān. There is also a chapter which refers to the history of Sīstān, and throughout there are many historical notes.

trend. In some parts the altitude increases gradually, but in Jīruft the low-lying country runs up to the mighty mountain barrier which holds up the Irānian plateau, and, as a consequence, enjoys a comparatively generous rainfall. In this range, to the south of Kirmān city, I have scaled two peaks, the Kuh-i-Shāh and Kuh-i-Hazār, which attain the great altitude of 14,000 feet. North of these Titans the country gradually sinks, although round the capital the ranges touch 13,000 feet, but beyond them are the low-lying wastes of the Lūt, the great desert of Persia. This "land of drought and of the shadow of death" stretches for hundreds of miles to the north, and forms a greater hindrance to intercourse and invasion than any range of mountains. Just as the traveller from the Persian Gulf has to cross range after range at right angles before reaching the Irānian plateau, so too his onward journey is rendered most difficult by the funereal waste of the Lūt. It must also be remembered that even outside the sinister influence of the Lūt South-East Persia is by no means fertile, and is best described as desert tempered by oases. It is hard for dwellers in Europe to realize what it means to be absolutely dependent for all crops on irrigation, but when that is once grasped the immense importance of the mountains of Persia is evident, as without these storehouses of snow the whole country would be almost uninhabitable except by a few nomads.

The inhabitants of this huge area number perhaps 750,000, and may be divided into dwellers in towns or villages and nomads. The dwellers in houses are Irānians, the pre-Aryan inhabitants and also the successive hordes of invaders having generally continued their wandering life, which is much the same as that depicted in the book of Job. Indeed, the life of a nomad is most antagonistic to civilization. Among the tribes in the province are ancient Persian clans, *e.g.* the Lak, also Arabs, Mongols, Baluchis, Turks, and gypsies.

We now come to Persian Baluchistān, which includes the western half of Makrān, the eastern and larger portion of



THE LŪT.

Baluchistān being either British or under British influence. The whole country approximately corresponds to the seventeenth satrapy of Darius as recorded by Herodotus.

Physically speaking, Makrān includes the coast strip as far inland as the watershed of the first important range of hills. This district is washed by the Arabian Sea, and just as its coastline approximately trends east and west, so too its ranges run parallel to the coast, and are, if anything, more difficult to cross than those further west. North of Makrān the country slopes down to the level of the Lūt, which not only envelops it on the north, but also separates it from Kirmān, so that few, if any, countries are so inaccessible as Persian Baluchistān. It is consequently not surprising that, after the expedition of Alexander the Great, no European travelled in this forgotten land until less than a century ago.

In the district of Sarhad, bordering on Sīstān, is the remarkable Kuh-i-Taftān or Chahīl Tan, which I scaled in 1893 when I discovered a volcano in the solfatara stage of existence. Round this range, which runs up to nearly 13,000 feet, the country is high and should be comparatively fertile, while to the west is the Lūt and to the east the equally dreary wilderness of Khārān. Baluchistān, indeed, is far less fertile than Kirmān, and is concisely described in the Baluchi proverb which relates that when the Almighty created the world Baluchistān was formed from the refuse material. Its inhabitants may number 250,000, all of whom rank low in the scale of civilization. The darkest and oldest tribes are probably of Dravidian origin, the Baluchis are Aryans from the vicinity of the Caspian, and there is a medley of Arabs, Tatārs, Kurds, and Rajputs which causes the anthropologist to despair.

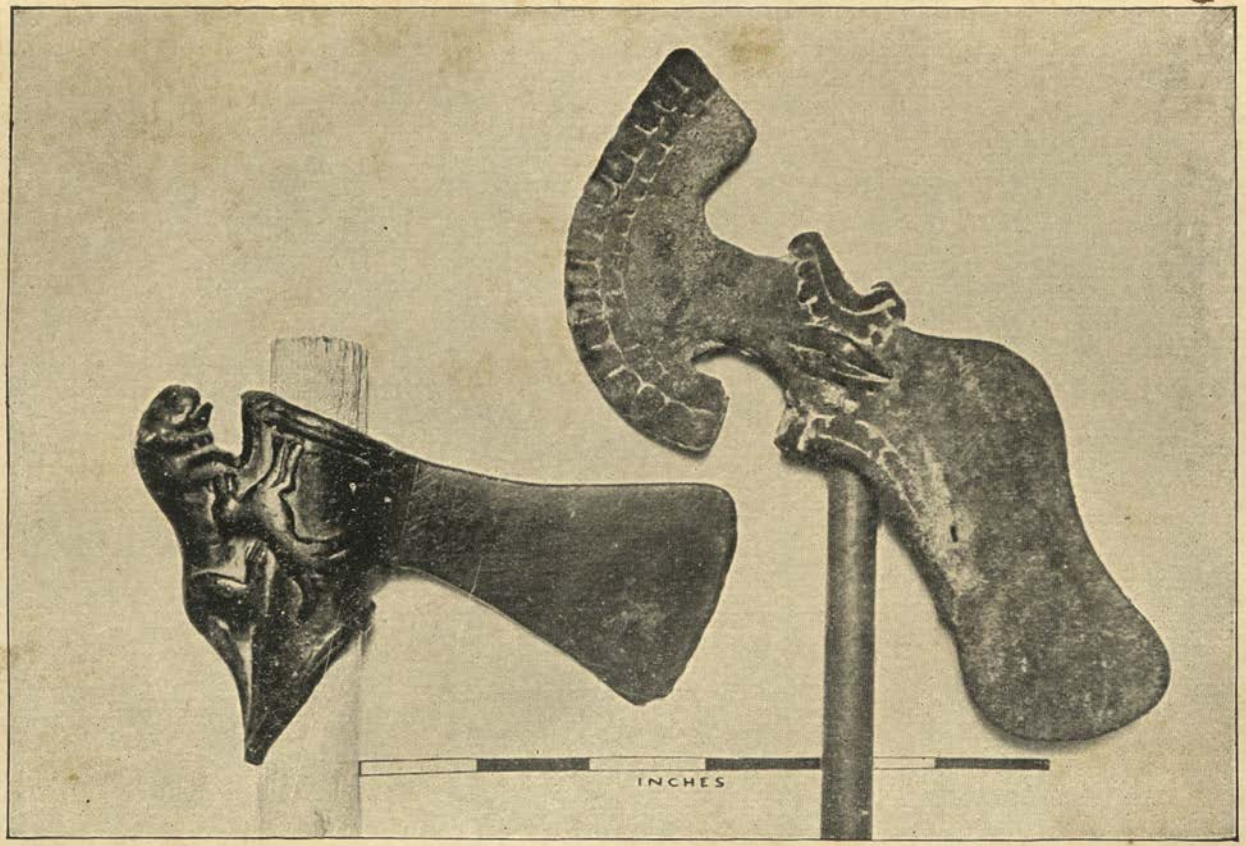
To sum up, both provinces are difficult of access from the north or south, and Baluchistān is also flanked on the west by an arm of the Lūt. Consequently no invasion has taken place by sea, and the provinces have escaped the fell massacres of Chengiz and Tamerlane. On the other hand, they have paid the penalty of remoteness by remaining

backward, and the southern prolongation of the Lūt made Baluchistān, until comparatively recent times, a separate province independent of Persia; Kirmān, on the other hand, has looked to Fārs and Arabistān for its civilization, and it was from the west that it was overrun by the Arabs.

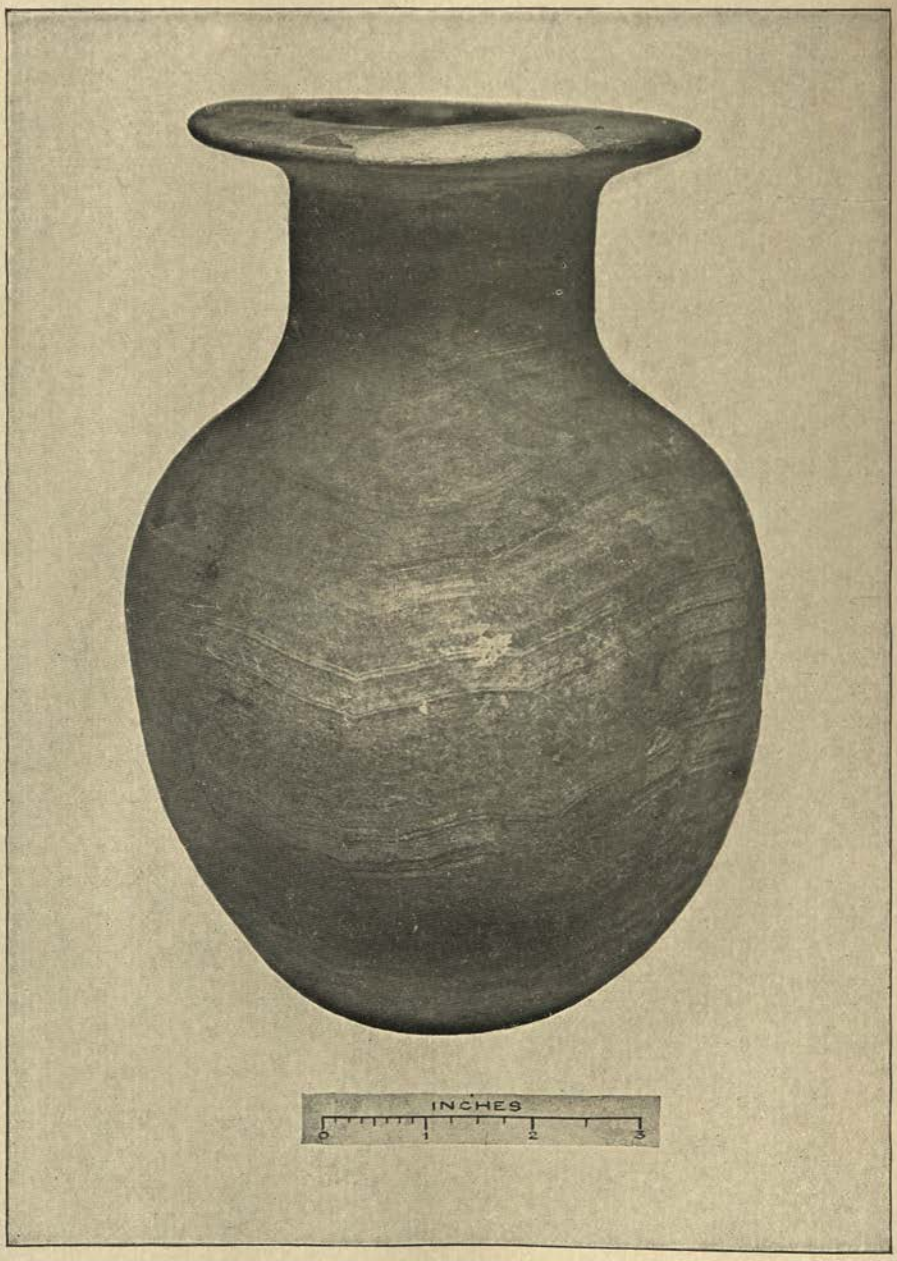
After this brief description of the province, I now propose to discuss its history. Herodotus mentions the Germanii as forming one of the twelve tribes of Persia, while the fourteenth satrapy of Darius, as he describes it, includes the province of Kirmān as it is to-day. To this period we may assign the bronzes, an account of which may be of interest.

A Khān of Khināmān, a small district to the west of Kirmān city, informed me that he had found a number of these articles, and when I was able I paid him a visit and enquired as to the details of the find. My host said that hundreds of tombs were discovered, some five feet below the surface of the ground. The corpses had crumbled into dust, and it could not be ascertained in what direction they had been laid—a very important point. In each tomb were a yellow jar of pottery, round bowls of three sizes, a pair of bracelets, two pins, and some arrow and spear heads, all of which were of bronze except the vessels. In addition, two or three cornelian gems were found, and some small silver earrings and bracelets, which I did not see. The custom of placing a cornelian in a dead man's mouth, with the names of the twelve *Imām* engraved on it, is one that obtains nowadays. An axe-head was also shown me, and there were, in addition, two handles, which may have fitted some other weapon, but not the axe-head. This completed the list of the bronzes. The vessels were of three types, one being clearly a lamp, and of the others one exactly resembled the modern Persian pocket-bowl, which is carried for drinking purposes. Some great jars, much like the *khom* of to-day, but shorter and wider, were also shown. In them a yellow dust had been found, possibly wheat or millet, but this had all been thrown away.

Mr. C. Hercules Read, of the British Museum, has very kindly furnished me with the following note on the axe-head:



BRONZE AXE-HEAD FOUND AT KHINĀMĀN (RIGHT), COMPARED WITH AXE-HEAD FOUND IN ARMENIA.



GREEK ALABASTER VASE FROM JĪRUFT.

"The special interest of the bronze axe found at Khināmān is that its form shows it to be, not a useful weapon, but a survival or degradation of such an implement. The angle at which the blade is set to the handle shows that it can have no real utility, while, on the other hand, the exaggerated crest which forms a sort of counterpoise to the blade is out of all proportion to the mass of the weapon as such.

"The axe from Armenia, a fairly remote district, in Canon Greenwell's collection, has certain analogies with it, but differs essentially in being manifestly a serviceable weapon. The socket, in this case, is large enough to admit a stout strong handle, while the ornamental lion is small, and well adapted as an ornamental appendage. The angle at which the blade is set to the shaft is also a clear indication that it was intended for use. Widely different in general appearance as these two objects are, there seems to me to be a clear resemblance in essentials, and in time this may be made clearer by further excavations and discoveries in the country intervening between South-East Persia and the Black Sea."

We may, I think, conclude that this most interesting find dates from the Achaemenian period, although the pottery tends to show that it belongs to a late stage of that epoch.

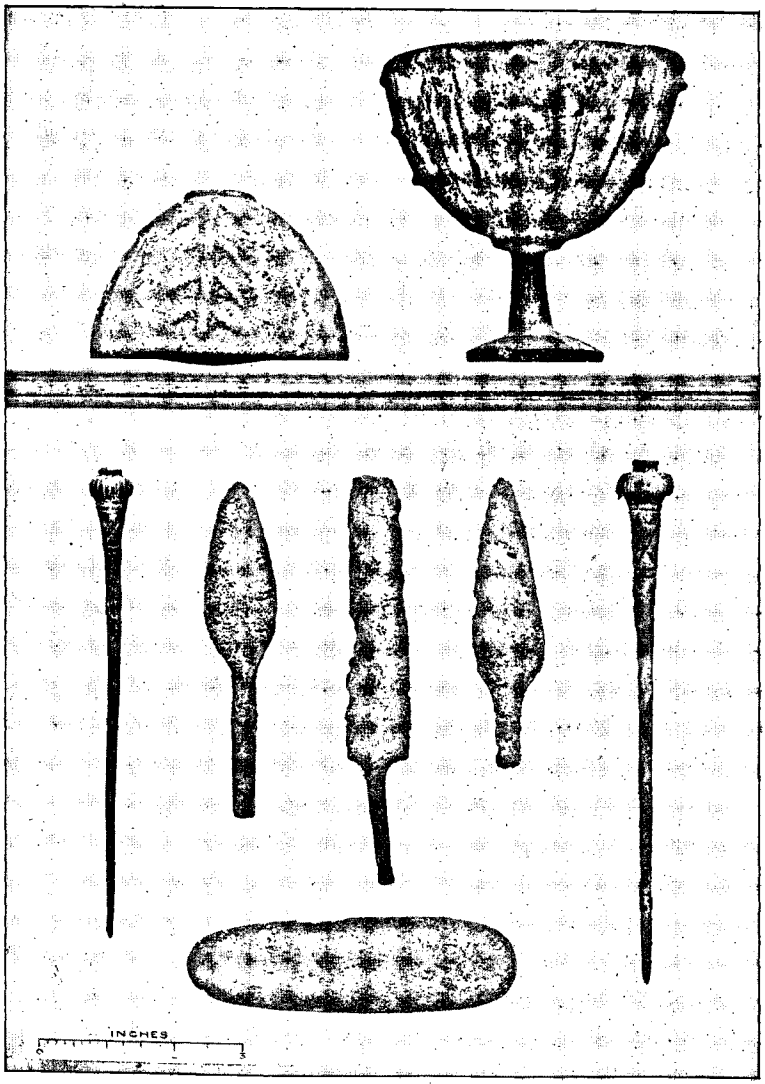
The next historical event of importance to which I would draw your attention is the march of Alexander the Great from the Indus to the Kārun. Some years ago I proved that the mighty Iskandar Rūmi, as he is termed in the East, halted for a considerable time in the valley of the Halīl Rūd to the south of Kirmān.[1] At the end of 1900 I revisited that valley, and one of my servants brought me a vase of Oriental alabaster which he had bartered for an old pair of trousers. This interesting antique is pronounced by the British Museum to be a Greek unguent vase of the fourth century B.C., and was probably left behind by the army of Alexander the Great. It has furnished me with gratifying evidence that my deductions were probably correct.

[1] *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 173 et seq.

During the period of what is now termed the Parthian dynasty, I have found no reference to Kirmān, but it became famous when, after the conquest of Fārs, it was seized by Ardeshīr, the son of Pāpak, who finally defeated Artabanus or Ardavān in a desperately contested battle near Rām Hurmuz, with the result that, after enduring a foreign yoke for five centuries, a national dynasty was re-established in the house of Sāsān, which lasted until the Arab conquest.

In connection with the illustrious Ardeshīr I would invite attention to Bam, which is situated about 120 miles to the E.S.E. of Kirmān, and is the last town in Persia in this direction. Indeed, a journey of 600 miles across deserts must be undertaken before Nushki and Quetta are reached. Bam from early times has been of note in Persia. The district was designated *Arba'* or Four, from its four cities of Bam, Rīgān, Narmāshīr, and Nisa. Of these, Bam and Rīgān were founded by Bahman, Ardeshīr can claim the credit of building the city of Narmāshīr, and his wife constructed the dam on which Nisa depended. It was also the home of Haftān-bokht, Ardeshīr's great rival, in connection with whom a curious legend is recounted in the Pahlavi *Kārnāmak-i-Artakshīr-i-Pāpakān* and also in the *Shāh Nāmeh*. The daughter of Haftān-bokht, when spinning with other maidens, picked up an apple, within which she found a worm. She thereupon vowed that if she completed her allotted task before the others, she would save the worm alive. Almost at once her spinning was miraculously accomplished, and, faithful to her promise, she cherished the worm. From this time the family of Haftān-bokht prospered exceedingly, until its chief became the ruler of the province of Kirmān.

According to the Pahlavi work, "the army of Haftān-bokht attacked a caravan of Ardeshīr, and brought the spoils to Guzārān, a borough of Gulār, where the worm had its abode. Now as regards the (worm) idolatry, it (grew) so powerful that five thousand men, who composed its forces in the different frontiers of Sind, assembled, and Haftān-bokht too collected his army. Ardeshīr sent to battle with the worm,



COPPER BOWLS FROM VICINITY OF KIRMĀN, AND BRONZE IMPLEMENTS FROM KHINĀMĀN.

but its supporters took refuge in the hills and, falling on his army at night, routed it. Ardeshīr then took the field in person, but was also routed, and barely escaped with his life." However, the worm and its supporters were finally defeated by a stratagem, Ardeshīr or one of his adherents visiting Guzārān in disguise, and pouring molten tin down the worm's throat, which effected the death of the monster and the overthrow of Haftān-bokht. At one time I thought that this fable of the worm was a poetical description of the introduction of the silkworm, but later I came to the conclusion that it must be a legend of snake worship. Professor E. G. Browne, however, makes the happy suggestion that perhaps both these ideas were embodied in the legend, and this seems extremely likely.

Guzārān of the Pahlavi and Kujārān of the *Shāh Nāmeh*, which is probably the site of ancient Bam, is situated about a mile above the fort on the river. It is now a ruin and known as Kuzārān, which is almost exactly the same word as Guzārān, and even to-day one of the gates of the Bam Fort is known as Kut-i-Kirm, or the Fort of the Worm.

I will now discuss the capitals of Kirmān and give my reasons for having located the *Carmana omnium mater* of Ammianus Marcellinus in or a little to the north of Jīruft. Modern Kirmān mainly lies a little to the west of a more ancient city, which, on good authority, is stated to have been founded by Ardeshīr. But it became the capital of the province about A.H. 315 (928), when Abu Ali Muhammad ibn Īliās seized the province. Before this what is now known as the Kala-i-Sang of Sīrjān was the capital. Mr. Guy Le Strange,[1] trusting to the accounts of Arab travellers, and unaware of the results of my visit to Sīrjān, thought that this capital was to be found elsewhere, but my explorations have caused him to change his views. I would beg to express a sense of my gratitude for the assistance which I have derived from his studies.

I would now invite your attention to Sai'īdābād, about

[1] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (April, 1901).

100 miles south-west of Kirmān. From this town I rode a few miles east in order to explore thoroughly what is undoubtedly an ancient capital of the province, though, to the best of my knowledge, it has been ignored by the very few travellers who have passed this way. Kal'a-i-Sang, or Stone Fort, is also known as Kal'a-i-Bayzā, and rises in glorious whiteness some 300 feet above the level plain. Its direction is from north-east to south-west, and its length 400 yards, its breadth being rather less than 200 yards. Approached from the north this remarkable limestone crag is surrounded at some fifty yards from its base by a low sun-dried brick wall, which bore traces of having been rebuilt on older foundations. Inside this we found a beautiful stone pulpit some five feet high, on one side of which were four rows of *Naskh* inscription; a fifth row had been obliterated.

While laboriously trying to make out the meaning of the inscription, three ragged peasants appeared and at once began to decipher it. I was not surprised to hear that their leader was the *mullā* of the village, and we learned from him that the pulpit had been constructed by Sultān Ahmad, 'Imād-ud-Dīn of the Muzaffar dynasty of Kirmān in A.H. 789 (1387). The inscription ran: "The Sovereign, great, just, glorious, and victorious, Sultān Ahmad." We were furthermore informed that the headman of the adjacent village of 'Izzetābād had wished to remove the pulpit to his village, and in order to lighten it the top row of the inscription had been hammered off, after which the task was given up, as the pulpit is a monolith, and must exceed two or three tons in weight.

Under the *mullā's* guidance we moved round to the south-west corner, where, as also at the north-east angle, there is a high traverse wall, the intervening space to the south having evidently been the ruler's residence. On this side the inner wall is some forty yards from the cliff, and the outer is 200 yards distant, so that the total area enclosed was considerable.

The sole approach to the fort is on the south-west, where we found a second inscription on the right-hand side, just

below the remains of a brick dam. Nothing, however, could be read until I sent for a skin of water and carefully washed the surface of the rock, when we made out a few lines to the following effect: "In this blissful abode Amīr Ā'zam Husayn-ibn-Ali constructed the *Hammām.*" The date was apparently A.H. 410 (1019), but as the third cipher was not clear it may have been anything from A.H. 410 to 420 (1019–1029). The individual who thus perpetuated his memory was almost certainly the Deilami Governor, but I have not been able to identify him further. The ruins of the *Hammām* were, however, clearly visible, the foundations of the stove having remained almost intact.

On the crest of the hill the buildings have practically disappeared, and the same is generally true of the walls, but under the north-east and highest portion of the crag is a fine grotto, known as the "King's Seat," which is faced by the pulpit, and yet a third inscription, giving the name of Muhammad Shāh, was delicately chiselled in the rock. As there was no date, it was impossible to identify who was the particular sovereign thus commemorated.

Below is a second grotto, known as the *Anderūn*, where the ladies spent the heat of the day; and as the cliff is quite inaccessible on this face, it must have formed an ideal retreat for a Persian ruler. No antiquities of any kind were forthcoming, except a lustred tile, which at once showed that this fort was inhabited during the thirteenth century, while history relates that it was the prison of the founder of the Muzaffar dynasty in the middle of the fourteenth century.

Afzal Kirmāni, who flourished in A.D. 1188, wrote: "Among the divisions of Kirmān is Sīrjān, the ancient capital of Bardsīr, a fine fertile district; and in Seljuk times they drew their troops thence, and kept a large garrison in it, as being on the Kirmān-Fārs boundary. And in Sīrjān are many old graves, and travellers and Sufis term it Lesser Syria. And there is a great fort reaching to the clouds."

Sīrjān, as already said, is the older Moslem capital of Kirmān, but we now come to the question of the ancient

capital of the province, known in classic times as *Carmana omnium mater*, about which we are not without clear information, as already stated in my larger work. Ibn Haukal,[1] in the first place, mentions that "between Jīruft and Bam is Hurmūz-ul-Malik, now known as Kariat-ul-Jauz"; and he gives more than one itinerary, enabling us to fix the site. The first is as follows:—

Rayin to Sarvistān	...	...	1 stage.
Sarvistān to Dārjīn	...	...	1 „ (short).
Dārjīn to Bam ...	...	...	1 „

All these stages are well known to me. Again,[2] starting from Sarvistān we have a second itinerary as follows:—

Sarvistān to Hurmūz	...	...	1 stage.
Hurmūz to Jīruft	...	...	1 „

Finally, Muḳaddasi[3] aids us in our identification of the site by the following itinerary:—

Dārjīn to Hurmūz	...	...	1 stage.
Hurmūz to Jīruft	...	...	1 „

The site we seek is consequently not in the Jīruft plain, but in the hills of the Jabal Bāriz. I have twice travelled along this very route, and have noticed large kiln-burnt bricks and other ruins at Saghdār. I hope to return to Kirmān in the autumn, when a careful investigation of Marghak, Deh Bakri, Maskun, and Saghdār will be made. As there would have been sufficient arable land nowhere else, the search can be confined to these four sites. One of these hamlets, then, is the site of the *Carmana omnium mater* of Ammianus Marcellinus, and from my local knowledge I should select Saghdār, which is on the banks of a perennial

[1] P. 219 of the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* edition, by De Goeje.
[2] *Ibn Haukal*, p. 225. For Sarvistān *vide* "Ten Thousand Miles in Persia," p. 146.
[3] P. 473 of the *B.G.A.* edition.

river, and enjoys an excellent climate between the relaxing heat of Jīruft and the rigorous atmosphere of Deh Bakri.[1]

I will conclude with a reference to Persian Baluchistān, about the history of which very little was known until quite recently. In 1896, when serving on the Perso-Baluch Boundary Commission at Jālk, I visited several domed buildings mainly constructed of sun-dried bricks, inside which were the tombs of a departed race of chiefs, commonly known as the Kayānian *Maliks*. This is, however, a mistake, there being little doubt that these chiefs were members of the Saffār family, which ruled in Baluchistān for more than five centuries after their expulsion from Sīstān. Some of the mausolea consisted of but one chamber, others also possessed an antechamber, and a third kind had two stories. There were remnants of tiling under the line of the dome, and occasionally there were crude drawings of elephants and peacocks, but everything was of the lowest order from an artistic point of view. Later on, at Kuhak, we camped near the pretty little village where, while examining a tomb similar to those described at Jālk, I discovered a brick in one of the walls bearing an inscription, mutilated in places, but with a few lines legible, to the effect that *Malik* Shams-ud-Dīn, who died in A.H. 1027 (1617), was the individual in whose honour the tomb had been built. Now a Persian historian mentions that Ganj Ali Khān, under orders from Shāh Abbās, invaded Baluchistān a few years previous to this date, and was opposed by a Baluch confederacy headed by *Malik* Shams-ud-Dīn, of the Saffār dynasty. I think, therefore, that it will be conceded that this corroboration establishes a most important fact in the history of Persian Baluchistān.

[1] Mr. Guy Le Strange informs me that in the abbreviated texts of Idrīsi (e.g. the British Museum MS.) there is no mention of Hurmūz-al-Malik having been an ancient capital of Kirmān, whereas from the French translation (*Géographie d'Édrisi*, vol. i, p. 423) it would appear that Idrīsi makes the remark about this Hurmūz which is quoted in my work. Probably the French translation was made from a more complete MS. than the one in the British Museum; in any case, proofs are sufficiently abundant of the ancient importance of Hurmūz-al-Malik without the necessity of invoking Idrīsi.

Reference to Routes.
1st Journey Jan. to June 1893.
2nd " Oct. 1893 to June 1894.
3rd " Dec. 1894 to Mar. 1897.
4th " Nov. 1897 to Jan. 1901.
Route of Alexander the Great
" Marco Polo
Railways
Heights in feet.
Cables thus
PERSIA
AFGHÁNISTÁN
AND BALUCHISTÁN
Sketch Map to illustrate the journeys of
MAJOR P. M. SYKES
(Queen's Bays)
H.M's Consul, Kermán & Persian Baluchistán.
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200
Nat Scale 1:5000,000 or 79 miles = 1inch.
CASPIAN SEA
84 feet. below level. the Black Sea
KARA KUM DESERT
TRANSCAUCASIA
AZERBAIJÁN
KURDISTÁN
LURISTÁN
KHUZISTÁN
ARABISTÁN
PERSIA
MAZANDERÁN
KERMÁN
SISTÁN
BALUCHISTÁN
AFGHÁNISTÁN
BOKHARA
TURKISTÁN
GULF OF OMÁN
ARABIAN SEA
HELMAND DESERT
Gulf of the Queen
Ogurchinski I.
Chelekan I.
Uzun ada
Aidin
Krasnovodsk
Kizil Arvat
Bami
Askabád
Merv
Charjui
Amu Darya or Oxus
Samarkand
Bokhara
Karakul
Zaadin
Turkistán Chain
Zerafshan R.
Hissar
Kashka Darya
Kara Bel Plateau
Maimana
Andkhui
Balkh
Mazár i Sharif
Khulm R.
Hindu Kush
Kuh-i-Baba
Kábul
Ghazni
Paropamisus
Kuh-i-Hissar
Band-i-Turkistán
Murghab R.
Khushk R.
Kushan R.
Bala Murghab
Herát
Kuh-i-Sufid
Hari Rud
Harut Rud
Helmand R.
Gul Kuh
Shutur Gardan Pass
Ghazni R.
Kalát i-Ghilzai
Abistadah
Pol Pass
Khash R.
Khash Rud
Farah Rud
Sarakhs
Tejend R.
Murghab R.
Atrek R.
Gurgan R.
Chikishliar
Yomut
Goklan Turkoman
Ashurádah
Ak Kala
Astrabad
Bostán
Shahrud
Damghán
Semnán
Kuh-i-Nizwa
Kuh-i-Demavend
Takht-i-Suliman
Sultanieh Pass
Kazvin
Tehran
Karaghan Dagh
Avromán Dagh
Hamadán
Alvand Kuh
Sultanabad
Kermanshah
Kuru Kuh
Pish Kuh
Burujird
Khurramabad
Kuh-i-Kabir
Kuh-i-Shahan
Dizful
Shushan
Kashan
Ardistán
Nain
Yezd
Kuh-i-Naibánd
Tabas
Nimbuluk
Khain
Turbat
Turshiz
Jangal
Gunabád
Jumeina
Kalát
Kákh
Tun
Duzdi i Páz
Bajistán
Hendabád
Yunsi
Asgabád
Kafir Kala
Nishapur
Meshed
Sabzavár
Binalud Kuh
Kuh-i-Mar
Kuchán
Shirwán
Bujnurd
Turkoman
Semalgán
Chákeshlár
Yaghi Olum
Yomut
Gok Tapa
Sumbar R.
Chát
Samán Tepe
Hanaki Pass
Akchakim
Sisáb
Lutfabád
Sarakhs
Tejend R.
Murghab R.
Andkhui
Balkh
Mazár i Sharif
Khulm R.
Hindu Kush
Kuh-i-Baba
Kábul
Ghazni
Paropamisus
Kuh-i-Hissar
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Pol Pass
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Tejend R.
Murghab R.
Atrek R.
Gurgan R.
Chikishliar
Yomut
Goklan Turkoman
Ashurádah
Ak Kala
Astrabad
Bostán
Shahrud
Damghán
Semnán
Kuh-i-Nizwa
Kuh-i-Demavend
Takht-i-Suliman
Sultanieh Pass
Kazvin
Tehran
Karaghan Dagh
Avromán Dagh
Hamadán
Alvand Kuh
Sultanabad
Kermanshah
Kuru Kuh
Pish Kuh
Burujird
Khurramabad
Kuh-i-Kabir
Kuh-i-Shahan
Dizful
Shushan
Kashan
Ardistán
Nain
Yezd
Kuh-i-Naibánd
Tabas
Nimbuluk
Khain
Turbat
Turshiz
Jangal
Gunabád
Jumeina
Kalát
Kákh
Tun
Duzdi i Páz
Bajistán
Hendabád
Yunsi
Asgabád
Kafir Kala
Nishapur
Meshed
Sabzavár
Binalud Kuh
Kuh-i-Mar
Kuchán
Shirwán
Bujnurd
Turkoman
Semalgán
Chákeshlár
Yaghi Olum
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Gok Tapa
Sumbar R.
Chát
Samán Tepe
Hanaki Pass
Akchakim
Sisáb
Lutfabád
Askabád
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Charjui
Amu Darya or Oxus
Samarkand
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Khulm R.
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Murghab R.
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Kushan R.
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Abistadah
Pol Pass
Khash R.
Khash Rud
Farah Rud
Lake Urmi
Urmi
Mt. Sahend
Mt. Kamki
Lenkorán
Astára
Araxes R.
Ararat
Erivan
Baku
Tabriz
Ardebil
Savalan D.
Akdash
Miana
Zenjan
Resht
Enzeli
Kuh-i-Sefid
Kharaman R.
Sultanieh
Kuh-i-Damavend
Kuh-i-Nizwa
Semnán
Aradán
Turut
Sava
Soha
Hamadán
Ecbatana

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. Māra in the guise of Buddha.

Würzburg, Sanderring 20.
January 25, 1902.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—It is, no doubt, very difficult to glean after the rich harvest of information collected by Professor Windisch in his masterly monograph on "Māra und Buddha"; yet, in so wide a field, who could ever hope to attain to completeness? On the other side, the small and insignificant ear which I have picked up while wandering across the same field does not alter the general results arrived at in that monograph; and, withal, the remoteness of the spot where it lay hidden is enough to excuse any omission. When, about five years ago, I first perceived it in Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the *Etad-agga* chapter of the Aṅguttara (vol. i, pp. 23 sqq.), then to be read only in MSS., whereas at present some portions of this work are printed at Colombo on bad paper in Sinhalese characters, I sent a copy of it, that is to say of the legend in which Māra assumes the appearance of Buddha, to Professor Windisch, who, in my opinion, is our competent master in this branch of enquiry. And now it is only in the hope that others may be able to adduce more parallels, that I venture to call attention to my gleaning. Such parallels would be welcome from both quarters, from the Buddhist as well as from the Christian. For the legend

which I am concerned with has a counterpart in a legend which relates that once the Evil One appeared to a monk of the Egyptian desert in the guise of Christ.

The Pāli source, i.e. the Manorathapūraṇī, written by Buddhaghosa in the first half of the fifth century A.D., presents us with about a hundred legends, one of which deals with an upāsaka, named Sūra Ambaṭṭha or Sūrambaṭṭha, or simply Ambaṭṭha. He was seṭṭhi of Sāvatthī and supported the heretics, but one day Gotama Buddha preached the Doctrine to him in a way appropriate to Sūrambaṭṭha's status in the world, and after establishing him in the fruit of the first stage of the Path he withdrew.

"Then Māra thought: 'This Sūrambaṭṭha is my own. To-day, however, the Teacher has gone to his house, and perhaps through the sermon he heard the Path has become manifest to him. I will ascertain whether he has escaped from my domain, or not.' Then, by virtue of his power to assume any shape he desired (*attano kāmarūpitāya*), Māra created a shape resembling that of the Buddha, and as even his mode of taking hold of his robe and bowl was the same, he counterfeited the Buddha very well. In this attire he took his stand at Sūrambaṭṭha's house-door.

"Sūrambaṭṭha, upon hearing that the Buddha had come again, thought: 'The Buddhas do not come save for what is conducive to our final emancipation (*niyyānika*). Why, then, has he returned?' Still, because he imagined him to be the Buddha, he speedily went near unto him. After having saluted him, he stood at a short distance, and said:—

"'Sir! But a moment ago you finished your meal in this house and went away. What can be the reason that you come back again?'

"'Ambaṭṭha,' he answered, 'when I taught you the Doctrine, there was one matter which I taught without having previously reflected upon it. I taught that all the five khandhas are impermanent, associated with suffering, and devoid of a Self, but this description does not hold true of all of them. Some, on the contrary, are permanent, stable, and eternal.'

"Sūrambaṭṭha thought: 'This sermon is very hard to believe. For the Buddhas would not teach anything without having reflected upon it beforehand. We know that Māra is the opponent of the Buddha. Evidently this is Māra!' 'Thou art Māra,' he said.

"As soon as the disciple of Buddha had uttered this word, it was as if a blow with an axe had fallen upon Māra. He was able no longer to keep up his disguise. 'Yes, Ambaṭṭha! I am Māra!' he said.

"Whereupon the other: 'If a hundred, yea, if a thousand Māras like thee should come here, they would be unable to shake my faith! The Great Gotama, the Buddha, when teaching the Doctrine informed me thus: All confections (*saṃkhāras*) are impermanent. Stop no longer at my house-door!' And he snapped his fingers. On hearing this, Māra kicked at him, but, unable to dispute what was said, then disappeared."

Everybody will see that this legend ought to be ranged with those which Professor Windisch alluded to when he said:—

"Als der Herrscher über den Saṃsāra endlich ist er (Māra) es, der die verschiedenen Gestalten und Schicksale des Daseins schafft . . . . Damit hängt wohl zusammen, dass Māra selbst verschiedene Gestalten annimmt, in denen er an Buddha und dessen Anhänger herantritt" (l.c., p. 199).

But nobody will overlook the many features which distinguish our legend from all such in the Mārasaṃyutta and Bhikkhunīsaṃyutta of the Saṃyutta-Nikāya. Certainly, it is not shaped after the pattern given there. Both form and contents are different. Nowhere else does the Tempter approach an *upāsaka*, nor does he assume anywhere but in our legend the outward appearance of Buddha.

The name of Sūra Ambaṭṭha occurs, as far as I know, only once more, in another list of celebrated householders (Aṅg., vol. iii, p. 451). In the Sanskrit literature of the Buddhists, or, strictly speaking, in the printed texts, it does not occur. Likewise, no other legend is known to me in

which Māra appears in the guise of Buddha.[1] Nevertheless, I hope that our legend does not stand alone in Buddhist literature, and I am eager to get intelligence, particularly from scholars versed in the Tibetan and Chinese sources.

Whereas the same legend, or a similar one, is as yet wanting in this hemisphere of the *globus religiosus*, we possess a parallel in the other sphere, viz. in the Lausiac history, written by Palladius, a Christian monk, in 420 A.D. It contains a series of biographical sketches of monks who were living in the deserts of Egypt, and is dedicated to Lausus, a chamberlain at the court of Theodosius II. For other details, I may be allowed to refer to the critical Study[2] on this work by Dom Cuthbert Butler, to whom I am indebted also for having kindly sent me a proof of the legend which I here discuss, forming part of a forthcoming critical edition of the Greek text of the Lausiac history.

Valens, a Palestinian by birth, was exceedingly puffed up with haughtiness, and though he was repeatedly mocked by the devil, still he continued to believe that these mockings proceeded from heavenly powers. Such a behaviour encouraged the devil to carry his mockery to the utmost. "He turned into Christ (*σχηματίζει ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν Σωτῆρα*) and came to Valens in the night, being himself accompanied by a thousand demons in the disguise of angels, who carried torches. Such was the apparition: A fiery circle became visible, in the centre of which the devil appeared in the figure of Christ. One of the angel-demons went before to tell Valens: 'Christ has taken pleasure in the libertine mode of thy life, and has come to see thee.'" Thereupon the monk left his cell and adored the Antichrist. The next day he announced, in the presence of all the members of the Community, that he had seen Christ; but the holy Fathers put him in iron fetters for a year, in order to cure

[1] Divyāvad., pp. 360 sqq. (see also Windisch, Māra u. Buddha, pp. 171 sqq.), was, of course, known to me, but the legend narrated there is, in my opinion, no real parallel to the story in question.

[2] The Lausiac History of Palladius: Texts and Studies, Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, vol. vi, No. 1; Cambridge, 1898.

him of his insanity, in accordance with the maxim, *Contraria contrariis curantur.*

I need not point out that Valens, though he was living the life of an ascetic, is far excelled in perspicacity of mind by Sūra Ambaṭṭha of the Buddhist story, who was only a layman, although styled ariyasāvaka, i.e. belonging to those disciples of the Buddha who were walking in one of the four Paths. Yet we are here not concerned with the moral and intellectual qualities of the two men, but with the legends alone; and if we undertake to compare them one with the other, there remains only one real similarity between them, to wit, that the Evil One makes an attempt to deceive his victim by taking the outward appearance of his opposite.

The legend of Valens is told besides in a Syriac version, now printed in P. Bedjan's *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, t. vii, 1897, pp. 93–95, which is believed to be the compilation made by ʿĂnân-Îshôʿ in about 670 A.D., and described by Thomas, Bishop of Margâ (ninth century), in his Book of the Governors.[1] The Syriac text does not differ from the Greek except in small things, as Professor Oskar Braun, of Würzburg, had the kindness to assure me.

I looked round for any other story that might bear resemblance to this one, but my efforts have not been rewarded with success. Neither Sulpitius Severus nor Cassian nor the *Apophthegmata Patrum* afforded me anything. It is quite likely, however, that in Coptic, Ethiopic, and Arabic sources of Christian origin some such story will be found. At present we can only say that the legend of Valens stands alone, and in this respect both sides are equal. Let us hope that future research will free the Buddhist as well as the Christian legend and their common element from an ungenial isolation.—Yours sincerely,

E. HARDY.

[1] See E. A. Wallis Budge, "The Book of Governors," vol. ii, 1893, p. 191.

2. A Nītimañjarī Quotation.

Dear Sir,—In the September number of the Journal for 1900 I traced to the *Saptasūtra* of Śaṃkara the verse *anātmabhūte dehādau*, etc., which is quoted by Dyā, and in the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha* of Mādhava. I have now, however, found the verse in another work of Śaṃkara, the *Ajñānabodhinī*, of which there is a copy in the Bodleian. As this work is an exposition of the *Ātmabodha*, and as Dyā expressly cites the verse from the *Ātmavṛtti*, which presumably equals *Ātmabodhavṛtti*, there can be little doubt that this is the work whence the quotation is derived.

I take this opportunity of mentioning that the date given by Peterson for the Nītimañjarī is supported by the statements in a Benares MS. formerly lent to Professor Max Müller, and in the MS. in his own collection described by Wickremasinghe (*supra*, p. 643).—Yours truly,

A. B. Keith.

Oxford, September, 1902.

3. An Atlas of Ancient India.

To T. W. Rhys Davids, Esq.

Dear Sir,—Want of an atlas of ancient India is no doubt much felt by many students of Indian antiquity, notwithstanding that such an atlas can now be prepared and published. Without pretending to give a complete list of the contents of such an atlas, I may be permitted to put down roughly what it may contain, so as to give some idea of the nature of the book I refer to.

Sheet I will show the places mentioned in the Rig Veda.
Sheet II, places mentioned in the later Vedas.
Sheet III, places existing at the time of Buddha, marking also that great reformer's journey in different parts of the country.

Sheet IV, Empire of Asoka, marking also the places where his edicts have been found and the different stupas erected.
Sheet V, routes of the more important Chinese travellers.
Sheet VI, places mentioned in the Ramayana.
Sheet VII, places mentioned in the Mahabharata.
Sheet VIII, places mentioned in the works of Kalidasa.
Etc., etc., etc.

This by no means exhausts the list, for further sheets may be prepared showing the places mentioned in the different Puranas. At all events, this is the idea of the Atlas, the publication of which I wish to suggest for the consideration of the Indian antiquarians, and shall therefore feel obliged if you will kindly give this letter a place in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland." The boundaries of the different kingdoms and countries cannot, of course, be given; their positions can only be roughly indicated; but those of towns, etc., can be accurately marked.—Yours truly,

J. C. Dutt.

8, *Raja Gurudass' Street, Calcutta.*
July 31, 1902.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

TEN THOUSAND MILES IN PERSIA, OR EIGHT YEARS IN IRĀN. By Major P. M. SYKES, C.M.G. (Queen's Bays); H.M. Consul, Kermān and Persian Baluchistān. 8vo. (London: Murray, 1902.)

This book is the most notable contribution to our knowledge of South-Eastern Persia that has yet appeared, and it forms the necessary complement to the volumes by Lord Curzon which, rather more than ten years ago, summarized all that was then known of the kingdom of the Shāh. Kermān and Sistān, with the neighbouring Baluch frontier, could then be only partially described, but, thanks to the network of journeys lately carried through by Major Sykes, this south-eastern quarter of Persia is now become one of its best known regions. With the purely geographical chapters it is needless to deal in this place; suffice it to say that the narrative is clearly written, and that the humours of the road enliven the many long marches through the wilderness, which everywhere is haunted by the remembrance of a great past.

From the historical point of view two chapters in the present work are of importance, in which Major Sykes has discussed "The March of Alexander the Great from the Indus to the Kārūn" and "Marco Polo's Travels in Persia." At the present day in Kermān the means of locomotion, by mule or camel, are still exactly identical with what existed in the fourteenth century when the Venetian traveller passed through the country. The marches that Marco Polo made

Major Sykes could and did make, the possible routes and distances being the same in both cases: and for the matter of that they also are the same now as when Alexander came through the land more than two thousand years since, and they are likely to remain the same for some time yet to come. In regard to the travels of the great Venetian, Major Sykes points out good reasons for doubting the hitherto accepted route into Persia viâ Baghdād, through Mesopotamia, and to the Gulf Ports. Had Marco Polo actually seen 'Baudas' he would hardly have failed to give us a clear description of the former City of the Caliphs, already then recovering from the Mongol sack, and fast rising to be the great city which Timur occupied a century and more later. Marco Polo, as Major Sykes points out, more probably entered Persia by Tabrīz, and passing through Sāvah to Yazd, thence took the northern of the two roads to Kermān. That this last, viâ Bāfḳ, was the route followed, is proved conclusively by the date-groves, still existing near Bāfḳ, which are mentioned by Polo; while the alternative, southern, track from Yazd to Kermān keeps to so high an altitude that date-palms are not, and never could have been, met with along it.

Of Marco Polo's Camadi—the place named Ḳumādīn in the Saljūḳ Chronicle (as General Schindler pointed out in the pages of this Journal many years ago) and now known as Shahr-i-Daḳiyānūs, 'the City of Decius'—Major Sykes has much to tell. It was a suburb of the mediæval town of Jīruft, which last must have been in Greek days an important city, for coins and seals are abundantly found here; also, our author had the good luck to acquire a small alabaster vase which had been dug up near Jīruft, and this the authorities at the British Museum pronounced to be undoubtedly of Greek workmanship, dating from the fourth century B.C., being intended to contain unguents. The unguent-vase is the clinching point in a chain of geographical argument, whereby Major Sykes would seek to prove that the plain of Jīruft is the site of the ancient Greek capital of Kermān, the *Carmana omnium mater* of Ammianus

Marcellinus. This, of course, needs confirmation by digging and an archæological survey, but there appears to be no doubt that Major Sykes has now at last identified the site of the first Arab capital of Kermān, namely Sīrjān, the position of which (as pointed out in the July number of this Journal, p. 530) was matter of much question, and at the same time was a very important place, topographically, to fix. Sīrjān, we now learn, can hardly be other than the great rock fortress and ruins called Ḳal'ah-i-Sang, lying some five miles to the eastward of Sa'īdābād on the road to Bāft, which our author visited and has carefully described in chapter xxxvi. Space must forbid further notice of the many other interesting sites described in this volume; but a full account is given of Sīstān and the ruins of its ancient capital, which in early times was known as Zaranj. In later days this name appears to have fallen out of memory, for it is everywhere replaced by the term Madīnah Sīstān, 'the City of Sīstān'; and I may note in conclusion that as far as is known Zāhidān ("the capital . . . . so far as I can learn," as Major Sykes writes) is the name of a quite modern village among the ruins of Zaranj, for according to the Persian writers Zāhidān was not the name of the city in the time of Timur, for the capital which he stormed was known as Madīnah Sīstān.

G. Le S.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(July, August, September, 1902.)

I. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

I. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Band lii, Heft 2.

Rothstein (J. W.). Zur Kritik des Deboraliedes und die ursprüngliche rhythmische Form desselben.

Böhtlingk (O.). Eine misslungene Korrektur aus alter Zeit.

——— Bhagavadgītā, 2, 11.

Huart (Cl.). Le texte turk-oriental de la stèle de la mosquée de Peking.

Goeje (M. de). Eine dritte Handschrift von Ma'sūdī's Tanbīh.

Schwally (Fr.). Zum arabischen Till Eulenspiegel.

Barth (J.). Zur hebraïschen und aramaïschen Verbalflexion.

Schulthess (Fr.). Christlich-palästinische Fragmente.

Simon (R.). Quellen zur indischen Musik.

Hertel (J.). Kritische Bemerkungen zu Kosegartens Pañcatantra.

Bürk (A.). Das Āpastamba-Śulba-Sutrā.

Jacobi (H.). Ānandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka.

Goldziher (I.). Pinehas-Manṣūr.

Seybold (C. F.). Zum arabischen Schattenspiel.

Schmidt (R.). Erwiderung.

II. Notes and News.

Hamburg Congress of Orientalists.—The thirteenth Congress was held from September the 3rd to September the 10th at Hamburg. The ancient town was lavish in its hospitality. The Congress was very fully attended, and was a great success. It was determined to have, in future, a permanent office for the Oriental Congresses, and the place chosen was the office of this Society in London. There the beautiful drinking horn, presented at the Stockholm Congress by H.M. the King of Sweden, will in future be kept. It was also resolved that the proceedings of each Congress, including that at Hamburg, should be published within a short time of the close of the Congress, and that the papers read should appear, in those proceedings, in abstract. As these proceedings, in the case of Hamburg, will no doubt be accordingly accessible before long, it would be unfitting, in our Journal, to attempt to anticipate the official report. Finally, it was decided that the next Congress should be held, in 1905, at Algiers, the Governor-General of that colony having sent a cordial invitation to that effect.

III. Additions to the Library.

Presented by the India Office.

Talbot (W. S.). Panjab Customary Law, vol. xix: Code of Tribal Customs in the Jhelum District. 8vo. 1902.

Presented by Lord Stanley of Alderley.

Ṭabari (Abū Jafar Muḥammad). Annales Auctore Abu Djafar Muhammad ibn Djarir. 15 vols. Bound in red morocco. 8vo. *Leiden*, 1879–1901.

Presented by the Trustees of the British Museum.

Ellis (A. G.). Catalogue of the Arabic Books in the British Museum. Vol. ii. 4to. *London*, 1901.

Wickremasinghe (D. M. de Z.). Catalogue of the Sinhalese Printed Books in the British Museum. 4to. *London*, 1901.

Presented by the Ministère de l'Instruction Publique.

Bénazet (A.). Le Théâtre au Japon. Musée Guimet, Tome xiii. 8vo. *Paris*, 1901.

Presented by the Royal Academy of Sciences, Vienna.

Südarabische Expedition. Jahn (Dr. A.). Bd. iii: Die Mehri Sprache in Südarabien. Müller (D. H.). Bd. iv: Die Mehri und Soqotri Sprache. 4to. *Wien*, 1902.

Presented by the Publishers.

Lüders (H.). Über die Grantharecension des Mahābhārata. 4to. *Berlin*, 1901.

Baihaqī. Kitāb al-Maḥāsin Val-Masāvī, von F. Schwally. Teil iii. Roy. 8vo. *Giessen*, 1902.

Neumann (K. E.). Die Reden Gotamo Buddho's. Band iii, Lief. 4.

Charles (Rev. Dr. R. H.). The Book of Jubilees. 8vo. *London*, 1902.

Sieg (E.). Die Sagenstoffe des Ṛgveda und die Indische Itihāsatradition: i. 8vo. *Stuttgart*, 1902.

Jastrow (M.). Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens. Lief. i. 8vo. *Giessen*, 1902.

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Gray (Dr. Louis H.). Indo-Iranian Phonology, with special reference to the Middle and New Indo-Iranian Language. 8vo. *New York*, 1902.

Varma (A. R. Rajaraja). Angala Samrajyam, or the British Empire in India. 12mo. *Trivandrum*, 1901.

Govindas Lodd. Jnanodaya Series. Telugu. Nos. 1–10.

Gaster (Dr. M.). History of the Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews. A Memorial Volume, 1701–1901. 4to. *London*, 1901.

Ferguson (D.). Letters from the Portuguese Captives in Canton, 1534 and 1536; with an Introduction on Portuguese intercourse with China in the first half of the Sixteenth Century. 8vo. *Bombay*, 1902.

Sastri (M. Lakshmi Kama). Edward Prasasti. 8vo. *Vizianagram*, 1902.

Gerini (Major). Funeral Service celebrated in memory of Dr. Peter Gowan on behalf of H.R.H. Prince Vajirañana, his late pupil, by the Buddhist Clergy (Siamese). 8vo. 1902.

Sriswar Vidyalankar. Vijayinī-Kāvyam, a Sanskrit epic poem in twelve cantos, being a biography of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria. 8vo. *Calcutta*, 1902.

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STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, PRINTERS, HERTFORD.

APPENDIX.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S CORONATION BANQUET.

THE Royal Asiatic Society gave a banquet on the 17th June at the Whitehall Rooms of the Hôtel Métropole, in honour of the Chiefs and Princes of India then present in London for the expected Coronation festivities.

Lord REAY, as President of the Society, occupied the chair, and was supported on the right and left by—

General H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G.
Colonel H.H. the Maharaja Sindiah of Gwalior, A.D.C., G.C.S.I., K.I.H.
The Viscount Cross, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.
H.H. the Maharaja Sawai Madhu Singh of Jaipur, G.C.S.I.[1]
Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, K.G., V.C.
Colonel H.H. the Maharaja Sir Partab Singh of Idar, A.D.C., G.C.S.I., K.C.B.
The Earl of Hardwicke, Under-Secretary of State for India.
Right Hon. Sir J. Fergusson, Bart., G.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E.
Lieut.-Colonel H.H. the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, A.D.C., G.C.I.E., C.B.
The Lord Harris, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
H.H. Sir Agha Khan, K.C.I.E.
Right Hon. Lord Kinnaird.
Right Rev. Bishop Thornton.
Kunwar Sir Harnam Singh, K.C.I.E.
Right Hon. Lord George F. Hamilton, M.P., Secretary of State for India.
H.H. the Raja of Kolhapur, G.C.S.I.
The Earl of Northbrook, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
The Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, K.G.
Major H.H. the Maharaja of Bikanir, K.C.I.E.
Right Hon. Sir Henry Fowler, M.P., G.C.S.I.
The Lord Sandhurst, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
H.H. the Sultan of Perak.
Right Hon. Lord Lawrence.
Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart.
Right Hon. Sir J. West Ridgeway, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C.S.I.
The Maharaja of Bobbili, K.C.I.E.
Sir Horace G. Walpole, K.C.B., Assistant Under-Secretary of State for India.

[1] The Maharaja of Jaipur did not sit down to dinner with the other guests, but joined the company after dinner to hear the speeches.

The following is a complete list of the company present:—

Abel, Sir F. A., Bart., G.C.B., G.C.V.O.
Agha Khan, H.H. Sir, K.C.I.E.
Anderson, Alexander, Esq.
Arbuthnot, J. W., Esq.
Armstrong, M. F., Esq.

Babtie, Colonel, V.C.
Badcock, Lieut.-General A. R., C.B., C.S.I.
Banaji, L., Esq.
Barrow, A. B., Esq.
Bayley, Sir Steuart C., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., *Chairman Banquet Committee.*
Beatson, Surgeon-General W. B.
Belilios, R. J., Esq., C.M.G.
Belilios, R., Esq.
Bell, Mr. Sheriff J. C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M., M.P., K.C.I.E.
Bhumgara, F. P., Esq.
Bikanir, Major H.H. the Maharaja of, K.C.I.E.
Bilgrami, Syed Ali.
Bir Bikram Singh, Hon. Capt. Raj Kunwar, C.I.E.
Birdwood, H. M., Esq., C.S.I., LL.D.
Bobbili, The Maharaja of, K.C.I.E.
Bousfield, W., Esq.
Bowring, L. B., Esq., C.S.I.
Bowring, T., Esq.
Bradford, Colonel Sir E. R. C., G.C.B., K.C.S.I.
Brandreth, E. L., Esq., *Vice-Chairman Table* 2.
Breese, G. C., Esq.
Brookes, C. J., Esq.
Brown, F. H., Esq.
Burls, E. G., Esq.
Burne, General Sir Owen Tudor, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
Burne, Captain, R.E.
Bushell, Dr. S. W., C.M.G.

Cadell, Colonel, V.C.
Cama, H. D., Esq.
Campbell, Major Charles.
Candy, Mr. Justice.
Cappel, Sir A. J. L., K.C.I.E.
Chalmers, R., Esq., C.B.
Chubb, Sir George Hayter, Bart.
Clarke, C. Purdon, Esq., C.I.E.
Clifford, Hugh, Esq., C.M.G.
Coffin, Dr.
Coldstream, W., Esq.
Coleman, G. W., Esq.
Collen, Sir E. H. H., G.C.I.E., C.B.
Connaught and Strathearn, General H.R.H. the Duke of, K.G.
Cooch Behar, Lieut.-Col. H.H. the Maharaja of, A.D.C., G.C.I.E., C.B.
Cotton, J. S., Esq.
Cotton, H. J. S., Esq., C.S.I.
Cox, Major H. V.
Cross, The Viscount, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.
Cummins, Major-General J. T., C.B., D.S.O.
Cuningham, Sir W. J., K.C.S.I.
Cunningham, Sir A. F. D., K.C.I.E.
Curtis-Thomson, W., Esq.

Dames, M. L., Esq.
Danvers, Sir Juland, K.C.S.I.
Davar, A. F., Esq.
Davids, Prof. T. W. Rhys, Ph.D., LL.D., *Hon. Sec. Banquet Committee*; *Vice-Chairman Table* 6.
Davies, Dr. Yorke.
Davies, W. Yorke, Esq.
Davies, W., Esq.
Digby, S., Esq.
Dinshaw, Edaljee, Esq., C.I.E.
Douglas, Prof. R. K.
Dowlat Singh, Maharaj Kunwar.
Duka, Dr. T.
Dunstan, Prof. Wyndham.

Edwardes, General Sir Stanley de B., K.C.B.

Egerton, Colonel A. M., C.B., C.V.O.
Elgin and Kincardine, The Earl of, K.G.

Fausset, Dr. A.
Fayrer, Surgeon-General Sir Joseph, Bart., K.C.S.I.
Fergusson, Right Hon. Sir J., Bart., G.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E.
FitzGerald, Colonel C. J. O., C.B.
Fitzpatrick, Sir Dennis, K.C.S.I.
Foster, W., Esq.
Fowler, Right Hon. Sir Henry, M.P., G.C.S.I.
Framjee, B. S., Esq.

Gardyne, Bruce, Esq.
Gaster, Dr. M.
Gilbert, R., Esq.
Godsell, W., Esq.
Gordon, General Sir J. J. Hood, K.C.B.
Goschen, H., Esq.
Gosset, Major-General M. W. E., C.B.
Grant, Sir Charles, K.C.S.I.
Green, Major-General Sir W. H. R., K.C.S.I., C.B.
Grierson, Dr. G. A., C.I.E.
Griffin, Sir Lepel H., K.C.S.I.
Gwalior, Colonel H.H. the Maharaja Sindhia of, A.D.C., G.C.S.I., K.I.H.

Hall, J., Esq.
Hamilton, Right Hon. Lord George F., M.P., Secretary of State for India.
Harding-King, J. H., Esq.
Do. do. Guest.
Hardwicke, The Earl of, Under-Secretary of State for India.
Harnam Singh, Kunwar Sir, K.C.I.E.
Harris, The Lord, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
Hassain, Major.
Hatch, Lieut.-Colonel.
Hatfield, Captain T.
Hill, C. H. A., Esq.
Hills-Johnes, Lieut.-General Sir J., G.C.B., V.C.
Hilton-Price, F. G., Esq.
Hoey, Dr. W.
Hormasjee, N., Esq.
Hormasji, K. D., Esq.
Hutchinson, Colonel H. D.

Irvine, W. E., Esq.

Jacob, Colonel S. S., C.I.E.
Jaipur, H.H. the Maharaja of.
James, Rev. Dr. H. A.
James, Sir H. Evan M., K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
Jardine, J., Esq., K.C.
Jardine, W. E., Esq.
Jejeebhoy, Sir Jamsetjee, Bart.
Jejeebhoy, Rustomjee Jamsetjee.
John, Edwin, Esq.

Kapadia, Dr. S. A., *Hon. See. Banquet Committee; Vice-Chairman Table 7.*
Kelsall, J., Esq.
Kennedy, James, Esq., *Vice-Chairman Table 1.*
King, Sir H. Seymour, K.C.I.E., M.P.
Kinnaird, Right Hon. Lord.
Kolasker, M., Esq.
Kolhapur, H.H. the Raja of, G.C.S.I.

Lalkaka, Dr. C.
Lalkaka, C.
Lawrence, Sir H. W. L., Bart.
Lawrence, A. W., Esq.
Lawrence, W. R., Esq., C.I.E.
Lawrence, Right Hon. Lord.
Lawson, Sir Charles.
Lee-Warner, Sir W., K.C.S.I., *Vice-President R.A.S.; Vice-Chairman Table 5*
Le Strange, G., Esq.
Lethbridge, Lieut.-Colonel Sir A. S., K.C.S.I.
London, Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of.

London County Council, Chairman of the.
Low, Austin, Esq.
Low, Fred, Esq., K.C.
Lucey, F., Esq.
Luzac, C. G., Esq.
Lyall, Sir A. C., G.C.I.E., K.C.B.
Lyall, Sir C. J., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., *Vice-President R.A.S.*; *Vice-Chairman Table* 3.
Lyall, Sir J. B., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

Macdonell, Prof. A.
MacDonnell, Sir A. P., G.C.S.I.
MacNeill, N., Esq.
Maharaj Singh.
Marks, The Rev. J. E., D.D.
Marshall, Colonel Charles H. T.
Marshall, Mr. Sheriff H. B.
Master, J. H., Esq.
Maung On Gaing, C.I.E.
Maung Tha Hynin.
May, Frank, Esq.
May, F., Esq., jun.
McCall, R. A., Esq., K.C.
McIver, Sir Lewis, Bart.
Melvill, P. S., Esq., C.S.I.
Meyer, Alex., Esq.
Miesegaes, H., Esq.
Mir, H. A., Esq.
Mody, N. H., Esq.
Montagu, Sir Samuel M., Bart.
Montefiore, C., Esq.
Mudaliyar, Raja Sir Savalai R., C.I.E.
Muhammad Ali Beg, Major Nawab, C.I.E.
Mukerjee, Jaladhi Chunder.

Naville, Professor Edouard.
Newill, Lieut.-Colonel J. H.
Nisbet, Colonel R. Parry, C.I.E.
Norman, General Sir H. W., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E.
Northbrook, The Earl of, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Oxford University, Vice-Chancellor of.

Panday, F. D., Esq.
Partab Singh of Idar, Colonel H.H. the Maharaja Sir, A.D.C., G.C.S.I., K.C.B.
Perak, H.H. the Sultan of.
Pinhey, Major A. F., C.I.E.
Pollock, Sir F., Bart.
Preece, Sir William H., K.C.B.
Probyn, Lesley, Esq.

Ransom, E., Esq.
Reay, The Lord, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
Reid, Boileau, Esq.
Reid, Sir Hugh G.
Ridgeway, Right Hon. Sir J. West, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C.S.I.
Ritchie, R. W. T., Esq., C.B.
Rivett-Carnac, Colonel J. H., C.I.E., A.D.C.
Roberts, Field-Marshal Earl, K.G., V.C.
Robinson, V. A., Esq., C.I.E.
Rogers, A., Esq.
Royal College of Surgeons, President of the.
Royal College of Physicians, President of the.
Royal Society, President of the.
Royle, J. R., Esq., C.I.E.

Sandhurst, The Lord, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
Scoble, Right Hon. Sir Andrew R., K.C.S.I.
Scott, E. J. L., Esq.
Seccombe, Dr. E. H.
Seton-Karr, W. S., Esq., C.S.I.
Sewell, R., Esq.
Shephard, H. H., Esq.
Sheppard, G. F., Esq.
Smith, V. A., Esq.
Southwark, Rt. Rev. Bishop of.
Stedman, Major-General Sir E., K.C.I.E., C.B.
Stein, M. A., Ph.D.
Strong, Professor S. A.
Sturdy, E., Esq.

Sykes, Major W. M., D.S.O.

Tagore, Maharaj Kumar Prodyot Kumar.
Talbot, Lieut.-Gen. Sir A. C., K.C.I.E.
Talyarkhan, F. S., Esq.
Tata, Jamsetjee N., Esq.
Thiselton-Dyer, Sir W. T., K.C.M.G., C.I.E.
Thomas, Carmichael, Esq.
Thorburn, S. S., Esq.
Thornton, A., Esq.
Thornton, T. H., Esq., C.S.I., D.C.L.
Thornton, Right Rev. Bishop.
Tien, Rev. Dr. Anton.
Tomlinson, W. E. M., Esq., M.P.
Trevor, Colonel G. H., C.S.I.
Trevor, Sir A. C., K.C.S.I.
Tupp, Dr. A. Cotterell
Turner, Sir C. A., K.C.I.E.

Vaid, N. S., Esq.
Vaidya, V., Esq.
Vakil, N. P., Esq.
Vincent, Colonel Sir Howard, M.P., K.C.M.G., C.B.

Wadia, F. R., Esq.
Walhouse, M. J., Esq.
Walpole, Sir Horace G., K.C.B., Assistant Under-Secretary of State for India.
Ward, Sir W. E., K.C.S.I.
Wardle, Sir Thomas.
Waterhouse, Major-General J.
West, Sir R., K.C.I.E., LL.D., *Vice-President R.A.S.; Vice-Chairman Table* 4.
Do. do. Guest.
Westminster, Mayor of.
Westropp, Major-General, G.R.C.
White, C., Esq.
Wilson, A. H., Esq.
Wilson, Right Hon. Sir Arthur, K.C.I.E.
Wollaston, A. N., Esq., C.I.E., *Vice-Chairman Banquet Committee.*
Wyllie, F. R., Esq.
Wyllie, Lieut.-Colonel W. H. Curzon, C.I.E.

Yerburgh, R. A., Esq., M.P.
Do. do. Guest.
Young, Sir W. Mackworth, K.C.S.I.

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing the toast of "The King and Emperor of India," said:—

The auspicious occasion which brings us together is the approaching Coronation of the King. His Majesty's visit to India will enable him to deal with the great interests of his Indian Empire with a personal knowledge enjoyed by none of his predecessors. (Cheers.) His Majesty, as Patron of our Society, shows his interest in the studies of Orientalists. (Cheers.) We are pleased to know that the King has recovered from his indisposition. (Cheers.) I propose to send the following telegram to His Majesty:—"The Royal Asiatic Society and their guests, Indian Princes and other Indian representatives, with their humble duty, beg to tender the tribute of their loyalty on the approaching Coronation, and their satisfaction at His Majesty's recovery from his indisposition." (Loud cheers.)

The toast was most loyally honoured.

In proposing the toast of "The Queen, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the other Members of the Royal Family," the CHAIRMAN said:—

We all know that Her Majesty the Queen takes the same interest in the medical relief of Indian women which was taken by our late beloved Sovereign, Her Majesty Queen Victoria. It will secure to Her Majesty the deepfelt gratitude of thousands of Indian women, and will endear the illustrious memory of Queen Victoria to future generations. Among the many benefits of British rule this care for the sick occupies a foremost place. The Prince and Princess of Wales have as yet not been able to visit the Indian Empire. Their Royal Highnesses will meet with as cordial a reception in India as everywhere was given to them in their eventful progress through the Colonies. We trust that visit will not be long delayed. All the members of the Royal Family are constantly active in discharging the duties connected with their high station, and in giving their patronage to movements which promote the welfare of His Majesty's subjects in every part of his dominions.

With this toast I am allowed to couple the name of General His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. He has devoted his life to the study of those intricate military problems which sharpen the wits of the greatest intellects on the Continent of Europe, and which, owing to the structure of our empire, are exceptionally intricate. As Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army the Duke was able to improve it in many ways, and all ranks of the British and Native forces recollect with pride the days when they served under His Royal Highness. As a member of Council we had the benefit of his knowledge of Indian affairs and of his insight in the delicate mechanism of Indian society. We remember with cordial gratitude the graceful way in which the Duchess of Connaught dispensed hospitality to all sections of the Bombay community. Wherever the Duke of Connaught has been in command he has endeared himself to all with whom he came in contact by his stern sense of duty and the charming manner in which he discharged his duties. We all wish him a long life and success in all he undertakes.

The DUKE OF CONNAUGHT, who on rising to respond to the toast was received with great cordiality, said:—

I rise in the name of Queen Alexandra, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the other members of the Royal Family to thank you most cordially for the manner in which you have drunk their health. Lord Reay has spoken with regard to the deep interest Queen Alexandra takes in everything connected with all social and medical advance in her Eastern Empire. (Cheers.) You are also aware of the great interest which both the Prince and Princess of Wales take in India, and I am sure I am not divulging a secret when I say that I do not think it will be so very long before they both pay a visit to our Indian Empire. (Loud cheers.) With regard to myself, I would wish particularly to thank Lord Reay for the very delicate and charming manner in which he has referred to the important assistance I at all times have received from Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Connaught. (Cheers.) She had the advantage of seeing a great deal of a side of Indian life which none of us men are allowed to see, and she has always looked back with much interest and pleasure to her visits to the Zenanas and other places. (Cheers.) With regard to myself, I feel that I have a greater advantage than probably any other member of the Royal Family in having served for nearly seven years in India. (Cheers.) During that time I was able to travel through much of that vast and interesting country. I was able to be associated with three Viceroys, with numerous Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, and other able administrators in India. I was known myself to most of the Indian Princes, and in their presence I hope they will allow me to say that we heartily welcome them to this country. (Cheers.) Several of them have already done good service to the empire, and wherever they have been they have distinguished themselves and proved their loyalty and fidelity to the King-Emperor. (Loud cheers.) With regard to our Indian empire, even in the presence of Lord Roberts I may be allowed to speak of the Indian Army, for which I have the deepest affection. It was only to-day that I had the great pleasure of inspecting at Hampton Court nearly 1,000 Indian soldiers, of every class, caste, and, I may say, tribe also, that makes up that splendid force of the Indian Army. (Cheers.) All these men have come this long distance at the call of His Majesty the King-Emperor to be present at his Coronation; and I do not suppose that in the history of the world a more representative gathering of all those nationalities which make up our Indian Army could be met together —(cheers)—and all bound together with one common aim—loyalty to the King-Emperor and devotion to the empire in which they are most important entities. (Cheers.)

Lord REAY, in proposing the toast of "The Indian Visitors," said:—

We give you a hearty welcome. (Cheers.) Many of us here present enjoyed your truly princely hospitality, and we have kept a pleasant recollection of it. (Cheers.) The position of an Indian ruler is in many respects most enviable. Good government will always secure to his exchequer a surplus and freedom from debt. He has ample resources to provide for the intellectual and material well-being of his subjects. Trade is free. The Maharaja of Kolhapur will not regret having abolished transit duties. He can and does give liberal encouragement to arts and manufactures. Nothing could compensate us for the loss of the skilled handicraft of the Indian artisan. I have a lively recollection of the interest taken by his Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur in his museum. The principal care of the Indian Princes is the same as that of the British Government; it is wise legislation for the tiller of the soil. In most native States the soil cannot be mortgaged, and the tendency of all recent legislation is to protect the small proprietor. The small proprietor is a bulwark of Indian polity. We are well aware that his existence is threatened by many pitfalls. To strengthen his armour so that he may not fall a victim to the insidious attacks of an enemy always lying in wait for him, is an object which can never be lost sight of. The agricultural prosperity of India has been impaired by a series of famines, but the way in which the native rulers of India have met this calamity and that of the plague, the relief they have given to their distressed subjects, has given them a further title to the traditional devotion of their subjects. (Cheers.) You are fortunately removed from the great competition in armaments amongst European Powers, but we know that it is your wish to co-operate with the Imperial Government in the defence of our common country. The Imperial Service Corps have on several occasions given evidence of their valour, and the way in which Lord Dufferin's invitation to organize such corps was responded to by the Indian Princes has been fully appreciated by the Imperial Government. (Cheers.) But you must allow me to greet you in another capacity—as the representatives of an ancient civilization. The Society which has the honour of entertaining you is devoted to the study of ancient and classical Indian literature. The study of your ancient records fills us with wonder and admiration for the philosophical subtlety displayed by your great thinkers. Whilst recognizing that the development of the material resources of India is an object steadily

to be kept in view, we think that full justice should be done to the study of those ancient records. It will prevent the rise of a self-sufficient generation, and self-sufficiency is the corollary of a superficial education. Examinations are no substitute for real and serious research; and it would be a cruel irony of fate if we in the West were saving from oblivion those treasures of ancient learning whilst they were being neglected in India by the direct heirs of so valuable a legacy. In close connection with this study is the preservation of ancient monuments and ancient documents. I am sure you will gladly undertake this duty in your several States. The loss of such monuments and of such invaluable archives is irretrievable, and I am afraid that a great deal remains to be done for their maintenance. My wishes for your welfare I cannot summarize better than in the words of Sir Alfred Lyall when he makes the West speak to the East:—

> "Let the hard earth soften, and toil bring ease,
> Let the King be just and the laws be strong;
> Ye shall flourish and spread like the sheltered trees,
> And the storms shall end, and the ancient wrong."

(Cheers.) I couple with this toast the name of His Highness the Maharaja Sindhia. I was entertained by His Highness, who then was a boy, at Gwalior, and I now have the pleasure of greeting him as a distinguished Prince. I also remember the Maharaja of Kolhapur as a boy, and the pleasant duty which fell to me to make the arrangements for his education and for that of his brother, the Chief of Kagal, and of his uncle. The Maharaja Sindhia has, with the Maharaja of Idar, taken a prominent part in the Chinese campaign; and by the equipment of a hospital ship His Highness has shown his warm-hearted solicitude for those who fall in battle or are struck down by sickness. I offer His Highness our best wishes for the success of his administration, in which we know he takes a personal and sagacious interest. I also couple with this toast the name of Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, the representative of the Parsee community which has done so much for the improvement of Bombay, for which I venture to claim precedence as the most picturesque city of India. Sir Jamsetjee also represents the Native Civil Service, and speaking in the presence of so many distinguished members of the Indian Civil Service I am sure they will be the first to recognize how valuable is the work done by that large body of officials throughout India.

Colonel MAHARAJA SINDHIA of GWALIOR, who was enthusiastically welcomed, said in response :—

Your Royal Highness, Lord Reay, and Gentlemen,—I thank you most heartily for the cordial manner in which you have drunk the health of the Indian visitors, most of whom have their feet now for the first time on English soil. We have come to take part in the Coronation ceremony of their Majesties, and we have been deeply touched and gratified by the generous hospitality accorded to us as guests of the King, as well as by the kindness and attention shown by public bodies and private individuals throughout the country. To say that we are enjoying our visit would be but a weak expression of our feelings; we are learning to understand the greatness and strength of England, her unlimited resources, and the character of her people. The only drawback that I can think of has been the weather—(laughter)—which neither kings nor laws can control—(laughter)—but of which we have had the gloomiest forecasts. It was my intention to visit this country in 1897 on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, but the distress which prevailed in my State during that year forbade my leaving my territory, and it will be one of the greatest regrets of my life that I never looked on the face of that Sovereign of blessed and glorious memory whom we all with one accord reverenced and loved. His Majesty's present gracious invitation enables me to pay the homage which I owe to my King and Emperor. (Cheers.)

Your Lordship has alluded in flattering terms to the charity and hospitality of the Indian Chiefs, and to the administration of their territories. I trust Gwalior, in common with others, is doing and will continue to do its utmost to deserve your Lordship's praises. (Cheers.)

Your Lordship made special mention of the encouragement of education. So far as boys are concerned, education is sufficiently attractive in the openings it gives for employment or for professional careers, but female education is a more difficult and delicate matter. I am persuaded, however, that once people become accustomed to the idea the difficulties begin to disappear. If I may, without egotism, refer to the case of my own State, I would say that only about four years ago was the first girls' school opened, after much discussion and consideration, and I confess I have myself been surprised at the success of the undertaking, for much opposition and prejudice had to be overcome. More than this, a special institution has been established within the last few months for

the daughters of my nobles, a class who keep their daughters in seclusion, and who a short time ago would have been most unwilling to send them to school.

But, if we Indian Chiefs deserve any credit for furthering the noble cause of education, we in our turn entertain the liveliest sense of gratitude to His Excellency Lord Curzon for the great interest he has shown in our training. He has personally presided over a conference on the subject of Chiefs' Colleges, and has organized the Imperial Cadet Corps to provide a military career for those scions of noble houses whose inclinations lie in that direction. If I may be permitted to say so, there is nothing more calculated in my opinion to stir the loyalty and stimulate the energies of the aristocracy of India than such a scheme. (Cheers.)

As to the humble service I was able to render during the war in China, I look upon it as my pride and privilege to have personally taken part in the operations and to have aided in ever so small a degree in relieving those who suffered for the Empire. And, gentlemen, it affords me the highest pleasure to see here among the Indian Chiefs some of the comrades who served with me in that distant land, and whom I now meet on the opposite side of the globe, assembled for a common purpose, namely, to testify to our undying loyalty to His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor. (Loud cheers.)

I would beg in conclusion to express our thanks to the Royal Asiatic Society for their hospitality to us to-night. (Cheers.)

Sir JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY, Bart., said:—

Mr. Chairman, your Royal Highness, your Highnesses, my Lords and Gentlemen,—I feel proud to be called upon in this illustrious assemblage to respond to the toast of the visitors from India which has been so cordially proposed by Lord Reay, and which you have so kindly received. H.H. the Maharaja Scindhia of Gwalior, who has preceded me, has left little for me to say, and yet as we feel that enough cannot be said in adequate recognition of the way in which you have welcomed us to this banquet, I, on behalf of the other Indian visitors as on my own, take this opportunity to assure you that we feel proud to be amongst our fellow-subjects in this city—the metropolis of the British Empire—to witness and to take part in the great historic event which has brought us from India. We feel proud to share with our British fellow-subjects the joys, the glories, and the triumphs of our august Sovereign. India, no less than the other parts of His

Majesty's wide and ever-widening dominions, feels grateful to Providence for the peace that has been recently effected in South Africa, to mark, as it were, with unalloyed joy and to shed added lustre on the Coronation of His Imperial Majesty. It is one of these epoch-making events in the history of British achievements, the like of which have consolidated various populations into one mighty nation under one flag, by cementing and strengthening the bonds of brotherhood and promoting concord and loyalty amongst the myriad subjects of the British Crown. (Cheers.)

It is a privilege to be associated with an event which will be lastingly memorable in history, and the heartiness and cordiality of the receptions which have been accorded to us visitors from India in this the centre of His Majesty's empire will ever be cherished by us as a signal mark of that Imperial feeling of sympathy and good-will by which the great British nation is inspired. Of these receptions the one accorded to us to-night is by no means the least important. (Cheers.)

We have been welcomed here to-day under the chairmanship of Lord Reay, whose name is held in great regard and esteem in India, but more particularly in the Bombay Presidency, from which I came, and the honour which has been so done us is highly augmented by the gracious presence of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, the recollection of whose valuable services in India and whose affability of manner towards all classes of people are to-day as fresh in the popular mind as when he left our shores. I beg to assure you that the memory of the compliment paid to us by this distinguished assemblage under such happy and illustrious auspices will be cherished by us for many long years to come. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN next proposed "The other Guests," which was acknowledged by the LORD MAYOR.

Lord ELGIN gave the toast of "The Imperial Forces." He said:—

It used to be the custom for the proposer of this toast to pass in review the claims of the various services, but I take it that at this moment this is neither required nor desired. All are included when we name the Imperial Forces: Army, Navy, and Volunteers—British, Colonial, and Indian. In the great emergency through which we have passsed none have failed us, and all deserve recognition. We feel gratitude for the loyalty they have shown and the sacrifices they have ungrudgingly made. We feel

pride in the unflinching courage which has been manifested, and the full success which has at last crowned their achievement. Above all, we feel admiration for the spirit of discipline and of self-control in the highest sense which has animated all ranks; which has, I believe, won the respect of every impartial observer; and which we may leave with the utmost confidence to the ultimate tribunal—the judgment of the historian. May I call attention, in a couple of sentences, to a parallel and a contrast. Once before, in our history, the forces of the Crown have had to meet a great emergency, and at the same time complications arose in China, which led to military operations and an expedition. So far the parallel is complete, but the contrast is even more so. In 1857 the troops destined for the Chinese expedition were diverted to give welcome assistance to the British Government in India in its time of peril. In 1900 India sent a large proportion of the men who represented British interests in China. And the Indian troops held their own, as those who knew them best fully expected, amongst the troops of many nations. Is this not of happy augury, pointing to the time when our antagonists of yesterday, with their undoubted bravery and military capacity, will take their place with us in the military forces of the Empire? (Loud cheers.) I said it was not necessary to differentiate, but there is one service to which the circumstances of this evening compel attention. In the Chinese Expedition the Imperial Service Troops of India first saw foreign service. I am bound to testify that, if so, it has been from no lack of honourable ambition; and I mention the fact because the two corps which first joined a British force in the field were sent out by two of the guests now amongst us. The Transport Corps of Jaipur and Gwalior did invaluable service in the Chitral Expedition, and again in Tirah, where other Imperial Service Troops also served. We shall, I think, desire specially to congratulate the representatives of the Imperial Service Troops present on the part played by them in the Chinese Expedition. (Cheers.)

I am allowed to couple this toast with two names. What is it necessary for me to add after pronouncing the name of Lord Roberts? (Loud cheers.) Two years ago I had the honour of unveiling in Calcutta the statue which records the appreciation —the affectionate appreciation—of his fellow-subjects in India of his forty-one years' service in India. Since then another continent has witnessed a brilliant campaign — the necessary prelude of the strong and persistent effort which has won for

us an honourable and, as we hope, a lasting peace. And now he has returned, not to rest upon his laurels, but to undertake the vast labours and responsibilities of the Commander-in-Chief. There is no name so completely representative of the Imperial Forces as that of Lord Roberts.

But no less cordial will be our good wishes to the Maharaja of Idar. I have spoken of the Imperial Service Troops, and I am safe in saying that there is no name so intimately associated with the formation and progress of that force than that of Sir Pertab Singh. (Cheers.) Under him the Jodhpore Lancers established a reputation, which they have fully maintained in China; and he himself has again and again distinguished himself by his zeal and soldierly qualities, and has within the last few days received, not for the first time, from the hands of his Sovereign high marks of consideration for services rendered. (Loud cheers.)

Lord Roberts, in responding, said:—

The whole world now knew the meaning of the Imperial forces. It appreciated their real power and strength—strength that had shown that at a moment of alarm the members of those forces would hasten from all parts of the King's dominions to fight His Majesty's battles, impelled by a sentiment of brotherhood and knit together by feelings of loyalty and devotion to the Crown. (Cheers.) That was a good impulse, and what we had witnessed during the last two and a half years—the Imperial forces, the soldiers of the King, united, side by side, fighting for one cause under one flag, the flag which Mr. Schalk Burger the other day described as that glorious Union Jack (cheers)—had been a spectacle that we might all be proud of; and—he said it with no emotional feeling—it had been an object-lesson to the world generally. (Cheers.) On that occasion he would speak particularly of India, and of India's share and right and title in any share that might be given in any congratulation that might be accorded to the Imperial forces. In South Africa it was not thought expedient, for political reasons, to employ Indian troops; but the Indian Army, a magnificent force in the aggregate, of which, perhaps, no one could speak better than he could himself—(cheers)—was ready to go anywhere at a moment's notice, and contributed in no small degree to the support and success of that war. And though during those two and a half years many were the requests by the great feudatories in India that help might be taken from them—and this we are now gladly able to acknowledge and are very proud

of—and though they were disappointed in their services in South Africa not being accepted, yet an outlet for their zeal and devotion was found in the direction of China. There the Indian chiefs sent horse and foot to fight the battles of their Emperor, and there, too, some of India's chiefs went, foregoing the pleasures of their palaces, to undergo the trials and hardships of a war in an unknown and far-distant country. The Maharaja of Gwalior and Sir Partab Singh not alone cheerfully placed themselves under the orders of the general officer commanding the British forces, but the Maharaja of Gwalior, in addition, fitted out a hospital ship, which he placed at the disposal of the Indian Government during the war. The Maharaja of Jaipur had established some few years ago a transport train which had proved its efficiency on more than one occasion on the North-West Frontier of India. (Cheers.) Besides China, on many other occasions these chiefs had shown that same feeling of loyalty to the Crown, as well as other chiefs not there that night who were quite entitled to our acknowledgments. Whenever the political horizon was darkened and clouds threatened, these chiefs at once came forward to place their troops, their services, and their friends at the disposal of the Indian Government. (Cheers.) A magnificent feeling animated the great feudatories of India; and, while we could show to the whole world such a great example, England might at once feel proud to think that we had succeeded in retaining permanently the respect and affection of such men, and glad to feel that we could depend upon praiseworthy and trusty representatives to come to our aid whenever the occasion called for their assistance. Referring to the peace, Lord Roberts said it had been proclaimed in South Africa when we were welcoming our distinguished visitors from India. That peace we all hoped and believed would be enduring, and we were encouraged and confirmed in that opinion by the very satisfactory manner in which the Boers were meeting us now and carrying out their part in the agreement. (Cheers.) They were brave men, large-hearted, generous, and respected their enemies. We had never in the field met a braver enemy than the Boers, and for this reason his firm belief was that, now that the strife was over, they would prove not only loyal British subjects, but firm and constant friends. (Cheers.) He thought it was no disparagement to the Boers—he thought he might congratulate them on the fact—when he compared their present position to that of the great brave race of the Sikhs. We never had harder fights than with that brave race on the plains of the Punjab. We had received many hard knocks from the Sikhs and many hard knocks from the Boers, but

when peace was made, when the struggle was over, the situation was then accepted, the result being that the Sikhs had been our best friends, our most faithful allies. (Cheers.) And so he firmly believed would be the case with those who had been so recently our enemies, now our friends, the brave Boers. (Cheers.) He had not mentioned the Royal Navy, the Regular Army, or the Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers, who had behaved with such distinction in South Africa, nor had he said a word about the heroic and indomitable general, Lord Kitchener, to whose skill in war and tact in diplomacy we owed a deep debt of gratitude. (Cheers.) They all knew as well as he did the extraordinary humanity displayed by those troops in South Africa during a long and weary campaign of two years and a half. (Cheers.) No praise from him, he was sure, was necessary; he only could say he was proud to think he was privileged to take a part with men who had done so much. (Cheers.)

Translation of Sir PARTAB SINGH'S speech :—

Your Royal Highness, my Lord Reay, my Lords and Gentlemen, —I hope you will excuse my replying in my own language. It is one of the glories of the King's empire that men of different languages are proud to belong to it and to give their lives in its service, knowing all that it represents—freedom, liberty, and civilization. India knows this well, and therefore her leading princes have gladly undertaken to furnish troops for the defence of the British empire.

My brother the Maharaja of Jodpore was one of the first to offer two regiments of cavalry for Imperial service, and I as his Minister took great interest in raising and commanding those regiments which had the honour of serving in China for a year under General Gaselee. When I returned from China His Majesty the King graciously invited me to attend his Coronation at the head of those Imperial service troops from different States which are now assembled in London to testify their loyalty to the British Throne, as they did five years ago when Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, of blessed memory, the mother of her people in India as well as in England, permitted me to lead them at Her Diamond Jubilee. That is why I have the great honour of now returning thanks for them and for the kind words which His Excellency Lord Elgin, our former Viceroy, has said about us. We are ready to go anywhere by the King's command, and are very glad to be here for the Coronation of His Majesty and the Queen. The

Princes of India are loyal to the Government, and so are the Imperial Service Troops. I can speak for both, having lately become a prince, though in my heart I count myself a soldier first. In former days one of our leaders said that a Rajput's throne is on the back of his horse. That is the throne I know best and love most, much as I value the exalted position to which I have been called as Maharaja of Idar. On this occasion and at all times it is a great pride and pleasure to me to feel that I am one of the Imperial Service Troops—a devoted servant of the King on whose empire the sun never sets.

Your Royal Highness, my Lord Reay and Lords and Gentlemen, I return you our most hearty thanks for the honour you have done us.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON proposed the health of "The Royal Asiatic Society."

He briefly recapitulated its history, from its origin when founded about eighty years ago for the encouragement of science, literature, and the arts in relation to Asia, and specially mentioned the services it had rendered to the scholarship of the world by publishing in its Journal, amongst other valuable papers, Sir Henry Rawlinson's translation of the Cuneiform inscriptions at Nineveh. His Lordship referred to the fact that from the first the Sovereign had been a Patron of the Society, and pointed out the appropriateness of their action in establishing a gold medal in recognition of distinguished services in Oriental research in commemoration of the Jubilee of Queen Victoria—a result due in no small degree to the support received from Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy and other friends of the Society in Bombay. His Lordship also called attention to the liberality of H.H. the Raja of Cochin, K.C.S.I., the Maharaja Gajapati Rao, C.I.E., the Raja of Parlakimedi, and other noblemen of Southern India, adding to the list the names of two then present, viz., the Hon. Maharaja of Bobbili, K.C.I.E., and the Hon. Sir Ramaswamay Mudaliyar, C.I.E., which enabled the Royal Asiatic Society to found at the principal Public Schools in this country prizes for the encouragement of Indian studies, a scheme which might lead to important and wide-reaching results.

His Lordship, in concluding, called attention to the practical value of the work of the Society as drawing nearer the bonds between East and West, in illustration of which he had only to point to the representative character of the distinguished company

assembled by the Society under the auspices of the Duke of Connaught.

In responding Professor MACDONELL said:—

At this late stage of the evening I must limit myself to a few remarks on the aims of the Society, the studies with which it is identified, and some of the most striking results of those studies.

To the British Empire, with its vast Asiatic interests and responsibilities, the existence of a Society such as ours is of peculiar importance. For its main object is to make known and interpret to the West the life and thought of the East, which are so fundamentally different from our own. The work of the Society is, however, by no means of a purely abstract character, calculated merely to satisfy intellectual curiosity. On the contrary, it has a distinctly practical aspect. For only intimate knowledge of the languages, modes of thought, and institutions of the governed can render our rule sympathetic and beneficent in the fullest sense. Moreover, by widening our mental horizon, the researches with which this Society is concerned promote enlightenment and so help forward the general progress of mankind. Thus, the study of the languages and inscriptions of ancient India have led to several important discoveries in this direction. We now know that the numerical figures and the decimal system with which the whole world reckons is a debt we owe to India. We now know that the extensive literature of fairy tales and fables which exercised so far-reaching an influence on the intellectual life of mediæval Europe was for the most part an importation from India. We also know that chess, the most intellectual of games, made its way, at about the same period, from India to Europe. Again, the investigation of the Sanskrit language and literature gave rise, in the last century, to two new and important sciences, the comparative science of religion and comparative philology. The latter science has brought to light the remarkable fact that English, the language of the extreme north-west of Europe and now the official language of India, is derived from the same source as the vernaculars of nearly the whole of that vast country—Marāṭhī, Gujerātī, Hindī, Bengalī, and the rest.

The Society has already accomplished much, but much still remains to be done; for example, in encouraging the publication of trustworthy texts and translations of Oriental works, the scientific direction of archæological explorations and investigations, the organization of lectures calculated to arouse a more general interest

in Oriental studies. The Journal of the Society is an important element in its work. Thanks to the efforts of our Secretary, Professor Rhys Davids, it has for several years maintained a high level of excellence. Not long ago a distinguished German Sanskrit scholar remarked to me that it is now the best Oriental Journal on Indian matters. I may add, in conclusion, that this Society has noted with gratitude the liberality with which Indian Princes have of late years been encouraging the objects which the Society has in view; they will doubtless continue to do so to a still greater extent, the more clearly they see the importance of preserving the records, both literary and archæological, of their ancient civilization, which has been shown to occupy so important a place in the history of human development.

I beg to thank Lord George Hamilton for the kind words in which His Lordship has expressed his appreciation of the labours of the Society and of myself, its spokesman on the present occasion.

The Chairman announced that the following gracious reply had been received to the telegram sent earlier in the evening:—

"The King thanks Lord Reay, President, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Indian Princes who with other Indian representatives were guests of the Society to-night, for their message of loyal congratulations."

KNOLLYS.

Lord REAY proposed "The Members of the Committee." He said:—

Everyone knows the great number of details that have to be settled in organizing a dinner of this kind. Only those who may have had a similar experience know how many important and delicate points have to be determined before those details can be properly dealt with. I am sure you will all agree with me that we owe cordial thanks to Sir Steuart Bayley, the Chairman of the Banquet Committee, upon whose sound judgment the success of this evening's entertainment has so largely depended. And we do not forget the services of the members of the Committee, upon whom also so much of the hard labour has fallen. Gentlemen, I give you "The Banquet Committee"; and would couple with the toast, at the special request of Sir Steuart Bayley, the name of Mr. A. N. Wollaston, the Vice-Chairman of the Committee.

Mr. A. N. WOLLASTON said :—

It is the wish, and therefore the command, of Lord Reay that I should address you a few words; to use the glowing imagery of the East, "I am yoked to the plough of duty." Permit me, therefore, in the name of the Royal Asiatic Society, to welcome you here to-night and to express our satisfaction at this splendid gathering; to each and all of you our warmest thanks are due. The Asiatic Society bear a learned—a very learned—reputation, and there is a general idea that a person is not eligible for membership unless possessing a knowledge of so many Eastern tongues as to qualify for a prominent position in building the Tower of Babel. I wish any poor words of mine could remove such an erroneous impression and lead a wider circle of those interested in our Indian Empire to join our ranks; this would indeed be a glorious return for our efforts of this evening. Once again I most cordially thank you.

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CORRECTED TO 1ST JANUARY, 1902.

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1891 *Corbet, Eustace K., *Cairo.*
Hon. 1893 Cordier, Prof. Henri, 54, *Rue Nicolo, Paris.*
1888 *Cousens, Henry, *Archæological Surveyor for Western India, Poona.*
1900 *Coventry, Frank Chetwynd, *C.P. Police, Nagpur.*
1866 *Cowell, Edward B., D.C.L., *Professor of Sanskrit,* 10, *Scrope Terrace, Cambridge.*
1879 *Craig, W., *Brisbane, Queensland, Australia.*
1882 §Crawford and Balcarres, The Right Hon. the Earl of, K.T., F.R.S., *Haigh, Wigan.*
1883 *Cumine, Alexander, I.C.S., *Belgaum, Bombay.*
1893 *Cunningham, Sir A. F. D., K.C.I.E., *Commissioner, Peshawar.*
1891 *†Cushing, The Rev. J. N., M.A., Ph.D., D.D., *Rangoon Baptist College, Rangoon, Burma.*
1852 §Cust, Robert N., LL.D., Hon. Secretary, 63, *Elm Park Gardens, S.W.*

1888 *Dadabhai, Rustamjī, *Civil Surgeon, c/o Messrs. King, King, & Co., Bombay.*
1891 *†D'Alviella, Goblet, M. le Comte, *Rue Faider* 10, *Bruxelles.*
1884 Dames, M. Longworth, I.C.S. (retired), *Alegria, Enfield.*
1899 *Dampier, Gerald Robert, I.C.S., *Deputy Commissioner, Fyzabad.*
1899 *Das, Babu Ram Saran, M.A., *Manager, Oudh Commercial Bank, Fyzabad.*
1898 *Davids, Henry Vavasour, *H.B.M. Consul, Batavia.*
1898 ‡‡Davies, Sir Robert Henry, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., 38, *Wilton Place, S.W.*

1894 *†Davies, The Rev. T. Witton, Ph.D., *Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature, Baptist College, Bangor, and Lecturer on Semitic Languages, University College, Bangor.*

1901 *Dé, Hari Nath, 30, *Westmoreland Road, Bayswater.*

1896 *Deane, Major H. A., C.S.I., *Political Officer, Malakand, Swat, viâ Mardan, Panjab.*

1891 *Deane, William Dalrymple H., M.A., *New College, Arundel Avenue, Sefton Park, Liverpool.*

1898 *Derasāri, Dahyabhai Pitambaradasa, *Barrister-at-Law, Ahmedabad.*

1896 *Deussen, Professor P., 39, *Beseler-allee, Kiel.*

1892 *Devey, G. P., *H.B.M.'s Consul, Jeddah, Arabia.*

1894 *Deviprasad, Munshi, *Jodhpur.*

120 1882 Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, K.G., LL.D., *Devonshire House, Piccadilly, W.*

1882 †§Dickins, F.V., C.B., *Seend Lodge, Seend, Melksham, Wilts.*

1901 Digby, William, C.I.E., *Trafalgar Buildings, Northumberland Avenue;* 27, *Dorset Square, W.*

1894 *D'Oldenburg, Serge, Ph.D., *Professor of Sanskrit, The University, St. Petersburg.*

Hon. Donner, Professor O., *Helsingfors.*

1901 *Dorph, W. P. F., *Hon. Secretary for Sydney Palestine Exploration Fund, Australian Joint Stock Bank, Head Office, Sydney, N.S.W.*

1874 §Douglas, R. K., *Professor of Chinese, King's College; British Museum, W.C.;* 3, *College Gardens, Dulwich, S.E.*

1894 *Douie, J. M'Crone, *Revenue Secretary to Panjab Government, Lahore.*

1888 *Doyle, The Rev. James, *Diocese of Mylapore, San Thomé, Madras.*

1879 *†Doyle, Patrick, C.E., F.G.S., F.R.S.E., M.R.I.A., *"Indian Engineering," Calcutta.*

130 1896 *Duff, Miss C. M. (Mrs. W. R. Rickmers), *The Mettnau, Radolfzell am Bodensee, Germany.*

1861 †§Duff, The Right Hon. Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant, G.C.S.I., F.R.S., Vice-President, 11, *Chelsea Embankment.*

1884 §Duka, Theodore, M.D., F.R.C.S., 55, *Nevern Square, Earl's Court, S.W.*

1883 *Duke, Lieut.-Colonel Joshua, M.D., *Malwa Bheel Corps, Sirdarpur* (*Messrs. Grindlay & Co.*).

1896 *Dutt, Babu Kedar Nath, *Bhakti Vinōda, Swarupganj P.O., Nadia;* 181, *Maniktala Street, Calcutta.*

1898 *Dutt, Barendranath, *Tutor to the sons of H.E. General Futteh Shumshere Jung, Bahadur Rana, Khatmandu, Nepal.*

1894 *Dutt, M. N., *Rector, Keshub Academy,* 65/2, *Beadon Street, Calcutta.*

1893 *Dutt, Romesh Chandra, C.I.E., *c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co.,* 54, *Parliament Street, Westminster.*

Hon. Edkins, The Rev. J., D.D., *Shanghai.*

1900 *Edwards, Professor Arthur M., M.D., F.L.S., 333, *Belleville Avenue, Newark, N.J., U.S.A.*

140 1901 Elliot, F. A. H., C.I.E., I.C.S. (ret.), 77, *Kensington Gardens Square, W.*

1897 §*Ellis, Alexander George, *British Museum;* 32, *Willow Road, Hampstead.*

1881 *†Fargues, J., 36, *Grande Rue, Enghien les Bains, Seine et Oise, France.*

1879 *†Faulkner, Major Alexander S., I.M.S. (retired), (*Messrs. Grindlay & Co.*).

Hon. Fausböll, Professor Dr. V., 37, *Nordre Fasanvej, Frederiksborg, Copenhagen.*

1877 *†Ferguson, A. M., jun., *Frognal House, Hampstead, N.W.*

1877 *†Ferguson, Donald W., 5, *Bedford Place, Croydon.*

1883 *†Fergusson, The Right Hon. Sir James, Bart., K.C.M.G., G.C.S.I., 80, *Cornwall Gardens, S.W.*

1901 *Fergusson, J. C., I.C.S., *Assistant Settlement Officer, Bareilly, N.W.P.*

1895 *Fernando, C. M., *Barrister-at-Law, Colombo, care of Ceylon R.A.S.*

150 1881 *Finn, Alexander, *H.B.M. Consul, Malaga, Spain.*

1887 Finn, Mrs., *The Elms, Brook Green, W.*

1893 *Finot, Louis, *Directeur de la Mission Archéologique, Säigon, Cochin-China.*
1877 §Fleet, J. F., C.I.E., 79, *Ealing Rise, Ealing.*
1888 *Floyer, Ernest A., *Cairo, Egypt.*
1879 *Forlong, Major-Gen. J. G. Roche, 11, *Douglas Crescent, Edinburgh.*
1867 *Foulkes, The Rev. T., *Madras Presidency.*
1894 *Fraser, E. D. H., *China Consular Service, H.B.M. Consulate, Shanghai.*
1886 §Frazer, R. W., LL.B., I.C.S. (retired), *London Institution, Finsbury Circus, E.C.*
1898 *Frere, Aubrey H. Temple, *c/o J. Abercromby, Esq., 35, Prince's Gardens, South Kensington.*
160 1897 *Frere, Miss M., 8, *Walpole Street, Chelsea, S.W.*
1880 *†Furdoonji, Jamshedji, *Aurungabad, Dekkan.*

1899 *Gait, Edmund Albert, *Collector, Nadia.*
1900 *†Gajapatti Rao, The Maharaja, C.I.E., *The Mahal, Vizagapatam, Madras Pres.*
1894 *Ganguli, Sanjiban, *Head Master, The Mahārāja's College, Jeypore.*
1881 *Gardner, Christopher T., *H.B.M. Consul, Amoy.*
1890 §Gaster, M., Ph.D., 37, *Maida Vale, W.*
1865 †Gayner, C., M.D., F.R.S.E.
1895 *Gerini, Major G. E., *Bangkok, Siam.*
1893 *Ghose, Hon. Dr. Rashbehary, C.I.E., 56, *Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.*
170 1893 *†Gibson, Mrs. J. Young, LL.D., *Castlebrae, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.*
Hon. Goeje, Professor De, *Leiden.*
1897 *Gokhale, Professor Gopal Krishna, *Fergusson College, Poona.*
1864 †§Goldsmid, Major-Gen. Sir F. J., C.B., K.C.S.I., Vice-President, 29, *Phœnix Lodge Mansions, Brook Green, Hammersmith.*
1887 *Goldsmid, Frederic L., *c/o Messrs. W. Watson & Co., 20, Apollo Street, Bombay.*
Hon. 1893 Goldziher, Professor Ignaz, vii *Holló-utza* 4, *Buda Pest.*

1900 *Gondal, The Thakur Sahib, *Gondal.*

1884 *†Gorparshad, Thakur, *Talookdar of Baiswan, Aligarh.*

1885 Gosset, Major-General M. W. Edward, C.B., *Westgate House, Dedham, Essex.*

1900 Gratton, F. M.

180 1894 *Gray, J., *Professor of Pali, Rangoon College.*

1893 *Greenup, Rev. Albert W., *The Principal's Lodge, St. John's Hall, Highbury, N.*

1884 Grierson, George A., C.I.E., Ph.D., *Lyndhurst, Camberley, Surrey.*

1852 *†Griffith, R. T. H., C.I.E., *Kotagiri, Nilgiri.*

1890 *Grosset, Joanny, 4, *Rue Cuvier, Lyon, France.*

Hon. 1890 Gubernatis, Conte Comm. Angelo De, 11, *Via San Martino, Rome, Italy.*

1897 *Guest, A. Rhuvon, 13, *Cliveden Place, Eaton Square.*

Hon. 1898 Guidi, Ignace, 24, *Botteghe O'Seure, Rome.*

1887 *Guiraudon, Capt. Th. de, 134, *Bishop's Road, Fulham, S.W.*

1901 *Gupta, Rājani Kanta, *Assistant Surgeon of Madhibani; Durbhanga, c/o Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Calcutta.*

190 1894 *Gurdon, Capt. Philip R. T., *Indian Staff Corps, Assistant Commissioner, Ganhati, Assam.*

1897 *Haddad, H., *Nabha's House, opp. American Church, Cairo.*

1883 *Haggard, W. H. D., *H.B.M. Minister Resident and Consul-General to the Republic of the Equator.*

1898 *Haig, Captain T. Wolseley, I.S.C., 17, *Elysium Row, Calcutta.*

1895 *Hardy, Edmund, D.D., Ph.D., 20iii, *Sanderringstrasse, Würzburg, Bavaria.*

1897 *Haridas, Hardevram Nanabhai, *Barrister-at-Law,* 161, *Malabar Hill, Bombay.*

1900 *Hasan, Mahdi, *Barrister-at-Law, Civil Judge, Chanda, N.W.P.*

1883 †Hatfeild, Captain C. T., *late Dragoon Guards, Harts Down, Margate.*

1834 *†Heming, Lieut.-Col. Dempster, *Deputy Commissioners Police Force, Madras.*

1885 †Henderson, George, 7, *Mincing Lane, E.C.*

200 1884 *Hendley, Colonel T. Holbein, C.I.E., *Jaipur.*

1900 Hertz, Miss, 20, *Avenue Road, N.W.*

1880 *Hervey, The Hon. D. F. A., *Westfields, Aldeburgh, Suffolk.*

1888 *§Hewitt, J. Francis K., *Holton Cottage, Wheatley, Oxford.*

1897 *Hill, Gray, *Mere Hall, Birkenhead.*

1901 *Hill, Rev. J. R., *Walton Rectory, Bletchley.*

1885 *†Hippisley, Alfred E., *Commissioner of Chinese Customs, and Chinese Secretary to the Inspector-General of Customs, Peking;* 26, *Old Queen Street, Westminster.*

1891 *Hirschfeld, H., Ph.D., *Lecturer on Semitics at the Jewish College, Tavistock Square;* 105, *Warwick Road, Maida Hill, W.*

1897 *Hodgson, Mrs. Brian, *Pasture Wood House, Abinger, Dorking; Villa Himalaya, Mentone;* 53, *Stanhope Gardens, S.W.*

1900 *Hoernle, Dr. A. F. Rudolf, 38, *Banbury Road, Oxford.*

210 1881 Hoey, William, *Ashleigh House, Linden Road, Bedford.*

1900 Hogan, H., 89, *Lancaster Gate, W.*

1893 *Hogarth, David, 23, *Alexander Square, S.W.*

1897 ‡‡Hogg, Hope Waddell, B.D., 4, *Winchester Road, Oxford.*

1865 *†Holroyd, Colonel W. R. M., *Under Secretary to Government, Lahore;* 23, *Bathwick Hill, Bath.*

1889 *Hopkins, Lionel Charles, *China Consular Service, Consul-General, Tientsin.*

1898 †Horniman, F. J., M.P., *Falmouth House,* 20, *Hyde Park Terrace, W.*

1901 ‡‡Hosford, John Stroud, 5, *Grove Road, Brixton.*

1892 *Houghton, Bernard, *Deputy Commissioner, Katha, Upper Burma.*

1892 *Husain, Mohammed Sufther, P.C.S., *Revenue Officer, Madras Municipality, Deputy Collector and Magistrate, Kurnool, Madras.*

1893 *Innes, John R., *Straits Service, Singapore.*
1879 §Irvine, W., *Holliscroft, Castlenau, Barnes, S.W.*
1898 *Iyer, A. V. Ramachandra, F.S.I., *P.W.D., Vellore, Madras.*
1897 *Iyer, G. Subramania, B.A., *Editor of "Hindu," Hindu Office, Madras.*
1901 †Iyer, Sri Kanti, *Manager, Pension Department, Government Office, Madras.*

1888 *Jackson, Arthur Mason Tippetts, *c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groome, & Co., Bombay.*
1901 *Jacob, Colonel G. A., *Oakridge, Redhill.*
1893 †Jago-Trelawny, Major-General, *Coldrenick, Liskeard, Cornwall.*
1885 *†Jaikishan Dass Bahadoor, Rajah, C.S.I., *Muradabad, Rohilkhand.*
1891 *Jameson, F., *Saxonbury Lodge, Frant, Sussex.*
1878 *Jardine, Sir John, K.C.I.E., 34, *Lancaster Gate.*
1901 *Jardine, W. E., *Assistant Resident, Haidarabad, Dekhan;* 30, *Leinster Gardens, Hyde Park.*
1881 *†Jayakar, Lieut.-Colonel Atmaram S. G., *Khar Road, Bandra, near Bombay.*
1883 *†Jayamohun, Thakur Singh, *Magistrate and Tahsildar of Seori Narayan, Bilaspur, Central Provinces, India.*
1900 *Jinarajadasa, C., 53, *Via della Muratte, Rome.*
1882 *†Jinavaravansa, The Rev. P. C., *Buddhist Monk (formerly His Excellency Prince Prisdang).*
1888 *Johnstone, Peirce De Lacy H., M.A., 45, *Minto Street, Edinburgh, N.B.*

1901 *Kanta, C. Sri, *Mercantile Bank of India, Colombo, Ceylon.*
Hon. 1899 Karabacek, Professor J., *Vienna.*
1900 *Karkaria, R. P., *The Collegiate Institution, Grant Road, Bombay.*
1900 *Kavibhusan, Haridas Manna, *Calcutta.*
1881 §Kay, Henry Cassels, 11, *Durham Villas, Kensington, W.*

1900 *Keith, Arthur Berriedale, 226, *Iffley Road, Oxford; Colonial Office, Downing Street.*

1864 *†Kemball, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Arnold, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., 62, *Lowndes Square, S.W.*

1895 *Kennedy, Miss Louise, *Fairacre, Concord, Mass.*

1891 §Kennedy, James, 14, *Frognal Lane, Finchley Road, N.W.*

1897 Kennedy, Joseph, 78, *Porchester Terrace, W.*

1890 *Kerala Varma, His Highness, C.S.I., *Valeyukoil Tamburam Trivandrum, Travancore State, Madras.*

Hon. Kern, Heinrich, *Professor of Sanskrit, Leiden.*

1895 *Khan, Gazanfar Ali, I.C.S., *Assistant Commissioner, Chanda, C.P., India.*

250 Hon. 1872 Kielhorn, Dr. Geheimer Regierungsrath F., C.I.E., *Professor of Sanskrit, Göttingen,* 21, *Hainholzweg.*

1884 Kimberley, The Right Hon. the Earl of, K.G., 35, *Lowndes Square, S.W.*

1884 *King, Lucas White, C.S.I., LL.D., F.S.A., *Kangra, Panjab, India.*

1892 King, Major J. S., *Indian Staff Corps (retired), St. Albans,* 15, *Clarendon Road, Southsea.*

1884 *†Kitts, Eustace John, *Bengal Civil Service, Seaton Lodge, Plymouth.*

1894 Kluht, Rev. A., *Thorshill, Hind Head, Haslemere.*

1900 *Konow, Sten, Ph.D., *Glencoe, Frimley Road, Camberley, Surrey.*

1880 *Kynnersley, C. W. Sneyd, C.M.G., *Resident Councillor, Penang, Singapore, Straits Settlements.*

1901 *Lal, Dr. Munna, *Civil Surgeon, Orai, Jalaun Dist., N.W.P.*

1880 *†Lanman, Charles R., *Professor of Sanskrit, Harvard College,* 9, *Farrar Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*

260 1884 *†Lansdell, The Rev. H. H., D.D., *Morden College, Blackheath, S.E.*

1895 *Latif, Syed Mohammed, Khan Bahadur, *Shamsul Ulama, District Judge, Gujrānwālla, Panjab.*

1874 Lawrence, F. W., *Hillcote, Lansdown, Bath.*

1901 *Leadbeater, W., 53, *Via delle Muratte, Corso, Rome.*

1900 LEE-WARNER, Sir W., K.C.S.I., *Oldfield, Bickley, Kent.*
1899 LEGGE, F., 6, *Gray's Inn Square, W.C.*
1896 *LEIGH, Lieut.-Colonel H. P. V., C.I.E., *c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groome, & Co., Bombay.*
1892 LEITNER, H., *Oriental University Institute, Woking.*
1883 *LE MESURIER, Cecil John Reginald, 19, *Perrymead Street, Fulham, S.W.*
1878 *†LEPPER, C. H.
270 1880 †LE STRANGE, Guy, 3, *Via S. Francesco Poverino, Florence, Italy.*
1890 *LEVESON, Henry G. A., I.C.S., *c/o Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China, Rangoon.*
1885 †LEWIS, Mrs. A. S., LL.D., *Castlebrae, Cambridge.*
1897 *LINDSAY, The Rev. James, M.A., D.D., B.Sc., F.G.S., F.R.S.E., *Springhill Terrace, Kilmarnock, N.B.*
1895 *LIVERMORE, Major W., *U.S. Army, Post Office Buildings, Boston, Mass.*
1879 *LOCKHART, J. H. Stewart, C.M.G., *Hongkong.*
1898 *LOPES, David, 61, *Rua da Escola Polytechnica, Lisbon.*
1882 †LOVELACE, The Right Hon. the Earl, 9, *St. George's Place, S.W.*
1895 *†LOWELL, P., 53, *State Street, Boston, U.S.*
1895 *LUPTON, Walter, *Magistrate, Bulandshahr, N.W.P.*
280 1898 LUZAC, C. G., 46, *Great Russell Street, W.C.*
1899 §LYALL, Sir Charles James, K.C.S.I., 82, *Cornwall Gardens, S.W.*
1889 †§LYON, H. Thomson, F.S.A., 34, *St. James's Street, S.W.*

1898 *MACAULIFFE, M., B.A., I.C.S. (ret.), *Nabha, Nabha State, Panjab.*
1880 *MACCULLUM, Colonel Sir H. E., K.C.M.G., R.E., *Governor of Natal.*
1898 MACDONALD, A. R., 10, *Chester Street, S.W.*
1900 *MACDONALD, Duncan B., *Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.*
1882 *§MACDONELL, Arthur A., M.A., Ph.D., *Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Fellow of Balliol;* 107, *Banbury Road, Oxford.*
1887 *McDOUALL, William, *Vice-Consul, Mahammerah, through Bushire, Persia.*

1901 *MACKENZIE, A. St. Clair, *Professor of English and Logic, State College of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, U.S.A.*

290 1894 *MACLAGAN, E. D., *Under Secretary Agricultural Department, Multan, Panjab.*

1877 *MADDEN, F. W., *Holt Lodge*, 86, *London Road, Brighton.*

EXT. 1893 MAHĀ YOTHA, His Excellency the Marquis.

1900 *MALLICK, Babu Ramani Mohun, *Zemindar of Meherpore, Nuddia, Bengal.*

1879 †MANNING, Miss, 5, *Pembridge Crescent, Bayswater, W.*

1901 *MĀPPILLAI, K. I. Varugīs, *Editor of the Malayalam Manorāma, Kōṭṭayam, Travancore.*

1889 *MARGOLIOUTH, Rev. D., *Professor of Arabic*, 88, *Woodstock Road, Oxford.*

1901 *MARSHALL, J. H., *The Oaks, Alleyn Park, West Dulwich.*

1896 *MARZETTI, Charles J., *Kandahar Estate, Balangoda, Ceylon.*

1888 MASTER, John Henry, *Montrose House, Petersham.*

300 1898 *MAXWELL, George, *Straits Civil Service, Taiping, Perak.*

1899 *MAXWELL, L. R. Meredith (*late Burma Civil Service*), 59, *Hindon Street, Eccleston Square.*

1894 *MAY, A. J., *Thornlea, Acacia Grove, Dulwich, S.E.*

1894 MEAD, G. R. S., 43, *Tavistock Square, W.C.*

1900 *MENON, Kunhi Krishna, B.A., *Todtakadt House, Ernakulam, Cochin State, Madras Pres.*

1901 *MENON, K. P. Padmanabha, *High Court Vakil, Trivandrum, S. India.*

1883 *MERMAGEN, The Rev. C. F., *St. Feock's Vicarage, Devoran R.S.O., Cornwall.*

1899 *MESTON, James Scorgie, *3rd Secretary to Government N.W.P. and Oudh, Allahabad and Naini Tal.*

HON. MEYNARD, Professor Barbier de, *Membre de l'Institut*, 18, *Boulevard de Magenta, Paris.*

1898 MIESEGAES, Herman, 37, *Porchester Terrace, W.*

310 1863 *MILES, Colonel Samuel B., *Bombay Staff Corps.*

1897 *MILLS, Laurence Heyworth, M.A., D.D., *Professor of Zend Philology*, 218, *Iffley Road, Oxford.*

1899 *MISRA, Ramshankar, M.A., *Officiating Magistrate and Collector, Basti, N.W.P.*

1895 *Mitra, Rajesvara, Rai Sahib, *Executive Engineer, Jabalpur, C.P.*

1878 †Mocatta, F. D., 9, *Connaught Place, Hyde Park, W.*

1874 *Mockler, Lieut.-Col. E., *Bombay Staff Corps, Political Agent, Muscat.*

1882 *†Mohanlál Visnulál Pandia, Pundit, *Gorepārā Mohallā, Muttra, N.W.P.*

1884 *Moloney, Sir Alfred, K.C.M.G., *Governor of the Windward Islands, St. George, Grenada, West Indies.*

1900 Mond, Mrs., *The Poplars, Avenue Road, N.W.*

1901 Montefiore, Claude, 12, *Portman Square, W.*

320 1850 †Moor, Rev. Canon A. P., *St. Clement, near Truro.*

1877 §Morris, Henry, *Eastcote House, St. John's Park, Blackheath, S.E.*

1881 Morrison, Walter, M.P., 77, *Cromwell Road, S.W.*; *Malham Tarn, Bell Busk, Leeds.*

1882 *†Morse, H. Ballou, *Chinese Imperial Customs, Shanghai;* 26, *Old Queen Street, Westminster, S.W.*

1892 *Morton, Rev. Bertram Mitford, *Kingsthorpe, Northampton.*

1890 *Moss, R. Waddy, *Didsbury College, Manchester.*

1877 §Muir, Sir W., K.C.S.I., D.C.L., LL.D., *Vice-Chancellor of the University, Edinburgh.*

1895 *Mukerjee, Babu Najendra Nath, M.A., F.R.S.L., *Professor of English Literature, Maharajah's College, Jaipur, Rajputana.*

1882 *Mukerji, Phanibhusan, *Officiating Inspector of Schools, Presidency Division, Bengal;* 57, *Jhowtolah Road, Ballygunje, Calcutta.*

1901 *Mukerji, Benoy Vehari, *Professor of History and Logic, St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur, N.W.P.*

330 1900 *Muliyil Krishnam, B.A., *Malayalam Translator to Government and Professor at the Presidency College, Madras.*

1895 *Müller-Hess, Dr. E., *Professor of Sanskrit at the University, Berne,* 47, *Effingerstrasse.*

1898 *Mysore, H.H. the Maharaja, *The Palace, Bangalore.*

1898 *Naidu, C. Tirumalaya, 8, *Tazudeen Khan Bahadur Street, Triplicane, Madras.*

1897. *Nair, T. Madavam, M.D., *Floreas Road, Egmore, Madras.*
1898 *Nartzoff, Alexis de, *Tambov, Russia.*
1891 *Nathan, P. Rama, The Hon., *Colombo, Ceylon.*
Hon. Naville, Edouard, D.C.L., *Malaguy, near Geneva.*
1901 *Nayer, K. Kanan, *Changanacherry, Travancore.*
1901 Neill, J. W., *Professor of Indian Law, University College; 65, Holland Park Avenue.*
340 1860 *†Nelson, James Henry, M.A., *Cuddalore, Madras.*
1900 *Nevill, Henry Rivers, *Assistant Commissioner, Almora, N.W.P.*
1892 *Newberry, Percy E., *Luxor, Egypt.*
1895 *Nicholson, R. A., 123, *Gower Street, W.C.*
1861 *Niemann, Prof. G. K., *Delft, Holland.*
1899 *Niyoji, Susil Chandra, 1, *Kali Prasad Chandra Barhi's Street, Bagbazar, Calcutta.*
Hon. Nöldeke, Professor Theodor, *Strassburg.*
1876 Norman, Lieut.-General Sir Henry W., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E., K.C.S.I., *Royal Hospital, Chelsea.*
1876 Northbrook, The Right Hon. the Earl of, G.C.S.I., F.R.S., 4, *Hamilton Place, Piccadilly, W.*

1900 *Oertel, C. H., *Barrister-at-Law, Lahore, Panjab.*
350 1900 *Oertel, F. O., *Benares, N.W.P.*
1888 Oldham, Brigade-Surgeon Charles Frederick, *The Lodge, Great Bealings, Woodbridge, Suffolk.*
1900 *Oman, Professor J. Campbell, 26, *Tollington Place, Finsbury Park.*
Hon. Oppert, Professor Jules, *Rue de Sfax, 2, Paris.*
1900 *Ostorog, Count Léon, *Rue de Suède, Constantinople.*
1901 *Otani, F., 31, *Crystal Palace Park Road, Sydenham.*

1898 *Pandit, V. R., B.A., *Sitabaldi, Nagpore, C.P.*
1893 *Pargiter, F. E., B.C.S., *c/o Messrs. King, Hamilton, & Co., Hare Street, Calcutta.*
1900 *†Parla Kimedi, The Raja of, *Parla Kimedi, Ganjam, Madras Presidency.*

1893 *Parsonson, J. Marsden, 26, *Moorgate Street, E.C.*

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